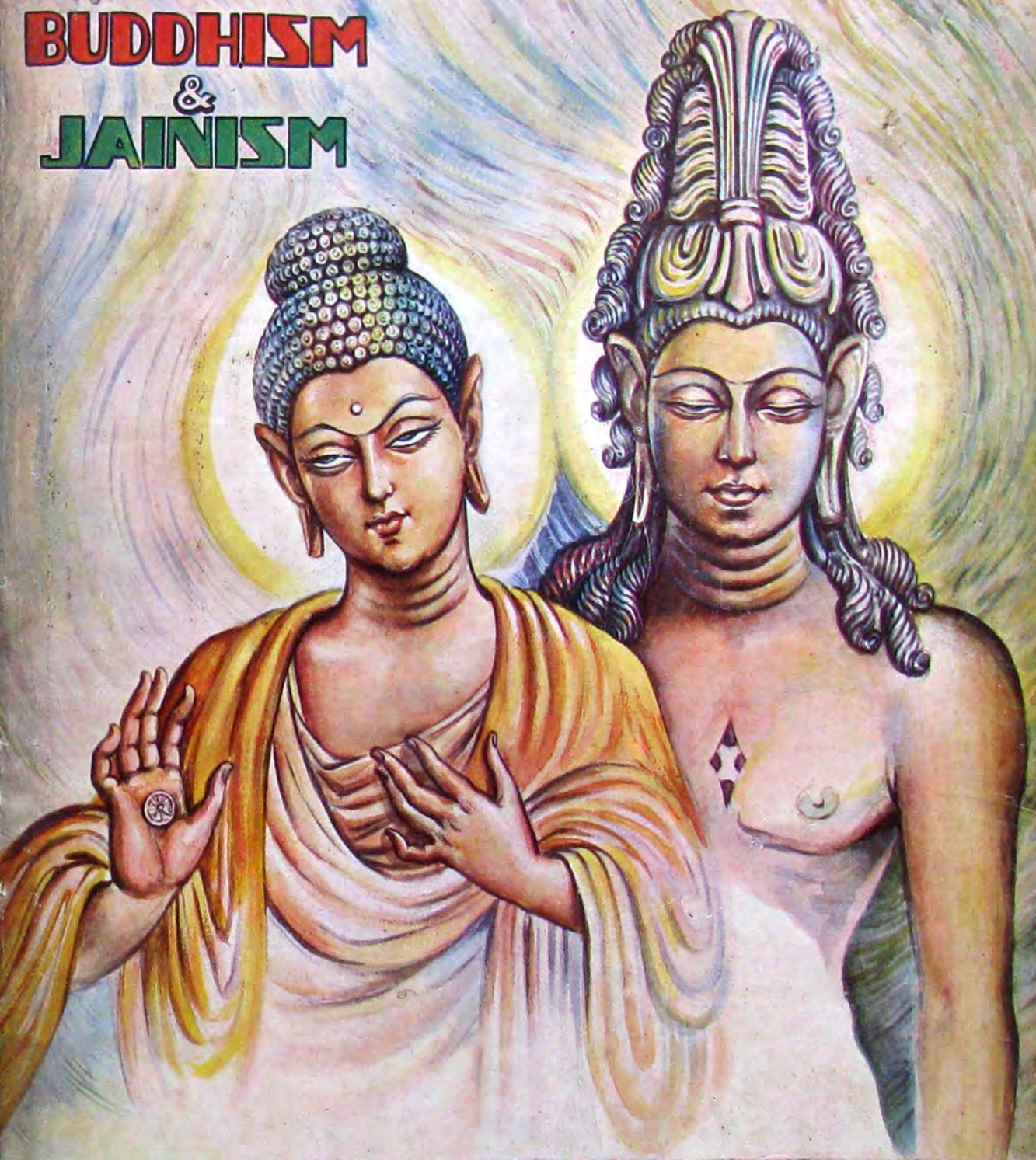


BUDDHISM & JAINISM



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Editors

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Foreward by

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1976

INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL AND ORISSAN STUDIES

Published by: The Council of Cultural Growth
and Cultural Relations,
Moitri Sarani, Cuttack, Orissa,
INDIA

Photographs: Dasn' Das
Home (P. R.) Department, Bhubaneswar

Cover design: Shri H. C. Sinha Babu

Printed at: Orissa Government Press

Price: .

Rs. 250

£ 17

\$ 30

DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

This book—a compilation of papers with an Introduction—is an outcome of the International Seminars on Buddhism and Jainism held at Cuttack, Orissa (India) in January, 1976. The valuable papers from Scholars of various countries of the World, placed before the Seminars for discussion, are incorporated in this book. The first part deals with History and Archaeology while the second part deals with Philosophy and Religion. The papers cover practically all aspects of Jain and Buddhist cultures that developed through ages and stirred the Human Thought. The papers are not only exhaustive but also authoritative. This is one of the most elaborate and notable contribution to the Scholarly world.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Book 'Buddhism & Jainism' is a compilation of research papers presented by scholars in the international Seminars on Buddhism and Jainism held at Cuttack, Orissa "India" from 11th to 16th January, 1976. The scholars came from various parts of India and also from several countries of the world. The papers they placed before the Seminars equally represented not any one aspect but several aspects of the True thoughts, that stirred the mankind. This is a great opportunity for us to print all these papers in a single volume which may be useful for research scholars as well as people of common walk of life interested in history and Thoughts.

We are extremely grateful to the learned scholars for their valuable contributions especially to those scholars who came from other countries travelling long distances out of their love for the Indian culture and Thoughts. We are deeply indebted to the Friendship and Cultural Relations Organisations, institutions, universities of those countries, their Embassies in India for making their visit possible. We are grateful to the Universities and Institutions in India who have extended their unstinted co-operation in finding out the scholars and facilitating their participation in this International Seminars.

We wish to record our cordial thanks and gratitude to Padmabhusan Dr. Radhanath Rath, M. L. A., Editor, the Samaja and Chairman, Reception Committee of the Seminar but for whose stewardship the publication of this volume would not have been possible.

Our thanks and gratitude are due to Smt. Nandini Satapathy, Chief Minister, Orissa, Shri Binayak Acharya, Minister, Finance & Excise, Orissa, Shri Laxman Mallick, Minister, Agriculture & Co-operation, Works & Rural Development, Orissa, Shri Gangadhar Mohapatra, Minister, Food and Civil Supplies, Cultural Affairs and Tourism, Orissa, Shri Somanath Rath, Minister of State, Health & Family Planning & Urban Development, Orissa, Dr. Krupasindhu Bhoi, Minister of State, Mining & Geology, Commerce & Transport, Orissa, Shri Matlub Ali, Deputy Minister, Cultural Affairs, Orissa for their valuable help and advice.

Our thanks and gratitude are due to Shri Bhairab Ch. Mohanty, M. P. Sri Shyam Sundar Mohapatra, M. P., Sri Dusasan Jena, M. L. A. particularly for their valued help and co- operation.

Our thanks are also due to the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, different departments, corporations, etc. Government of Orissa & various agencies and individuals who have helped us in various capacities.

This will not be complete if we do not express our deep gratitude to several such organisations and individuals who will remain anonymous like the unknown soldiers but for whose help this young non-official voluntary organisation would not have been able to organise an International Seminar of the magnitude or the publication of this volume.

We are extremely grateful and thankful to the Orissa Government Press, its personnell headed by Shri Shakti Prasad Mishra for the stupendous work for printing this volume. Without their help, it would not have been possible to place the printed copies of many of these papers in the Seminar itself which is a record achievement.

There will and bound to be many mistakes in this volume. Several things could have been improved probably the posterity will take it up and that will be our pleasure. For all the mistakes or lacunae, we are responsible and we offer our profound apologies to all concerned.

Dated 16-1-1976

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Council of Cultural Growth and
Culture Relations

FOREWORD

The scholarly papers on various aspects of Buddhism and Jainism that have been incorporated here to form this single volume were actually presented at the International Seminar on Buddhism and Jainism held at Cuttack, Orissa from 11th to 16th January, 1976 under the auspices of the Institute of Oriental and Orissan Studies. The seminar had, as participants, distinguished scholars from all over India, besides, fifteen from foreign countries. The book 'Buddhism and Jainism' in one volume and about/pages the work of eminent scholars of India and abroad presents a panorama of Buddhism and Jainism, the ancient but leading philosophies of India and makes a remarkable contribution to the cultural history and philosophy of India, nay, the whole world. The work brings together the two different systems of Thoughts evolved from the dawn of reflection and continued down to the present day revealing to our view the glimmerings of these cultures.

The topics of learned scholars have been planned and grouped in such a manner that the volume may be fairly complete and cater to the need of those interested in any branch of Buddhist and Jaina learning and we hope, will provide a useful guide to the study of Buddhology and Jainology.

The Council of Cultural Growth and Cultural Relations which intends to undertake various steps for the Cultural development and cultural relations among different nations and peoples has sponsored the Institute of Oriental and Orissan Studies in fulfilment of one of the multidimensional projects. The Institute is vested with the promotion of leaning and study of complex cultural phenomena. This first volume as an outcome of the International Seminar on Buddhism and Jainism is one of the humble responsibilities of the Institute ; it also serves to fulfil a primary aim and objective to promote various spheres of oriental and Orissan cultures and disseminate the rich cultural heritage to the International arena. The success in the organization of an International Seminar and publication of this volume, greatly helps in assessing our long-cherished desire and intention and enlarging our activities in multi-proportional dimension. This Seminar is only the first in a series of further Seminars on various problems proposed to be organized in every two years. The newly

established Library 'The Universe' one of the basic constituents of the Institute, may serve the purpose of the scholars desirous of undertaking research on any branch of Oriental learning.

The variety of subjects covered by the Volume demanded a selection of eminent scholars with specialized knowledge to scrutinise and edit the materials. It was a hard and stupendous task for the three Editors Dr. H. C. Das, Professor C. R. Das and Shri S. R. Pal to edit the papers. They had to face several problems solution of some of which were beyond all of us. Leaving it to the posterity to eradicate the omission and commission that will be our great pleasure- we have tried to bring out the best possible volume under the existing circumstances.

BIJAY KRUSHNA MOHANTY

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and Cultural Relations*

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INTRODUCTION

This book is an outcome of the International Seminar on Buddhism and Jainism held at Cuttack, Orissa from 11th to 16th January 1976 under the auspices of the Institute of Oriental and Orissan Studies. The volume aims at presenting a historical and philosophical expositions of the development of Buddhism and Jainism in India and foreign countries through ages. This may be claimed as an unique contribution to the scholarly world as it comprises of many valuable papers on different aspects of Two Thoughts. The esteemed papers on various aspects of Buddhism and Jainism discussed in the Seminar are incorporated in this volume. The scope of the work is much broader and wider than what is indicated in the title "Buddhism and Jainism". The learned scholars of India and foreign countries through their valuable contributions graced the occasion and made this discourse possible.

The whole work is divided in to two parts:—the first part on History and Archaeology and the second part on Philosophy and Religion. The aspects of Buddhism and Jainism incorporated in the first part summarily cover epigraphy, iconography, Buddhology, linguistics, Buddhist texts, relationship of Buddhism with Jainism, Buddhism and religious tradition, the role of foreigners in early Indian Buddhism, Places of Buddhist and Jaina interest, contribution of these two religions to world culture, Mahavir and Jainism, the origin of Buddhism and Brahmanism, different schools of Buddhism etc. The second part deals with various doctrines, metaphysical and philosophical analysis, their ethics and their importance in modern life, law of karma and rebirth, anatta, the non-absolutistic attitude, Buddhist Nirvana, its significance in contemporary thought and life, a philosophical perspective of Buddha and Mahavira, Jaina cosmology, educational foundations of Jaina and Buddhist philosophy, various schools of Buddhist philosophy which from historical and philosophical points of view give a clear picture of what Buddhism and Jainism are. This book in full coverage of all these aspects of two thoughts may be of great concern to the scholars who intend to go deep into the matter.

Buddhism and Jainism two distinct religious movements of civilisation in the hoary past had profoundly affected the religious and moral ideas of the time and acted as catalytic factors in transforming the then social order.

Both of these religious faiths having cardinal principles of kindness, humanity and equality which influenced the human life through ages, had their solid background in the literature, religions and philosophies as well as in the social, educational and other institutions. The liberal attitude shown by the exponents and their ardent followers in throwing doors open to all who wished to participate in the religious orders found general acceptance. The two systems since the time of their origin waged merciless campaigns against the Vedic animal sacrifices of the Brahmanical order and acted as penacila to the suffering mass of the graded society where sharp distinction existed between man and man and between caste and caste. The unique positions held by the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas in the hierarchical order through centuries got a set back in the face of these humanist forces.

The cult of sacrifice with elaborate rituals followed by inevitable philosophical discussion and corrupt practices of the priestly class were responsible in creating social reaction from which emerged new intellectual movements led by the Srammans who in rejection of the authority of vedas and Brahmins upheld the ideas of personal purity, renunciation, asceticism and empirical knowledge. Ancient literature speaks of five types of wandering Srammans including the Nigranthas (Jainas) and Ajivikas who were though brought up on Brahmanic lore broke away from the main stream and preached new ethics and philosophies against the Vedic order. The Buddhist literature mentions of six Sramman leaders contemporary to Buddha each of whom established a school of his own. It is further known from these texts that Ajatasatru, the king of Magadha interviewed these wandering teachers individually to know the result of their ascetic practices. Each of them well-known in the country as the founder of a school with a large following expounded his view-point to the king.

Nigrantha Nataputta who has been identified with Mahavira, the last Tirthankara of the Jainism was one of these six thinkers interviewed by Ajatasatru. His ethical doctrines similar to that of Parsva who preached 250 years before Mahavira consist of (1) not to kill living things, (2) not to take articles of use unless they are given, (3) not to tell a lie (4) not to take a wife or to lead a celibated life (5) and not to have worldly possessions except clothes.

According to Jaina literature Jainism is not only an ethical system but also a philosophy based on the doctrine of Anekanta or syadvada which looks at two aspects of everything, the eternal and non-eternal. The soul undergoes migration according to good or bad deeds. Jiva exists in everything. The soul is to be kept pure from contamination and to release it from worldly life it is

necessary to practise restraint. In order to achieve this one must acquire right knowledge, faith and conduct. The next great teacher and preacher contemporary of Buddha was Gosala, who belonged to the sect of Ajivikas. This sect is no more in existence but was very popular for sometime and received royal patronage. The doctrine propounded by Gosala is known as samsara-visudhi or the doctrine of attaining purity only by passing through all kinds of existence. He advocated that all creatures were destined to pass through samsara and their misery would come to an end at the completion of the cycle. The remaining four teachers who upheld independent doctrines of Akriya or non-action, kassapa etc, did not imprint mark on the posterity as did Mahavira and Buddha. If the philosophical doctrines of the great thinkers (including Buddha and Mahavira) are analyzed from the sociological and historical perspectives it will be found that all upheld the view against the Brahmanical order, and Buddha and Mahavira owed a great deal to the thinkers senior to them and their philosophical expositions. While Mahavir followed the extreme path, the self-mortification, Buddha followed the Middle-path.

Buddhism and Jainism occupy the foremost position among the sramman sects. Ample materials are there to prove the real attitude taken up by them in the matter of philosophy and religion. Denouncement of the authority of the Vedas and Brahmanical Order, inclusion to their communities all types of people irrespective of their social rank and religious carrier, detached life with a view to liberating themselves from the wordly life, the life of renunciation and living a community life secluded from the rest of the society were the common characteristics of these religious sects. Both Buddha and Mahavir took into account the disintegrating tribal Communities in the face of emerging state power and modelled their 'orders (sanghas) on the basic principle of tribal societies and advised their fellow ascetics to mould their lives accordingly. While building up the orders on this model they took great care to see that the ascetics in the order lived a pious and detached life (detachment from the society where historical and social transformation was in force at large beyond their reach to change).

Jainism is one of the oldest religions in India. The Jaina literature and tradition indicate that this eternal religion was revealed repeatedly by twenty-four Tirthankars. Their earliest prophet Risavadeva or Risavnath finds mention in the Visnu and Bhagabat Purans. Neminatha who is said to have belonged to the Yadava clan as Krishna and who is regarded as the twenty second Tirthankar led this Order during the Mahabharata war. Parsvanatha the 23rd Tirthakar who was born at Varanasi in the 8th century B. C. gave a real shape to Jainism. Parsva like all other Tirthakaras was born in a royal kshatriya family. The Uttaradhyayan Sutra, one of the earliest texts of the Jaina canon, emphasizes the historicity of Parsva and gives in detail a number

of ancient cities (in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and the neighbouring regions) visited by him. The archaeological excavations in some of the cities like Varanasi, Ahicchatra, Hastinapura and Kausambi prove that these places were possibly associated with Parsva. The history of Jainism beyond Parsvanath is shrouded in mystery and is based mainly on legends and tradition. Neminatha the 22nd Tirthankara was born in the Yadava family of Sauriyapura which has been indentified with a place near Agra. He is depicted as a cousin of Lord Krishna and married a princess called Rajulamati the daughter of Ugresena, the king of Girinagara. The animal sacrifices particularly on festive occasions caused remorse in his heart and he renounced the wordly life. He became a Kevalin after performance of penance on the Girnar mountain. He laid stress on Ahimsa the first cardinal principle of Jainism. Similar to the earlier Tirthankars Nami was also a king of Mithila in the line of the dynasty of Janaka and ultimately renounced the world for the cause of the suffering humanity. As has been stated earlier Risabha the first Tirthankara is referred to by Puranas and Rigveda. Rigveda mentions of the vatarasana munis who put on dirty clothes, and living in an extatic mood practised the vow of mouna (speechlessness). Risabha was perhaps the most prominent. He may be described as the traditional originator of the Jaina doctrine of asceticism different from the Vedic tradition.

The history of Jainism during the long period of two hundred and fifty years that elapsed between the nirvana of Parsva and rise of Mahavira is shrouded in mystery. But it appears from the Jaina and Budddist literature that there were many non-vedic sects and schools. The Jaina sutra refers to 363 while the Buddhist sutra mentions of 63 seets and schools. The Jainas group these 363 schools broadly into four. viz., the Kriyavada, the Akriyavada, the Ajnanavada and the Vinayavada, Mahavira the last Tirthankara being the upholder of Kriyavada. It has been proved by historical research that Mahavira, the last Tirthankar by dint of his supernatural power and dynamic force caused the spread of Jianism in a more sporadic way in many parts of India. He is introduced in some Buddhist texts as the head of an Order, of a following, the teacher of a School well-known as a sophist revered by people. Born at Kundagrama near a city of Vaisali in a royal famaly his nirvana took place at Pava in Patna district of Bihar in 527 B. C.

The Buddhist texts specifically mention of Rajagaha (Rajagriha) Nalanda, Alambhika (between Rajagriha and Sravasti), Pava, Champapur (near Bhagalpur) Dadhabhumi (Dhalbhum in Singbhum district), Kajangala (Kanakjor in Santal Pargana), Kausambi (near Allahabad), Radha (West Bengal), Mithila (Janakpur, Nepalese Tarain), Malaya (Nirgaya, Bihar), Purimatala (Purulia, Bihar), Sravasti, (Suheth-Muheth in Gonda-Bahraich districts), Siddharthapura (Siddhanagar in Birbhum district), Tosali (Dhauli, Puri district of Orissa), Varanasi, Vaisali etc. as the places of activities of Mahavira and his immediate followers. In addition to these many other places are

associated with him. This is a clear indication that Mahavira spread his religion in Bihar, West Bengal, UttarPradesh, Orissa and in other parts of Eastern India.

The tradition relates that Mahavira had fourteen thousand monks, thirty-six thousand nuns and about half a million lay devotees, and even many kings, and queens, princes and princesses came under his magic spell.

Organisation of church was entrusted to a band of eleven chief disciples who are known as Ganadharas. They maintained proper discipline of the community church and caused propagation of Jainism under the guidance of Mahavira. The organisational capacity of Mahavira and the fervent devotion of his disciples made the religion popular among all types of people.

Soon after the demise of this great prophet two scism-Svetambara and Digambara-took place which influenced the pattern of subsequent development of Jainism. Post-Mahavira and pre-Mauryan era ushered a new epoch in the history of Jainism. The Jaina and Buddha tradition relate that some predecessors of the Nandas of 4th century B. C. particularly Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru were staunch followers of Jainism. The later Nandas have been described to have patronised Jainism in their kingdom and Sagadala a minister in the court of a Nanda king was the father of a Jaina ascetic. According to Jaina Harivamsa Purana Mahavira came to Tosali (in Kalinga) to preach his doctrine. Since then Jainism continued to flourish in Kalinga till the rise of Mahameghavahana Kharavela, chedi Emperor of Kalinga.

Leaving aside the literary sources we have the archaeological evidence in regard to spread of Jainism. The Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela (1st century B. C.) records that the Kalinga jina taken away by the Nandaraja, (who has been identified with Mahapadmananda) was brought back by Kharavela in his twelfth reign year and the canal dug out by the Nanda king in Kalinga was renovated and extended. Kharavela retaliated the loss of honour of Kalinga by waging a war against the unscrupulous Nandas and bringing back the Kalinga Jinasana to Kalinga. This recorded information proves that there was continuous rivalry between Kalinga and Magadha in the 5th century B. C. particularly on the issue of religion.

Kharavela's contribution to the cause of Jainism is unparalleled. For the abode of the ascetics he caused excavation of 117 cave temples in the Kumari Parvat (Udayagiri) in the thirteenth year of his reign. The walls of several caves were decorated with bas-relief of the scene of worship of Jaina symbols, dancing performances, war scenes etc., some of the stories being connected with the life of Kharavela. These exquisite relief work can be equated to those bas-reliefs in Barhut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchi and claim to be the earliest specimens of Jaina art in Orissa.

The history of Jainism in Orissa after the fall of Kharavela till the 7th century is lost in oblivion. The stray Jaina antiquities we have come across in different part of Orissa indicate that Jainism continued to flourish with Buddhism and Saivism till the late mediaval period. Jajpur, Cnetack, Narsinghpur (in Cuttack district), Bhubaneswar, Prachi valley (in Puri district) Ajodhya, Jaleswar Balasore (in Balasore district), Baripada, Khiching and its environs, (in Mayurbhanj district), Baudakhia, Podasingidi, Panchua, Hatadiha (in Keonjhar district), Nandapur (in Koraput district) and a number of bronze images from Banpur (Puri district) now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, exhibit the representative specimens of Jaina art and architectures. The Soamavamsi kings who were staunch Saivites patronized Jainism as known from the inscriptions in the Lalatendu Keshari cave, the Navamuni cave and Varabhuji cave of Khandagiri excavated in the reign of Udyotakeshari (1040–165 A. D.).

The Jaina literature mentions frequently about the patronization of Jainism by some Mauryan kings. Chandragupta appears to have been a disciple of a Jaina monk and contributed for the Sramans. Meghasthenes, the Greek envoy to the court of Chandragupta refers to a number of Sramanas. Samprati, grandson of Asoka, the viceroy of Ujjain contributed a lot for spread of Jainism. He not only patronised the Jaina monastic institution but also observed sporadically the festivals and worship of Jaina Tirthankars. During his reign this popular religion flourished in Andhra, Dravida, Maharashtra and Coorg. The Gujrat Kathiawar region came under the impact of Jainism through the noble effort of Salisuka, the brother of Samprati. A rock-cut inscription of second century B. C. which begins with a Jaina formula speaks of Jainism in the Satavahna country. The rulers of Kadamba kingdom as is known from their inscriptions popularised Jainism in wider scale. The recent discovery of a Jain cave inscription of 2nd century B. C., at Pune district by the Professor H. D. Sankalia attests that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Central and Northern India. Mathura in Northern India exhibits the relics of Jaina Stupas and inscriptions. The excavations of Kankalitila at Mathura have brought to light the remains of a brick stupa, images of Tirthankaras, railing pillars and fragmentary pieces belonging to Kusana period. "The evidence from Mathura is of utmost importance in the history of the development of Jainism. The numerous inscriptions bespeak the fact that Jainism had a large following among the trading and lower classes of the society as the donations came from such class as treasurers, perfumers, workers in metals, members of goshthis, village-headmen, wives of caravan leaders, merchants, wives of dancers goldsmiths, and also countezans. The inscriptions also refer to various gahas, Kulas, sakhas and sambogas, which indicate a well-knit organisation of the church. The find of several images of Tirthankaras also proves that idol-worship had been completely stabilized by this time".

During the early centuries of Christian era Mathura in the North and Shravanabelgola in the South were the great centres of Jainism as is attested by the discovery of inscriptions, cult images and various other monuments. The subsequent centuries witnessed a great upsurge of Jainism under the royal patronage of Gangas, Rastrakutas, Calukyas, Kadambas, Haihayas and Paramaras. The discovery of a large number of images, inscriptions, ruined temples and stupas bespeak the heyday of Jainism in these regions. The inscriptions, pillar and Tirthankara images of the Pratiharas at Deogarh, the ruined Ghantai temples, the majestic Adinatha and Parsvanath images at Khajuraho of the time of Candellas, the monumental, sculptural and inscriptional remains at Malwa, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Uttarpradesh under the Haihayas and Paramaras, the copper plate inscriptions of the Calukyas from Kolhopur, Aihole, Lakshaneswar and Badami in the Deccan region, the rock-cut caves at Ellora assignable to the period of Rastrakutas clearly indicate the prevalence and continuity of Jainism in different parts of India beginning from the earliest time to the late mediaeval period. The royal patronage to this popular religion caused development in art and literature. Many Jaina scholars and poets of great repute flourished to uphold the Jaina philosophy. Mention may be made of Dhavala and Jayadhanala, the monumental works of Virasena, Mahapurana of Jinasena and Gunabhadra and the works of Hemachandra.

The accounts given above prove that Jainism flourished in India as a continuous cultural process under the patronage of the kings, emperors, their ministers and the merchant classes. The patrons of this faith left to the posterity the magnificent art and architecture in the form of temples, stupas, paintings, numerous manuscripts, a galaxy of embellished icons and lastly the cultural principle which has become a part of life in India.

The linguistic development in India owes its indebtedness to Jainism. The Jainas instead of using Sanskrit as the medium of sacred writing and preaching utilized the prevailing regional languages. In this way, they exercised a predominant influence on the development of Prakrit languages and shaped some of the regional languages. To make the people understand of his philosophy Mahavira himself preached in the Ardha-Magadhi dialect. The teachings of Mahavira in Ardha-Magadhi languages recorded in the canonical texts were reconstructed ten centuries after his Nirvan. The rich literature of the Jainas that has evolved through ages has given birth to the regional languages like Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi. The language thus adopted by the Jainas acted as a link between the classical languages and the modern regional dialect. The earliest literature in Kannada and Tamil are also greatly indebted to this language.

The contribution of the Jainas to the development of art and architecture is really marvellous and unfathomable. The idea of realization of the spiritual self through severe discipline, self-control, renunciation and austerity is embodied in the form of art. It is perhaps with this view the monarchs have

contributed lavishly to erect luxuriant temples, stupas, graceful figures of Jaina pantheon which continue as the treasure of Indian culture through ages. Hence it is said, "The emotional, devotional and popular aspects of the creed as well necessiated the creation of various works of art and architecture, and in making them really beautiful no pains or money were spread. Nevertheless the spirit of the Jaina religion is clearly reflected in its art, which, though very varied and luxuriant, is characterised by a marked absence of the erotic, vulgar or common. It is rather sober, sublime and uplifting inspiring feelings of self-abnegation, peace and equanimity, besides giving aesthetic pleasure. A sort of worldliness that is attached to it is conducive to the attainment or spiritual contemplation and the upper-reaches of self-realisation".

The Jaina art and architecture comprise of stupas, the stone railings, decorated gateways, stone umbrellas, carved pillars, numerous images scattered usually on the mountain tops, secluded places inside the jungles and in peaceful places away from the human habitation suitable for concentrated meditation and spiritual contemplation. The Jaina monuments of Mathura, the Jaina images of Bundelkhand (11/12th century A. D.), the colossal statues of Bahubalin of Shravanapelnagola and Karkala in Karnataka (10th century A. D.), the colossal reliefs on the rock-face near Gwalior (belonging to 15th century A. D.), the rock-cut caves with profusely carved reliefs depicting different scenes and Hatigumpha inscription and bas reliefs in the hillocks of Upayagiri and Khandagiri, Orissa (1st century B. C.), the Jaina caves at Ellora, the numerous places of Jaina pilgrimage, such as, the Parasanath hills, Pavapuri and Rajgir in Bihar and Girnar in Kathiawar possessing architectural monuments of different periods, the Jaina marble temples at Mount Abu in Rajasthan (11th century A. D.) are the finest examples of the Jaina art and architecture.

Buddhism similar to that of Jainism with its origin in the 6th century B. C. influenced the culture of India and many other foreign countries through the ages and stimulated the intellectual and spiritual wealth to an unprecedented degree. By virtue of its humanist force, intrinsic vitality and spiritual energy this cultural fluorescence crossed over the country of its origin into the vast lands of Asia. Its resurgent vitality based on the cardinal principles of equality humanity and kindness attracted the rulers, teachers, preachers, saints and common mass as well,

Buddha as Mahavira was born in the Kshatriya clan of Sakyas at Kapilavastu and also led the aristocratic life in the palace till the age of twenty-nine. The gorgeous palace life appeared intolerable to him. The sight of an old man, sickman and a dead man in the pleasure garden of the palace brought in him a deep sense of sorrow and the miseries of the worldly life. He realised that freedom from miseries could be possible by renouncement of the worldly life. His flight from the worldly life at the age of twenty-nine for permanent solution of

the problem of human suffering and for pursuit of a true religion, the only ultimate goal of a worthy man, was a land-mark in the history of Indian religion.

In course of his wanderings, as it is said, he followed every cult of ascetism prevailing at that time. Still in search of better knowledge he came at last to mount Kio-ke, (identified with modern Gaya), the pain-suffering forest, where the sight of five Bhikkhus virtuously keeping in check their senses, holding to the rules of moral conduct and practising mortification moved him seriously. Finally he occupied a spot on the bank of the river Niranjana to endure mortification, to restrain every bodily passion and to give up worldly thought. In this way he lost himself in thoughtful meditation for continuous six years. This mode of penance through mortification bears testimony to the Jaina view. The Jaina tradition also relates that he was a great learned disciple of the Jaina saint Pihitashrawa who ordained him in the Sangha of Sri Parsva in the town of Palasha located near the river Sarayu and after sometime he broke away from this order and preached his own Dharma. This view cannot be rejected altogether on the ground that the place where the Buddha first got ordained as a Jaina muni has been accurately identified, and accepted by both Jaina and Buddhist as the sacred place of ordination. In addition to this it may not be exaggeration to mention that the Buddha in course of his wanderings and scholarly discussions with the different sects of ascetics must have been influenced by the Nigranthas. Furthermore the Discourses of Gotama by Silachara indicates that Buddha himself declared to have practised the preliminary austerity of a Jaina muni; i. e. the practice of uprooting and pulling out the hairs of head and beard which is known as the kesa-lomakriya of a Jaina saint. Thus, Buddha followed different courses of srammanship.

Buddha could not attain the knowledge of truth even after six years of strict austerity and mortification. He gave up ascetic practices and resumed the normal life. On regaining his mental vigour and bodily health he sat in deep meditation for seven weeks under the shade of a Bodhi tree and finally attained Enlightenment. On the last day of the seventh week while moving under a Rajayatana tree he was entertained with varieties of cakes and honey by Tapassu and Bhallika, two merchants from Kalinga. The Enlightened or the Tathagata with a view to cause reform to the social conditions of the country in general and among the wandering ascetics in particular he preached his religion and founded an order which ultimately relieved the suffering humanity. The First Sermon he delivered at Rishipatana amidst a few followers is known as dharma-chakra pravartana (setting the wheel of law in motion). The four Noble Truths he expounded are dukha (suffering), samudaya (the cause of suffering), nirodha (the removal of the cause) and marga (the way to remove suffering).

To relieve the suffering mass Buddha prescribed the Middle Path (madhyama Pratipat) which leads to the end of everything i. e. nirvana. The Middle Path comprises of eightfold Paths (astangika marga)—right views (samyak dristi), right thoughts (samyak sankalpa), right speech (samyak vak), right action (samyak karmanta), right means of livelihood (samyak ajva), right exertion (samyak vyayama), right mindfulness (samyak smriti), and right meditation (samyak samadhi). In recognition of karman Buddhism is more akin to Hinduism but in its ethical aspects it lays stress on the observance of strictly moral life and denounces the vedic practices of sacrifices, superstitions and castes.

The nucleus of Buddha's order was formed with five ascetics. In course of time people of all castes and creed came under the magic spell of the Enlightened and entered the monastic Order. The indefatigable efforts, missionary zeal of the Buddha and inclusion of people from all walks of life made his religion popular. In order to maintain strict discipline and integrity in the Samgha and to lead a pious life he laid down a set of rules.

The systematic missionary activities of Buddha began with sixty ardent followers. He himself started for Urubilva where by showing a number of miracles like subduing a snake in the fire-chapel, walking over the flooded water of Niranjana river he converted the fire-worshipping Kashyapa brothers and many more people of his caste. By way of wandering he came to the court of Bimbisara who expressed his deep sense of gratitude, accorded highest honour and presented several places for abode of the ascetics. These places later on came to be regarded as the places of Buddhist interest. Sariputra and Mandgalyayana the ascetics of some other sects were converted to Buddhism and became the ardent disciples of Buddha. On request of his father Sudhodana, the ruling chief of Kapilavastu, Buddha came here with a band of his followers. By dint of his miraculous feats and magical powers he converted many Sakyas of Kapilavastu including his son Rahula. During the long span of his missionary activities Buddha visited and consecrated Rajagriha, Sravasti (in the monastery of this city Buddha spent the largest number of years and delivered the largest number of discourses), Vaisali, Bharga (region in between Yamuna and Sonnerivers) Kausambi (Kosam in the district of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh), Veranga (near Mathura) Kanyakubja (Kanauj, Uttar Pradesh), Prayag (Allahabad), Varanasi, Anga, Avanti, Nalanda, Pataligrama (Patna, Bihar), Pava and Kusinagara converting a large following which formed the nucleus of Buddhism in later centuries.

Buddha in course of his preaching had to face a number of powerful rival sects which individually tried to establish supremacy over the other. But Buddha by dint of his superior Supernatural power and miraculous feats won over everybody. As for example, in one occasion in the presence of teachers

king Prasenjit and large gathering at Sravasti he multiplied his body in different mudras which is regarded as a great incident in the life of Buddha and in the history of Buddhism. A band of his rivals set against Buddha a beautiful girl named Cinca who pretended to pay visit to the Buddha at Jatavana and simulated pregnancy. To test the dubious character of the lady he performed a miracle, as a matter of fact the lady was swallowed up by the mother earth. On another occasion a lady ascetic Sundari by name having been persuaded by a group of plotters pretended to have visited Buddha at Jetavana. Unfortunately the lady was murdered by the same plotters and her dead body was left in the same forest. It so happened that the murderers themselves expressed the truth before the Lord. Devadatta a scion of Sakya family was a born enemy of Buddha and developed an inveterate hatred towards him. He plotted several times to murder him but all his attempts failed. Being an adept in magical art he won over the heart of the prince Ajatasatru and made a determined effort to displace the Buddha from the Samgha. On failure of this attempt he hired archers to assassinate the Buddha but assassins themselves confessed their guilt and became converts. On another occasion Devadatta hurled a huge block of stone on the Buddha while he was walking on the foot of Gijjhakuta hill. His disciples being aware of danger provided guard for his safety but he denied saying that it was impossible for anybody to deprive him of his life. Finally Devadatta arranged to let loose the fierce elephant, Nalagiri on the way to be traversed by the Buddha. Despite the warnings of his disciples he proceeded on the way and performed a miracle. The maddened elephant watched the arrival of the Lord and knelt before him to pay homage.

The mischief of Devadatta did not end here. His last attempt was to create a schism in the holy Order. With this view, he misled five hundred newly converted foolish monks from Vaisali to join his new order. Sariputta and Moggalina were ordered to win over the misled ascetics. Ultimately these two ardent disciples of Buddha could persuade the whole gang of five hundred monks to return to Vaisali. On confession of their fault they were pardoned and brought back into the Order. At last Devadatta repented for his evil deeds and wished to see the Buddha who with his heart full of compassion immediately proceeded amidst great rejoicing to see Devadatta. But unfortunately the last wish of Devadatta remained unfulfilled as he died before the arrival of the Buddha.

Soon after this incident the Buddha was greatly shocked to hear the news of murder of his royal friend Bimbisara by his son Ajatasatru. On hearing discourses from the Buddha Ajatasatru confessed his guilt and said, "Transgression overcame me, Lord, in that, in folly, stupidity and wickedness. for the sake of Lordship, I deprived my righteous father, the righteous king, of life. May the Lord, accept my transgression as transgression, that I may be restrained in the future."

The Mahaparinibanna Sutta relates that the Buddha at the age of seventy-nine made his last journey in the company of disciples from Rajagriha to Vaisali where he halted for sometime in the mango-grove of Amrapalli. On his way to Beluva he was taken seriously ill, but always insisted on journey for the cause of religion. Master's illness was a grave concern for Ananda who instantly urged upon him to decide the future of the Order after him. The Buddha calmly explained, "Ananda, dwell as having refuges in yourselves, resorts in yourselves, and not elsewhere, as having refuges in the Doctrine, resorts in the Doctrine and not elsewhere."

On his way to Pava (Fazilpur near Kasia) the Buddha halted in the mango grove of Chunda who honoured him with a special dish prepared out of a kind of mushroom relished by pigs. Buddha fell seriously ill but continued his journey. In his fatal illness he told Ananda that Chunda's act in giving him the last meal was conducive to a great merit, as great as the merit for one who gave him meal immediately before his enlightenment. The journey of the Great Master stopped for ever in the sacred sal forest of Kusinara. He exclaimed, "Come Ananda, Ananda, arrange a bed with the head to the north. I am suffering, and would lie down." Even at the last stage he answered every question and cleared every doubt put by his disciples. When not a single question remained unanswered everybody observed silence. Buddha the Tathagata was satisfied and finally said, "Now then, monks, I address you; subject to decay are compound things; strive with earnestness,," "Thus ended the miraculous life of the illustrious prophet in the sal forest of Kusinara. The story of Buddha and his enlightenment as detailed above, is a wonderful drama of the triumph of a human spirit, that is restless, being satiated with the common place platitudes of life, and hungering for a higher order of reality. It is essentially, a story of a triumphant adventure of the human mind, in untrodden realms of spiritual conquest. His giving up the torture of the body, and turning to normal food and life, when he found, that path, did not give him, any mental peace, is an event of memorable courage, on the part of a seeker after truth, who was prepared to renounce, the old and traditional ideas, when they could no longer satisfy the inner craving of his spirit."

The physical body of the Buddha came to an end with the Mahaparinirvana but the beauty and dignity of his sacred life, the earnestness and enthusiasm of his love of mankind, the wisdom and eloquence of his message won the hearts of people, changed their mental make up and character. The place hallowed by the dust of his feet became centres of veneration and pilgrimage for millions. Those very places became sites of shrines, the architecture, sculpture of which are still the most precious objects of admiration to all. The Buddha before his parinirvana spoke his disciples of four important places which should be visited by all-Lumbini where the Buddha was born, Bodha Gaya where he attained enlightenment, the Deer Park (Saranath) where he

proclaimed the dharma chakra pravartana and Kusinara where he attained his parinirvana. The Buddhist texts associate four other places where the Buddha performed miracles. By performance of miracle at Saranath the Buddha confounded the leaders of the Tirthika sect. Sankasya, another holy spot (in Uttar Pradesh) is connected with the life of masar. Here he by dint of his miraculous feat descended from the heaven of thirty three gods and preached the Abhidhamma to his mother. Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, was the scene of another miracle in which he subdued the maddened elephant Nalagiri that was let loose by his jealous cousin Devadatta. At Vaisali he mesmerized the monkeys who honoured him with the offerings of honey.

These sacred places were regarded as sites of pilgrimage for followers who in honour of the Lord erected lofty structures in the form of Stupas. Viharas, temples, etc. the remains of which still exist today. The earliest, Buddhist remains are mostly found in Uttar Pradesh, Nepalese Tarai and Bihar which had been the playground of master's activities. Monasteries for abode of the ascetics particularly during the rainy season cropped up in these places even during the life time of the master. The kings, wealthy merchants and lay devotees caused erection of monasteries at some important centres of Buddha's activities. The conception of stupa which contains the mortal remains came during the life time of Buddha who instructed his disciples to erect stupa over his mortal remains. Immediately after his demise ten stupas were built in important places.

The centuries following the parinirvana of the Buddha till the rise of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka witnessed the consolidation of Buddhism. The Pali tradition relates that Great Buddhist councils were held to consolidate the canonical texts. The first Council was convened immediately after the parinirvana of the Buddha under the presidentship of Mahakassapa assisted by Ananda and Upali. This council settled up the Dhamma and Vinaya in pure form. The Second Council was held at Vaisali one century after the demise of the Buddha resulting in a schism in the church and secession of the Mahasmghikas. The Third Council convened by the celebrated Buddhist monarch Priyadarsi Asoka established the purity of the text imperilled by corrupt practices and teachings of different sects.

Asoka (c. 273—237 B. c.) is rightly regarded as the first monarch to take up the cause of Buddhism as a State religion. Through his noble deeds, ardent efforts, missionary zeal and ambition of dhamma vijaya Buddhism occupied a paramount position in India and abroad. Asoka during first few years of his reign followed like his predecessors the policy of conquest and aggrandizement. At the end of his eighth reign year the war against the independent Kalinga kingdom was one of the greatest landmarks in the history of Buddhism, nay in the history of India as the war was responsible in conversion of ' Chandasoka ' to ' Dhammasoka '. The horror of the war

stirred in him the feeling of remorse, profound sorrow and love for the humanity. "Thus the Kalinga war which turned the Chandasoka into a Dhammsoka and produced far-reaching effects on his policy of Dhamma and Dhamma vijaya was a great event in the history of India as well as of the world. It ushered in an era of spiritual imperialism flavoured by love in place of the era of military conquests slaughtered by blood and the world shaken by the terrible wars of Chandragupta..... got a new message of peace and brotherhood". It was evidently in Asokan period that Buddhism emerged as a distinct religion with great potentialities for expansion. As a consequence of the war the prosperous Kalinga came under the Mauryan empire and Tosali, the headquarters of the region (identified with Sisupalgarh and its environs at Bhubaneswar) emerged as an important centre of Buddhism.

Asoka realized the importance of this religion based on moral virtues such as observance of truth, restraint, kindness, charity, purity, gentleness, respect, liberality to friends and tolerance for all religions, sects and respect for Sramannas, Brahmanas, Ajivkas and Jainas and he made people to pay reverence to the Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha. He caused codification of all Buddhist texts for benefit of the people at large and engraved the teachings of the Lord in the places of Buddhist interest. In the twentieth year of his reign Asoka paid visit to Lumbini, the birth place of the Lord and erected a pillar bearing an inscription that he (Asoka) visited the place; visited Bodhi Gaya where the Lord attained enlightenment; Saranath where the First sermon was delivered. The pillars in these places bear inscriptions as warnings to those who try to break the unity of the Samgha. As an ardent follower of Buddhism he recognised the sanctity of life and banned the slaughter of animals and animal sacrifices on ceremonial occasions. Religious officers were appointed in different provinces to help the people in observance of the pious rules of Buddhism. Rock edicts and stone pillars were engraved and set in conspicuous places where the people at large could read pious life. In course of time these places sprang up as centres of Buddhist pilgrimage. The religious tours conducted by the monarch and his officials to the places of veneration and religious discussions with the ascetics made the people realize importance of the religion. The existing monastic establishments were properly patronised and new monasteries sprang up to accommodate more ascetics. While scrutinising the activities in the monasteries Asoka came across many corrupt practices performed by the ascetics. Hence in order to determine the true nature of Dhamma and banish the infidel ascetics and uproot corruption from the monasteries Asoka convened the Third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra. In accordance with the decision of the Council systematic missionary activities were taken up for the spread of Buddhism in and outside India. Religious missions were sent to Gandhara, Kashmir, Himalayan region, Greek

countries, the Western parts of India, to Vanarasi, Mysore and as far as Ceylon and Subarnabhumi in the South. It is further learnt from the thirteenth rock edict of Asoka that he spread the religion in the far off countries like Syria, Egypt, Greece and all parts of India and for happiness of all beings he had established hospitals, dug wells and tanks and planted trees and medicinal herbs. Asoka thus laid the solid foundation of Buddhism on the edifice of which further expansion took place in later centuries. During Sunga period Buddhism lost royal patronage but continued as a popular religion. A number of large Buddhist establishments such as Bharut stupa, Sanchi stupa and Kule caves are ascribable to this period. The worship of Buddha and cult objects were introduced. The Pali literature indicates that Buddhism spread in Greek countries during the reign of Asoka got the royal patronage under the king Menander. He not only caused establishment of monasteries in his country and made large donations to the establishment in India but also took missionary activities. The Greeks in India also evolved a new style of Buddhist art known as Indo-Greek, the remains of which are still found in Punjab and north-western region.

Kaniska was another great champion of Buddhism. Through his missionary zeal the religion spread further to China and Central Asia and the Indo-Greek school of Buddhist art attained the height of glory. Mahayana school of Buddhism gained momentum during this period. The Fourth Buddhist Council was convened to discuss various interpretations of Buddha's teachings. The galaxy of renowned scholars associated with Kaniska are Nagarjuna, the great exponent of the Madhyamika philosophy, Asvaghosa, the author of Buddha charita, Vasumitra, the President of the Fourth Buddhist Council, Parsva, the leader of the Sravastivada School and many others.

The reign of Guptas is also a landmark in the expansion of Buddhism. Although the Gupta rulers were followers of Brahmanism they showed tolerance to this religion, rather caused its development. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian who came to India during the reign of Chandragupta II records that Uddiyana, Gandhara, Mathura, Kanauj, Kosala, Magadha and Tamralipti were the flourishing centres of Buddhism. The Buddhist relics at Mathura, Sarnath, Nalanda, Ajanta, Dhanyakataka bespeak the flourishing condition of Buddhism during the Gupta period. The Buddhist centres strided ahead in producing Buddhist images with remarkable improvements over the earlier schools. The images of Buddha at Sarnath in graceful appearance, life-size Buddha image at Sultanganj, figures of Padmapani Avalokiteswar, Vajrapani and Maitreya are a few representative specimens of Gupta period.

Soon after the worship of images was introduced in Buddhism temples were constructed to enshrine them. One of the earliest temples is found at Sanchi. Hieun-Tsang in his account has indicated the existence of many

Buddhist temples in different parts of India, but unfortunately many of them have been superimposed by the Hindu temples, and some of them demolished by the invaders.

The reign of Harsavardhan in the seventh century A. D. is a landmark in the history of Buddhism. The glowing account of Hieun-Tsang who was travelling the country during the period indicates that some of the old Buddhist centres lost the past glory while many new centres emerged. The monastic institution at Nalanda attained the status of university which attracted students from the Buddhist world. Harsavardhan contributed revenue of one hundred villages towards maintenance of the University and added several lofty structures to house ascetics and students of Buddhist learning. The Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang spent several years in this University to study Buddhist texts.

The Palas (8th to 10th Century A. D.) of Eastern India and the Bhaumakaras (8th to 10th Century A. D.) of Orissa as staunch Buddhists heightened the glory of Buddhism to an unprecedented degree. Under their active patronage many new centres rose into eminence. Somapura Mahavihara, the largest of its kind in India, the Vikramasila monastery (near Colgong, in Bhagalpur), Odantapuri Mahavihara (near Nalanda), Jugaddala Mahavihara are some of the monasteries of international repute built by the Pala rulers for the cause of Buddhism. While laying stress to these new monastic establishments the illustrious Pala kings took active steps in embellishing the famous Nalanda University. The fame of this university was so widespread that the Sailendra ruler, Balaputradeva of Sumatra built a monastery there and on his request Devapala, the third ruler of Pala dynasty granted five villages for its maintenance.

The Bhaumakar kings of Orissa (8th to 10th century A. D.) who are rightly recognised as the Buddhist rulers spread the culture of this land throughout India and in far off China. Subhakar Deva-I, learned king of this dynasty and an ardent follower of Buddhism deputed 'Prajna, a scholar of international fame to China with the autograph manuscript of Gandavyuha for presentation to the Chinese Emperor. The Bhaumakars made Buddhism the State religion and for its spread and development caused the erection of monasteries, Viharas, Stupas embellished with graceful images of Buddhist pantheon in different parts of Orissa, the most important of which are seen at Udaygiri, Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Jajpur and Chowdar (in Cuttack district), Banpur, Tosali and Dhauli (in Puri district), Boudh (in Phulbani district), Ajodhya, Khadipapa and Kupari (in Balasore district) and Khiching and its environs (in Mayurbhanja district).

The rule of the Palas and Bhaumakaras witnessed the rise of Tantric Buddhism known as Vajrayan cult, which developed an esoteric system of Sadhna accompanied by magic spells, Yoga (ordinary meditation), mudras (bodily pose), Kriya (rites), carya (duties of an officiating priest in worship), mandala (mystic diagrams), mantras (mystical spells) etc. The Tantric Buddhist

texts dealt with these practices and the directions for painting of different gods and goddesses of the Tantric pantheon. Thus Mahayana form of Buddhism gave rise to Vajrayan. Numerous images of this pantheon both in stone and bronze prepared in conformity with the dhyanas of Sadhanmala are found at Nalanda, Bodh-Gaya, Kurkihar, Amaravati, in different places of Orissa (Banpur), Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Ratnagiri, Khiching etc., Nagarjunakonda in Andhra.

The Buddhist art in Orissa formed a separate school under patronage of the kings and emperors of different dynasties exhibiting its own style and identity. With the rise of Bhaumakar as the patrons of Buddhism the Orissan art embarked upon a new phase of development excelling other schools of the time. The artistic conception and imagery, the stylistic presentation and representation of the lofty structures and images, the needle work fineness in execution, the divinely mysterious smile that lights up the countenance of the deities bespeak the best days of Orissan cultural heritage.

The muslim invasion from 12th century onward caused a tremendous loss to the art treasury of India. The lofty and gigantic Vikramasila mahavihara, Odantapuri mahavihara, Jagaddala mahavihara, Nalanda university, which developed as the greatest centres of Buddhist activities in the whole Buddhist world were broken to pieces by the unscrupulous Muslim invaders and the ascetics of these monasteries butchered mercilessly and the libraries burnt to ashes. Despite such irreparable loss Buddhism continued in some parts of Bengal and particularly in Orissa up to the 17th century A. D. The causes of the downfall of Buddhism in India were many but the constant Muslim attack and their iconoclast attitude, loss of patronage from the monarchs, disintegration in the monastic order, evolution of Vajrayana cult accompanied by the esoteric practices, Buddhist persecution by the followers of Brahmanical Faith, emergence of Bhakti cult and the destruction by the Nature may in short be accounted for the main causes of decline of Buddhism from the land of its origin.

The decadance and ultimate disappearance of Buddhism and Jainism as institutional religions unfold a sad tale. But they stimulated and enriched the intellectual and spiritual wealth of the country to an unparalleled degree and their contributions to the world culture have been varied and numerous. The spread of these two Thoughts in different periods of history has greatly influenced the pattern of evolution, nature of life, social and political set up, moral and spiritual values, ethics, philosophy, iconography, art, literature.

PART I

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SEPARATE KALINGA EDICTS OF ASOKA

A. L. Basham

This paper is intended primarily as a contribution to the Seminar on Buddhism in Orissa, and is written rather hurriedly. It claims little originality and is merely a classification of ideas which have long been passing through the author's mind. Moreover it is somewhat peripheral to the main theme of the seminar. For all these shortcomings, however, it represents the author's support for the seminar, and his greetings and good wishes to those present. It may at least provoke some fresh thought on the subject, and this is the purpose for which seminars are obviously intended.

Everyone who has visited Orissa knows the version of the Major Rock Edicts of Aśoka, by the side of the road leading to the summit of the hill of Dhauli, 11 kms. south of Bhubaneswar. These are duplicated by a similar series of edicts at Jaugada, 30 kms. north-west of Ganjam. The Edicts of Dhauli have in recent years powerfully affected the local folklore, and their presence on the side of the hill has resulted in its association with Buddhism in the minds of the public. Hence in the last decade a beautiful and large stūpa has arisen on the crest of the hill, which commands a splendid view of the plain around, including the site of śi'upālgarh, the ancient Kalinganagarī, which was the capital of the latter Orissan warlord Khāravela and was presumably the headquarters of the earlier rulers of Kalinga, whom Aśoka conquered. The fine bas reliefs around the drum of the stūpa include one depicting the remorse of Aśoka at the carnage caused by his conquest of Kalinga, and the local people believe that he stood on the hill of Dhauli, watching the final battle of his campaign, and it was here that he was overcome by remorse.

The question of Aśoka's remorse and his conversion to Buddhism as a result is itself a difficult one. The traditions preserved by the Buddhists, both Theravāda and Mahāyāna, tell us nothing about the war in Kalinga, our knowledge of which depends entirely on Aśoka's own inscriptions. Asoka's conversion, according to the Theravāda, was brought about by the teaching and example of a saintly Buddhist monk, Nigrodha¹. The Theravāda depicts Aśoka as a charismatic figure even before his conversion, the only sin attributed to him being the slaying of his 99 brothers in order to secure the throne². According to the Mahāyāna tradition he was a sadistic tyrant, and his conversion was brought by the heroic sufferings of a saintly monk Samudra, fiendishly tortured in Aśoka's 'hell'³; but this tradition also says nothing of the emperor's remorse at the carnage of war. We cannot, however, reject the words of the 13th Rock Edict, for they are the emperor's own;

1. *Mahāvamsa*, v. 72. This version of the tradition gives the unlike information that Nigrodha was only seven years old when he persuaded Asoka to become a Buddhist.

2¹ *Mahāvamsa*, v. 20.

3. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Asoka* (English translation, *The legend of the emperor Asoka*, Calcutta, 1967), Ch. VII.

When Piyadassi, Dear to the Gods, had been consecrated eight years, Kaliṅga was conquered. 150,000 were taken away from that place, 100,000 were killed there, and many more that died. After that, now that the Kaliṅga war taken, the practice of Dhamma, love of Dhamma, and teaching of Dhamma (on the part) of Him Dear to the Gods are in evidence. Now, having annexed the Kaliṅgas, there is great (on the part) of Him Dear to the Gods. In conquering a (hitherto) unconquered (land) there is great killing or dying or deportation of the people, and this is thought painful, is thought heavy (on the mind) by Him Dear to the Gods. But this is even more heavy (on the mind) of Him Dear to the Gods than that (killing, dying and capture), that there dwell, brahmins, or (hetero-dox) ascetics or other sectarians or householders, and among them are laid down (precepts of) obedience to superiors, obedience to parents, obedience to teachers, good conduct towards friends, acquaintances, helpers and relatives, towards slaves and servants, and (of) firm devotion, and these (people) there suffer violence and slaughter and separation from those who love them. Even (in the case) of those who are fortunate not to have been deprived of love (donees), injury affects their friends acquaintances, helpers and relatives, and thus they too suffer injury. This participation of all men (in common suffering) is heavy on the mind of Him Dear to the Gods. As many people as were killed or died or deported when the Kaliṅga were annexed, a hundredth part or a thousandth part of that number would today weigh heavily on the mind of Him Dear to the Gods. If anyone does him wrong, He Dear to the Gods considers that it still to be forgiven as far as it is possible to forgive. As for the forest people in the territory of Him Dear to the Gods, he conciliates them, and warns them that even in the remorse of Him Dear to the Gods there is strength, and he tells them to repent and not be slain.¹

It has been shown that in the major edicts Dhamma does not specifically mean the Buddhist Dhamma. It is simple moral conduct, the highest common factor of the various ethical codes of the India of the time.² Nevertheless several of the minor edicts of Aśoka, as well as the traditions, confirm the fact that he was personally a devout Buddhist. Yet the famous passage quoted above does not necessarily indicate that his experience in Kaliṅga resulted in his conversion to Buddhism. This fact that the Buddhist themselves retained no recollection of this war suggests that the conversion took place either before or after it, and that the war was merely instrumental in greatly heightening his sense of moral responsibility and his abhorrence of unnecessary suffering. Eggermont,³ on the basis of the traditions, believes that Aśoka was already a professing Buddhist when he conquered Kaliṅga. But in fact the evidence for his sudden conversion to Buddhism is found solely in the legends, and it is much more likely, as Romila Thapar suggests that Aśoka's enthusiasm for Buddhism grew steadily with the year. Religions in India at that period were not necessarily mutually exclusive. No doubt Aśoka's experience in Orissa made his faith in Buddhism more fervent, as well as strengthening him in the ethics of forgiveness and non-violence which are characteristics of Buddhism.

1. The translation is my own. I have tried to make it as literal as possible, even at the expense of literary merit. Throughout this paper I have used the French edition of Aśoka's Inscriptions, edited and translated by Jules Bloch (*Les inscriptions d' Asoka*, Paris, 1950).

2. Thapar, Romila, *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 148 ff.

3. Eggermont, P. H. L., *The Chronology of the reign of Asoka Moriya* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 86-87.

4. Thapar, pp. 33-34.

We have positive evidence that there was Buddhism in Orissa before the time of Aśoka but, as N. K. Sahu has pointed out,¹ there is every reason to believe that it already had its adherents.² There can be no doubt, moreover, that the conquest of Orissa by Aśoka led to a considerable growth of Buddhism in the region. The earliest material traces of Buddhism in Orissa have been well surveyed in Sahu's book,³ and we can add nothing further to what he has said about, this subject. We may, however, say a little more about the Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions, as throwing light on Aśoka's Policy towards conquered territory.

The most impressive feature of these two versions of the major Rock Edicts is that Edicts Nos. XI, XII and XIII are missing, and in their place two further edicts, known as the Separate Kalinga Edicts are inserted. To establish the reasons for this change we must closely examine not only the two special edicts, but also the omitted edicts. It is a reasonable assumption that Aśoka had special motives for these alterations.

In view of his explicit abandonment of the traditional Indian policy of territorial expansion we might expect surprise that Aśoka did not restore Kalinga to its former independence. But there are numerous indications that, for all his new policy, Aśoka did not give his ambitious empire,⁴ and the conquest had been made, in any case, before the new policy had been adopted. Among the chief motives in altering the version of the Edicts published in Kalinga must have been the desire to maintain control over, and as far as possible to conciliate, the conquered people.

We may divide the Rock Edicts, for the purpose of this study, into three groups:—

- (i) those published throughout the empire, including Kalinga—Nos. I—X and XIV,
- (ii) those not published in Kalinga—XI—XIII,
- (iii) those found only in Kalinga—the two Separate Kalinga Edicts.

No version of the Minor Rock Edicts or of the Pillar Edicts has as yet been discovered in the region, but since the distribution of these is very irregular, their absence from Orissa is probably not historically significant. There is some possibility that an Aśokan column once existed in Bhubaneswar.⁵ We review the three classes of rock edict in order, naturally giving greater attention to classes (ii) and (iii).

(i) Rock Edicts published throughout the Empire.

(I) Forbids animal sacrifice, and the holding of gatherings (samāja), except of types approved by Aśoka. The provisions of this edict probably only applied to the capital. The edict also records the virtual abolition of meat eating in the royal palace.

(II) Records provision medical services for man and beast both within the empire and beyond its frontiers.

(III) Instructs officers to tour their areas once every five years

(IV) Records the progress of the policy of Dhamma

1 Sahu, N. K., *Buddhism in Orissa* (Cuttack, 1958), pp. 15-16.

2 For the purposes of this paper we ignore the theory, not supported by scholars outside Orissa but dear to many local patriots, that the Buddha's birthplace was fact in Orissa.

3 Sahu, Chs. II and III

4 Basham, A. L., *The wonder that was India* (3rd ed London, 1966), pp. 55.

5 Sahu, pp. 28-30.

(V) Records the appointment of officers of Dhamma (dhamma-mahāmatta) throughout the empire.

(IV) Aśoka orders that he is to be interrupted in his activities at any place and time in order to transact public business. The edict concludes with a moving paragraph in which Aśoka expresses his concern for the welfare of the whole world.

(VII) A brief call to harmony among sectarian groups (pāsamdā).

(VIII) Records that Aśoka has given up hunting and pleasure trips and has substituted for them 'tours of Dhamma'.

(IX) Aśoka discourage useless ceremonies and rituals, urging his subjects to give them up and perform 'ceremonies of Dhamma' (i. e. virtuous and courteous conduct) in their place.

(X) A purely moral edict. Aśoka only desires fame in order that the people may follow Dhamma. The way of Dhamma is difficult, and particularly difficult for those in high authority.

(XIV) This is virtually a colophon, in which Aśoka admits that the whole series of edicts has not been engraved everywhere, and that in some versions errors might have crept into the text.

These edicts, as far as one can see, could hardly have affected adversely either the strength of the Mauryan imperial hold on Kalinga or the propagation of the Aśokan Dhamma there. There was no good reason for not publishing the among the conquered people. The three edicts omitted in the Kalinga versions, on the other hand, might be expected to contain certain material which it was inadvisable to make too widely known there.

(ii) Rock edicts not published in Kalinga

(XI) Apparently a very innocuous edict glorifying the Dhamma and calling on the people everywhere to follow it. We can suggest no special reason for the omission of this brief edict in the Kalinga versions. It may be due to inadvertence, or simply to the fact that, since much the same sentiments are to be found elsewhere in the series, its omission would save time, trouble and expense.

(XII) This the famous edict which Aśoka calls for toleration and friendly relations between the various religions and sects of his empire. If the omission of this edict was not dictated simply by consideration of space and time, as in the case No. XI, we can only suggest that there were in Kalinga sects towards which Aśoka and Mauryan state did not entertain friendly feelings and the cults of which were not to be encouraged. Here we can only surmise, and the paragraph which follows may well be taken as wild speculation. But it expresses at least a logical possibility.

It is well known that, in more recent time, the people of Orissa have been particularly devoted to the cult of Jagannātha, focussed on the great temple of Puri. Orissa regional nationalism has centred round this cult for at least a thousand years. We can not trace the cult of Jagannātha back to the days of Aśoka, but it is probable that it already existed in some form, no doubt in an 'unsanskritized' form with its divinity not yet identified with the Hindu god Vishnu. Such a cult, with its own indigenous priesthood might well have set itself in opposition to Mauryan imperialism and have encouraged rebellion and revolt in favour of the former native rulers of Kalinga. This might provide sufficient reason for the suppression of Aśoka's twelfth Rock Edict in the Kalinga edition.

Alternatively it is possible that there prevailed in Kalinga at that time cults which were so bloodthirsty or orgiastic in character that Aśoka felt that they should be discouraged.

(XIII) The Thirteenth Rock Edict, by far the longest of the series, is also the most important. Its omission in the Kaliṅga edition has often been noted, and reasons for this have been suggested with something approaching unanimity.¹ The most important part of the Edict is that quoted above, describing the war in Kaliṅga and Aśoka's remorse at the human suffering it had caused. The conquered people would not wish to be reminded of their losses, which, incidentally may have been exaggerated by Aśoka, as he certainly exaggerated the number of animals killed daily in the palace kitchen, referred to in the First Rock Edict. For Aśoka's remorse to become too widely known in the region of his conquests would no doubt lead to the awkward question why, if his regret was genuine, he did not restore Kaliṅga to independence. The edict might be taken, moreover, as a sign of weakness, indicating that insurgency and recalcitrance would not be too severely repressed.

The passage following that quoted above tells of the victories of Dhamma which Aśoka had won both within and beyond the confines of his empire. The publication of this passage in Kaliṅga might have been considered politically inadvisable, since it might also have raised the question in the mind of local people as to why, if Aśoka believed in conquest by Dhamma, he did not evacuate his troops from the region and thus again a further moral victory. The last few lines of the Thirteenth Rock Edict call on his descendants not to think of making further conquests, but to concentrate, like Aśoka himself, on the bloodless conquests of Dhamma. If this passage had been published in Kaliṅga it might have provided moral ammunition to local patriots long after Aśoka's death, if the Mauryans had retained control of their empire, which in fact was not the case.

We conclude, therefore, that the Twelfth and Thirteenth Rock Edicts were omitted from the Kaliṅga edition mainly for reasons of imperialist politics. Their publication in Kaliṅga would have indirectly encouraged sedition.

(iii) Edicts found only in Kaliṅga

(I) The First Kaliṅga Edict is characterized by a stern, peremptory tone absent from most of the other edicts, but it is addressed, not in the first place to the general public but to the high officials (*māhāmāṭṭa*) and city judicial officers (*nagala*, *Viyohālakā*) of the cities of Tosali (in the case of the Kalsi Edict) and *Samāpā* (in the Jaugada version). Aśoka declares sternly that he will carry out whatever policy he approves, by one means or another. They are in charge of many thousands of people, and they and he must win the people's affection. Aśoka uses the first person plural, identifying himself with his officers: 'Let us win the affection of men' (*panavam gacchema... munissānam*). He enunciates his famous statement generally translated: 'All men are my children' (*savve muniss pajā mama*).² He wishes happiness and welfare to all men, as he would to his own children.³ The officers have not realized how earnestly Aśoka wishes to carry out this principle. Men are being imprisoned and tortured without good reason. The officers must remedy their short comings or incur the wrath of heaven and of the king himself.

The most remarkable provision of the Edict is the order that it is to be proclaimed aloud publicly on the day of the *naksatra* *Tiṣya*, and from time to time at intervals between *Tiṣya*-days. Thus the Edict was given as much publicity as was possible at that time. Explicitly Aśoka states that the purpose of the edict was to ensure that none of his subjects should be subjected to

1. For example Thapar, p. 169 ; Sahu, p. 19.

2. Perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on this phrase. The implications of *paja* (Sanskrit *praja*) are not wholly clear. Etymologically the word means 'progeny', 'descendants' and is often found with this implication, but in a political context it has the secondary meaning of 'subjects', and it was commonly used in this sense.

3. Again the rather ambiguous *paja*. Perhaps Asoka only implies that the wild unconquered hillmen are to be treated as though they are his own subjects.

unjust imprisonment or torture. A special inspector was to be sent out from the capital every five years to ensure that the instructions of the king were carried out. The Prince (kumāle), who was no doubt also provincial Governor, of Ujjayinī had been instructed to organize a similar inspection, but at intervals of not more than three years. In the province of Taxila the officials themselves were responsible for such an inspection.

From the fact that this edict specially mentions the two Western provinces of Ujjayinī and Taxila it is clear that it was not specifically promulgated for the newly conquered region of Kaliṅga, but was intended to be read throughout the empire. Aśoka was evidently much concerned over the unjust punishments inflicted by his officers, not only in Kaliṅga but throughout the realm. We may surmise that the officials of Ujjayinī were particularly oppressive, since the prison-inspector was ordered to go on tour not less often than every three years. Condition in Taxila may have been better, since the officials were instructed to investigate cases of unjust imprisonment and torture while on their normal tours of inspection.

(II) The Second Kaliṅga Edict repeats the earlier part of the First Kaliṅga Edict, including the phrase 'All men are my children'. Aśoka was evidently determined that his officials should implement his policy of mild and just administration. It is addressed to other officials than those mentioned in the First Kaliṅga Edict—in the Dāuli version to the prince (kumale) and the great officers (mahāmattā) at Tosālī, and at Jaugada to the great officers (mahāmattā) and the lājavacanikas. The prince, referred to in the singular, must be the Governor of the whole region, probably a minor member of the royal family. The lājavacanikas (Sanskrit *rājavacanika*) seem to have been something more than mere heralds or town-criers, and had positions of importance, but among their responsibilities, no doubt, was the proclamation of the royal orders.

The main message of this edict is one also contained in the Thirteenth Major Rock Edict, the publication of which was suppressed in Kaliṅga. It refers to the relations of the Mauryan state with the 'unconquered frontier-folk' (amānam avijitānam). Aśoka desires that they should trust him, and rely on his benevolence, following the Dhamma like his own subjects. He wants only happiness for them 'and not sorrow' in their dealings with him, and he will forgive them as far as they can be forgiven (khamissati ne lājat sakiye khamitave—Jaugada version). They must be reassured that the king is in the position of a father to them, and he feels for them as he does for himself.

The Edict concludes with the statement that it had been specially engraved in order to ensure that the officials should carry out its instructions. It too was to be proclaimed publicly, at maximum intervals of four lunar months, and optionally on other occasions.

The Second Kaliṅga Edict makes no reference to other parts of the empire, and thus it may have been specially composed for circulation in Kaliṅga only, to replace the instructions to the unconquered frontier peoples contained in the suppressed Thirteenth Rock Edict. It reflects Aśoka's concern over the less civilized tribal peoples of the hills and forests, who doubtless raided the more settled areas at frequent intervals, as they were doing in outlying areas of India until quite recently. Aśoka is evidently doing his best to bring these peoples within the orbit of a Aryan culture, but he is disinclined to embark on ruthless punitive expeditions against them. Nevertheless he is ready to use force against them if really necessary. The veiled threat is less strongly

expressed in this edict than in the Thirteenth Rock Edict which it replaces in Kaliṅga. The latter, in fact, is quite explicit—'so that they may repent, and not be killed' (*avatrapeyu na ca ham neyasu*).¹

This re-examination of the Kaliṅga Edict of Aśoka tends to confirm the view of N. K. Sahu,² who somewhat modified the generally received image of the Mauryan Emperor, who has been in this century the object of much hagiology.

Aśoka was too much of an imperialist to think of a rendition of Kalinga even though he could shed a pool of tears at her defeat. Not content with robbing the Kāliṅga king only of his glory, Aśoka violently robbed him of his whole territory . . . Perhaps it would have been better if in dealing with the proud people of Kalinga Asoka should have treated them as allies rather than ruled them as subjects.

The same scholar perspicaciously noted that the references to the Kumāra of Tosālī in the edicts suggest that he had less authority to act independently than the princely governors of other provinces. Asoka took a special personal interest in the affairs of Kaliṅga, in the hope of fully integrating it into his empire. We cannot gainsay the enlightenment of his policy, but the fact remains that it was still a policy of imperialism, and it was essentially a failure. We cannot say when Kalinga was lost to the Mauryan empire, but by about 50 years after Aśoka's death the whole dynasty had perished and the empire of the Mauryas was no more. The brief interlude of Mauryan rule in Kaliṅga was over and the land was again governed as an independent unit, which it remained for over a millennium and a half, until it fell to the Mughals.

If the Mauryan conquest had any lasting effect, it must have been in the promotion of Buddhism. According to all traditions Aśoka sedulously encouraged the preaching of Buddhism throughout his dominions and beyond, and in no part of the empire would he have encouraged Buddhism more energetically than in the newly annexed province of Kalinga. Thus the relief depicting Aśoka's remorse on the new stūpa at Dhāuli is not inappropriate. Even if Aśoka remained an imperialist he became a benevolent one, doing his utmost for the welfare of his subjects according to his own lights. There might be little or no material for a seminar on Buddhism in Orissa had it not been for Aśoka. As we stand on the plinth of the new stūpa of Dhāuli, and look out over the green rice fields, while the deep notes of the great drum rise from the Nichiren monastery below us, we may well imagine ourselves in his position, whether he actually stood on that spot or not, to be between what he knew to be right and what he knew to be expedient, between benevolence and imperialism, between time and eternity. Even if his velvet glove concealed an iron fist, the glove was rarely if ever removed ; and even if he was ultimately a failure, he was at least a noble one.

1 Some doubt has existed about the interpretation of this phrase since J. Bloch (p. 129) translated it 'de façon qu'ils se repentent et cessent de tuer' ('so that they repent and stop killing'). We must, however, reject the interpretation of this great philologist in favour of that of most other specialists. The verb *hamneyasu*, though it has an active (*parasmaipada*) termination must be interpreted as passive (*karmāni atmanepada*), since the stem *hamne*—reflects the Sanskrit passive stem of this verb (*hanya—*) and not the active (*ghna—*). My views have been confirmed in correspondence by the leading British scholar in the field of Aśokan inscriptions, K. R. Norman of Cambridge.

2 Buddhism in Orissa, pp. 19-20.



FROM THE HISTORY OF RUSSIAN BUDDHOLOGY

G. M. Bongard Levin

There exists a long and lasting tradition behind the school of Buddhist studies in Russia. Professor I. Minayev (1840—1890) an eminent student of the East and a great traveller, is with good reason regarded as the founder of this school. His best known and most fundamental work on Buddhism—Buddhism : Surveys and Materials, was published in 1887 and was designed, as the author himself stressed, “to question the conclusions and principles accepted by contemporary scholars”. Professor Minayev opposed the view that Buddhism having appeared as both an ethical and religious creed, had remained unchanged throughout its long history and that the Pali Canons alone represented the complete and systematic exposition of the ancient Buddhist doctrine. Most scholars of the 19th Century did not show a critical approach to accounts in the Southern Canons and later Pali commentators on events in the history of Buddhism and to the chronology of many, texts. One needed outstanding erudition, a profound knowledge of the Buddhist sources, audacity and unflinching intuition to attempt to repute long-established beliefs. Minayev urged the need for a more thorough study of Buddhism which he regarded as a historico - cultural and social phenomenon exerting a profound influence on all aspects of the people’s life in the East.

In Professor Minayev’s research the problem of the Buddhist doctrine and the history of the shaping of the Pali Canons connected with the Buddhist councils figure prominently. After an analysis of Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan writings, he concluded that the Buddhist councils were in reality meeting centres of individual Buddhist sects. Minayev’s conclusions on the sectarian nature of these councils, and his claim that chronicles to that effect were altered in the later Buddhist schools, evoked long and animated discussion among scholars of Buddhism.

It was his brilliant knowledge of factual material derived from a multitude of sources, such as written records, legends and works of art, that enabled Professor Minayev to go so deeply into the major problems of the history of Buddhism, Professor Minayev was one of the first European scholars of Buddhism to become interested in the Jatakas and to regard this collection of tales not so much as a monument of Buddhist moral teaching as an important clue to profound research in folklore.

In the course of his many travels through the Orient, this Russian scholar acquired a rich collection of manuscripts, mostly referring to Ceylon, India, Nepal and Burma, which today are kept in the manuscript division of the Saltykov -Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad. Most impressive was the number of manuscripts in Pali which he brought from Ceylon and Burma. During his lifetime Minayev succeeded in publishing only a small selection of his manuscripts, among them the *Anagatavamsa* and *The Hymn to the Avalokitesvara*. However, the greater part of his collection has not yet been studied or published.

His master’s thesis included the publication, translation and study of the *Pratimoksa-sutra*, the principal part of the *Vinaya-Pitaka*. It was with good reason that Minayev chose this monument for his object of research. This being one of the most ancient Buddhist canonic compositions, gives a remarkable insight into the history of the organization of the Buddhist community

and the strife of the various schools and sects within it. Minayev's publication enabled scholars to acquire a knowledge of these Buddhist disciplinary rules not in translation, as previously ; but in the Pali original. The publication of the Pratimoksa-sutra, based on several manuscripts, may well be regarded as the first scholarly textual work in Russian Indology, the forerunner of such world-famous publications as the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, initiated by the academicians F. Scherbatsky (Th. Stcherbatsky) and S. Oldenburg, who were Minayev's disciples.

Of the Pali sources published by Professor Minayev the most notable is the *Kathavatthupakarana*, a work expounding controversial issues of Buddhist philosophy and dealing with the struggle of the orthodox Buddhists against the heretical schools. The Ceylon tradition ascribes the expounding of the *Kathavatthu* to Tissa Moggaliputta who was supposed to have delivered an address on it at the Third Synod at Pataliputra. After a historical study of the text, Professor Minayev was able to assign its origin to a latter date which, however, in his opinion by no means minimized its significance as testimony of the fierce struggle which arise among the various schools within Buddhism in the course of many centuries.

In the second edition of his principal work, *Buddhism : Surveys and Materials*, Professor Minayev published the *Mahavyupatti* or *The Great Etymology*—a dictionary of Buddhist terms. This compilation was extremely popular in the Buddhist world and had come down to us in the Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian and Manchurian translations.

The role which religion in general and Buddhism in particular played in the cultural and historical development of the Oriental nations was well understood by Professor Minayev. He wrote "Not only him who, in time, will be obliged to act in the East is a knowledge of the Oriental religions essential and vital, but the study of this religion is of lofty significance to every thinking person of our time".

Professor Minayev had a brilliant command of Pali and was one of the first European students of that language. He wrote a grammar of Pali which won high favour with specialists in that field and was translated into French and English. It also served as a text book for the study of Pali in some of the countries of the East, including Burma and Ceylon.

Of great importance to Russian students of the history and culture of Ceylon were Professor Minayev's travel diaries on Ceylon in which he described in detail the monuments of art in that country and gave a brief exposition of the history of Buddhism there.

Professor Minayev was a man of progressive democratic views. During his travels in the East he displayed a deep interest in the destinies of the Eastern peoples and their national anti-British movement. He believed in the ultimate triumph of the various national movement and criticized the colonial regimes.

The finest traditions of Professor Minayev's school of Buddhist research were continued by his pupils and disciples who have made a great contribution to the world study of Buddhism.

The next period of Russian Budhology concerns mainly the works of Academicians F. Scherbatsky (Th. Stcherbatsky) and S. F. Oldenburg.

The activities of F. Scherbatsky were a prominent land mark in the studies of the philosophy and culture of Buddhism and these opened a new stage in that branch of science. The scholar and his disciples ushered in a new epoch in Soviets and world Buddhology. It was due to Academician F. Scherbatsky's research that the scientific community in Europe was able for the first time to realize how important and original the theory of knowledge and the logic of Buddhism were.

Professor Scherbatsky's view on the progress of Buddhist philosophy and logic was that of a man of the 20th century, who tried to survey them in terms of the development of philosophical thought throughout the world and to translate them in all their complexity into the language of European science. "I tried", F. Scherbatsky wrote, "to make those theories understandable by contrasting them with and drawing parallels with the relevant European theories".

The legacy that F. Scherbatsky left us is manifold and varied. His studies in Buddhology comprised investigation into and analysis of the main aspects of the Buddhist doctrine and the most important problems of Buddhology as it appeared in his day.

Scherbatsky became deeply interested in the scientific aspects of Buddhism at the beginning of our century. By that time world Buddhology had already advanced considerably in the study of the Buddhist doctrine and the publication of many monuments of Buddhist culture, especially of those belonging to the Ceylonese Pali tradition of Theravada. Scholars in Europe already knew a number of very important Pali and Sanskrit texts : the Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon (The Mahavamsa), the Dhammapada, the text and the translation of the Sutta-nipata, etc.

The wealth of Pali literature available to European scholars led some Buddhologists to believe that the Southern tradition of Buddhism was the most ancient and that the Pali canon was the authentic body of writing, representing the genuine teachings of the Buddha himself. However, these traditional views were substantially revised after the finding and the subsequent publication of Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist texts belonging not to the Southern but to the Northern tradition of Buddhism. The writings of the Mahayana school of Northern Buddhism became available to European scholars : this development brought about new problems in Buddhology—Hinayana and Mahayana were to be correlated, the nature and chronology of the original teachings of the Buddha were to be established and verified, etc.

Scherbatsky was initiated into Buddhology at a time when the basic concepts of the science and the formulation of its leading criteria were the subject of heated discussions and controversy.

At the outset, Scherbatsky accepted the new orientation in Buddhology linked with the study of Buddhism on the broad historical basis of both Hinayana and Mahayana sources and the somewhat fabulous number of writings on the subject available in translation.

Scherbatsky viewed Buddhism as a comprehensive historical and cultural phenomenon that played a most important part in the evolution of many nations in Asia ; he attached great importance to such an approach to the science.

Scherbatsky considered Buddhism not as a one-dimensional phenomenon of an ethical, religious or philosophic nature that was static and identical in various countries and throughout all the epochs of its history, but, instead, he always emphasized the constant evolution of the Buddhist doctrine, of its basic tenets and ideas as well as the specific distinctions of various schools and sects subscribing to the doctrine. At the same time Scherbatsky interpreted Buddhism as a broad corpus of definite ideas shared by all the schools of Buddhism.

Scherbatsky's studies upset the traditional Brahmanical approach to Buddhism as something second-rate and of minor importance in Indian culture. Scholars were convinced by his works that Buddhism had been at the very core of Indian culture and philosophy and that Brahmanism and its philosophy had substantially changed under the extensive influence of Buddhism.

The Central Conception of Buddhism and the Meaning of the Word 'Dharma' is the title of a book that Scherbatsky published in 1923 in English. The author analyses the concept of dharma that he himself viewed as the key notion of the Buddhist teachings.

The study is based on the writings of the Sarvastivada school. The author demonstrates that the interpretation of dharma one finds in these texts is not peculiar to that school but is characteristic of Buddhism as a whole, though in the initial stage of Buddhism dharma was sometimes treated in its older meaning—as moral gospel and moral duty.

Investigation into the problem of Nirvana marked the next significant stage in F. Scherbatsky's scientific studies of Buddhism. Walter Ruben, an outstanding German scholar, is fully justified in saying that no other European or Indian scholar could have produced the study accomplished by F. Scherbatsky. In the *Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, published in 1927, he managed to solve a number of problems of exceptional difficulty connected with the conception of Nirvana and of other basic concepts of Buddhist teachings. Scherbatsky was the first scholar to provide the philosophical interpretation of Nirvana, and he discerned essential changes in the formation of this concept at the various stages of the evolution of Buddhism and in various schools of Hinayana and Mahayana.

Scherbatsky was the first scholar in Buddhology to define clearly and consistently the very essence of interpretation of the Nirvana in Mahayana and to show the distinction between it and the treatment of the concept by the believers of the Hinayana doctrine. The comparative analysis was based on the study of the *Madhyamaka-sastra*, a most important treatise by Nagarjuna accompanied by a commentary by a new approach to the evaluation of the entire doctrine and to bring out the essential distinctions between earlier and subsequent traditions in Buddhism.

The study of Buddhist logic was the main line of his research almost throughout his entire scientific career. His first publication on the subject was made in 1902—it was a brief article *Logic in Ancient India*—and the last was the comprehensive monograph, —*Buddhist Logic*.

By virtue of its comprehensive nature, this study by F. Scherbatsky might be called an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy. Professor Edward Konze, a noted British Buddhologist, referred to *Buddhist Logic* by F. Scherbatsky as the summit of the author's scientific writings, a scientific masterpiece of first magnitude.

The publication and translation of many other highly significant monuments of Buddhist culture was another important contribution made by Academician F. Scherbatsky to Buddhology.

The scholar devoted many years to the study of the *Abhidharmakosa*—the treatise of an outstanding Indian scholar, —Vasubandhu, known in the Buddhist world as the second Buddha.

A universally acknowledged scholar, Scherbatsky was never satisfied exclusively with theoretical study. He travelled a great deal, examining monuments of culture of ancient times and the present day. In 1905 Scherbatsky went to Buryatia and Mongolia where he acquainted himself with modern Buddhism and examined the Buddhist libraries in the monasteries. He had in mind the creation of a Department of Sanskrit in the Trans-Baikal region for the study of the ancient Indian culture in which he took a deep interest. In a letter to Oldenburg Scherbatsky wrote: "By studying Indian culture we shall raise ancient India higher than Greece and Rome, and it indeed has a right to it". Scherbatsky dreamt of going to India.

At last in 1910 his dream came true. He went to India and spent two years there studying ancient monuments. He made a special study of the influence of Buddhism on the cultural development of India. Scherbatsky wrote that the main purpose of his trip was "not only a general acquaintance with the country but also searching for the relics of the Buddhist philosophical literature, both in the works of the Buddhists themselves and in those of the Brahmins and Jains, inasmuch as these

reflected—directly or indirectly—the period when Buddhism flourished in the history of Indian civilization”. “Along with this work”, wrote Scherbatsky, “I intend to acquaint myself with the present state of the Sanskrit language and literature, which up till now have remained an enigma for European scholars who could not interpret them”. In Bombay Scherbatsky found a Pandit, a wonderful scholar of Sanskrit, with whom he studied philosophical works. There he thoroughly investigated into the manuscripts of important philosophical treatises. The trip to India proved extremely useful for Scherbatsky ; it gave him an opportunity of making sure that his conclusions concerning the unique character of Indian culture were correct, while the standpoints of the Indologists who underestimated the part played by Buddhism in the development of Indian culture were wrong.

Scherbatsky made a valuable contribution to the study of ancient Indian literature and poetics. The study of Indian poetics interested Scherbatsky most of all during the first period of his Indological activities. He published a Sanskrit text of considerable poetic importance—the *Haihaydenracarita* and wrote a valuable work on Sanskrit poetics, where he analysed in detail the principles of *Dhavanī* as propounded in Anandavardhana’s great work, *Dhvanyaloka*. Scherbatsky translated into Russian the *Dasakumarcharitam* (The Adventures of Ten Princes), a magnificent piece of Sanskrit literature. He was also one of the main translators of the *Arthasastra*, which was published after his death.

Scherbatsky had a deep respect for Indian culture which he considered to be one of the greatest achievements of mankind. In his work *Scientific Achievements of Ancient India*, Scherbatsky wrote : “Of all the peoples that used to inhabit ancient Asia, the Hindus were undoubtedly the most gifted. Some of their scientific achievements of the ancient ages are so perfect that they amaze and delight the investigator.” Scherbatsky carried on the best traditions of the Russian School of Oriental Studies represented by Minayev, Vasiliev, and Oldenburg. Scherbatsky created a school of Soviet Buddhologists. Some of his followers, such as, Professor Obermiller, have won universal acclaim and are wellknown in India.

In collaboration with Academician Oldenburg, F. Scherbatsky was the initiator of the world renowned *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

Bibliotheca Buddhica became an important international publication ; listed among its contributors, along with Russian Buddhologists, are the most prominent scholars of the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century : Bendal, Finot, the Passen, Kern. Nanjo, Wogihara, Wallezer, Levi and others.

Academician F. Scherbatsky always stressed the importance of investigations into Buddhism, and he established a school of Buddhology of his own that developed and advanced the new line in Buddhist studies.

F. Scherbatsky wrote : “Given the tremendous importance of Buddhist Literature for the entire area of Central and Eastern Asia and the close proximity of it to us, who but the Russian scholars could have initiated its study and systematization”. Indian scholars, like the scholars of all the world, have a great respect for the works of F. Scherbatsky.

Prof. D. N. Shastri wrote that the Indian people held sacred the memory of F. I. Scherbatsky and were extremely grateful to his country for producing such a great scholar whose contribution to the development of the Indian Philosophical thought has been inestimable.

It is fitting that the monument to F. I. Scherbatsky has the following words inscribed upon it : “He explained to his country the wisdom of the ancient thinkers of India”.

An honorary place in the history of Soviet and world Buddhology belongs to Academician S. F. Oldenburg, a brilliant and many-faceted scholar and the closest associate of I. Minayev,—the father of Russian Buddhology. Oldenburg's scientific and organisational activities were remarkably multifarious : he was a historian, philologist, archaeologist, paleographer and literary critic. Yet primarily he was an Indologist and Buddhologist.

He had an excellent knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, Tibetan and Iranian languages. And all his works are distinguished by his profound philological knowledge.

As a Buddhologist, he was most interested in Buddhist literature and the written monuments of Central Asia. In 1894 he published his famous work *Buddhist Legends—Bhadrakalpavadana* and *Jatakamala*. A specialist in folklore and world literature, Oldenburg managed, in studying Buddhist literature, to distinguish in it many specific features and compare it with the literature of other Oriental and Western nations.

He made a magnificent study of Buddhist art in India and outside India. He correctly interpreted the scenes of the Bharhut stupa and many sculptural monuments of the famous Borobodur complex on the Island of Java.

Like F. Scherbatsky he devoted special attention to the study of Northern Buddhism, without forgetting the importance of the Pali traditions. In Oldenburg's days, Southern Buddhism had been studied much better than Northern, and, thanks to the establishment of the Pali Text Society, many Pali works had been published. Jointly with Scherbatsky, Oldenburg decided to organise a special international edition of the written monuments of Northern Buddhism. This famous series is known as the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* and includes many wonderful Buddhist productions which had made Russian Buddhology world famous.

Oldenburg rendered exceptionally great service as a Buddhologist in the study of the written monuments of Central Asia. As early as the end of the last century, he received from Kashgar a series of manuscript excerpts written in Central Asian variants of Brahmi and Kharosthi. At that time these were almost unstudied. The reading and interpretation of these texts called for exceptional industriousness, immense knowledge and scientific daring and Oldenburg brilliantly coped with this very difficult problem. He can very well be called a pioneer in the study of paleography and the Buddhist texts of Central Asia. His publications were highly appraised by many outstanding Buddhologists. Oldenburg's publication of a Kharosthi manuscript became world famous—it contained the Prakrit version of the *Dhammapada*—one of the most important documents of Buddhism.

Oldenburg was the head and organiser of the Russian expeditions to East Turkestan where he discovered many highly valuable monuments of Buddhist culture. He studied with his colleagues the famous complex of 1,000 caves in Dunhuan. He is the author of important works on Buddhist iconography and on the Gandhara monuments from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

This brilliant and thorough scholar was also a major organiser of Russian and Soviet Oriental studies and one of the sponsors of the extensive study of Buddhism by Soviet researchers.

In the year 1919, a difficult time for the young Soviet Republic, Oldenburg and his colleagues in St. Petersburg organised the First Buddhist exhibition, at which he delivered a lecture on the Buddha and his teaching. For many years he was the permanent Secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences and head of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Together with Maxim Gorky, the great Russian writer, he organised, as part of the World Literature Series, the translation of monumental writings from Oriental languages. He tried to familiarise the Soviet citizens at large with the achievements of oriental culture.

The scholar's research and public activities were influenced greatly by a meeting with Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet State, during which Lenin highly praised the work of Russian orientalists.

Academician Oldenburg was elected an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society in Britain of the French "Societe Asiatique", honorary member of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy.

He was the teacher of many talented Buddhologists and the traditions of his school are being carefully preserved and developed by Soviet scholars.

Soviet scholars pay much attention to studying the history, culture and philosophy of Buddhism. They attach great importance to studying original Buddhist sources, a considerable number of which are preserved in USSR manuscript collections (in Leningrad). The collection of Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan and other languages began long ago, back in the 18th century, when the Russian Tsar, Peter the Great, issued a special decree on preserving ancient articles, including written monuments.

An Asian Museum, which became the centre for the study of written monuments of the East was set up in Petersburg (now Leningrad) in 1818. Russian travellers brought to the Museum manuscripts which they acquire on their trips to the Asian countries. Gradually, a collection was built up which now contains many unique texts. At the present time the collection is preserved in the manuscript division of the Institute of Oriental studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences where a large staff of qualified academic workers study and edit written documents.

Russian Buddhologists have made a considerable contribution to the study of Buddhism, its history, art and literature.

They published previously unknown writings of South and North Buddhism. The Russian school of Buddhology deserves a world-wide recognition.

Soviet scholars are aware of these traditions and do their best to carry them on. In recent years Russian translations of the Jatakamala of Aryasura and of the Dhammapada were produced the latter with a circulation of 40,000 copies. They are going to be followed by the translations of such Pali Buddhist works as the Sutta-nipata and Milinda panha. Those scholars whose field of investigation is Ceylon are working on translations of the ancient chronicles of Ceylon —the Mahavamsa and the Dipavamsa.

Recently a new Pali grammar in the Russian language has appeared.

In this way Soviet scholars carry on their research on Buddhism and there is no doubt that they will soon present new interesting works on Buddhist history and culture.



THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE BUDDHA TAUGHT

K.R. Norman

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. There is to my knowledge no passage in the pali canon which gives any detailed account of the language which the Buddha spoke, and which he preached. The only reference to language is the much discussed statement in the Vinaya-pitaka (Volume II, p. 139)¹ that two bhikkhus asked the Buddha if they could translate his sermons *chandaso*, and received the reply: *anujānāmi, bhikkhave, sakāya niruttīyā buddha-vacanam pariyāpunitum*; I prescribe bhikkhus, that the word of the Buddha be learnt in his (i. e., the Buddha's) own language'. This seems to be a prohibition against translations,² but it tells us nothing about the Buddha's language itself.

1.2. The first statement which we possess about the nature of the Buddha's language comes in Buddhaghosa's commentary on this passage, where he explains; *ettha sakā niruttīnāma sammāsam buddhena vutta-ppakaro Magadhika-voharo* (Samantapāsādikā p. 1214); "His own dialect means the form spoken by the enlightened one, which has the name Magadhi. It might be thought that Buddhaghosa was referring to the language actually spoken by the Buddha during his life time as opposed to the form which it had acquired by the time the pali canon was formed, but it is probable that Buddhaghosa had no idea of the historical development of the language and was unaware of the fact that a distinction should be made between language of the Buddha and *pāli-bhāsā* (the language of the canon). Buddhaghosa does not say that the *pālibhāsā* is Māgadhī in as many words. He merely states at the beginning of each of his commentaries that he has translated the Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathā*'s into a language which is in keeping with that of the canon (which is a delightful language free from all faults), e. g.

*appanetvāna itato 'ham Sīhala-bhāsam manoramam bhāsam tanti-nay' ānucchavikam
āropento vigata-dosam.* (Sāratthappakāsinī, Volume I, p. 1.).

The Mahāvamsa, however, makes the statement quite specifically :

*parivattesi sabbā pi Sīhal, atthakathā tadā sabbesam mūla-bhāsāya Māgadhāya
niruttīyā. sattānam sabba-bhāsānam sā ahosi hītavāhā, theriyācariyā sabbe pāliṃ
vīya tam agghum.* (37. 244-5).

'He translated the whole of the Sīhala commentaries into the Māgadhī language, the root-language of all. For beings of all languages it became a blessing, and all the teachers of the Theravāda accepted it as though it were canonical.' In saying this the author was doubtless following Buddhaghosa himself, for we may assume that the commentator's own words would have been added to the body of traditional material upon which the Sinhalese chronicles were based.

1.3. It may be objected at this point that Buddhaghosa, being a North Indian, a brahman, and an educated man, would be acquainted either with spoken Māgadhī or at least with the Māgadhī of the dramas and the grammarians, and would therefore not call Pāli Māgadhī. I think this objection can be discounted. It is clear that Buddhaghosa, once he became a Buddhist, followed

the tradition of Buddhism exactly, and disregarded his previous knowledge. This is the only a possible explanation for the way in which he accepts 'folk' etymologies which his brahmanical training in Sanskrit would surely have told him were wrong. As Nāṇamoli says (p. 285, n. 40),³ 'Buddhaghosa's exegesis, however, excluded on principle any recourse to Sanskrit as the basic prakrit, since the whole of his exegetical system is designed to reinstate Pāli for Theravāda Buddhists as the "root-language". We may therefore deduce that Buddhaghosa found the basis for his statement that the speech of the Buddha was Māgadhī in the Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā which he was translating, and the statement must therefore have been brought to Ceylon from North India by the missionaries in the third century B. C., and then included in the commentarial material which formed the basis of the Sīhala-aṭṭhakathā.

1.4. We can be fairly certain that the language of the canon as we have it (which following the usual western practice I call 'Pāli'), does not differ greatly from the form in which it was introduced into Ceylon in the third century B. C. . If any changes had been made into the canonical texts after their introduction in to Ceylon, we can be certain that they would have been in the direction of the Sinhalese prakrit, which we know happened in the case of the aṭṭhakathā material which was all translated into Sinhalese prakrit. It is disputed whether the few anomalies in the Pāli of the canon were introduced in Ceylon (as Bechett submits)⁴ or are remnants of mainland dialects which were brought by the missionaries. In either case, the anomalous forms are very few, and it is quite clear that even if they were inserted in Ceylon it was not the practice to make many changes of this kind:

1.5. We have no direct evidence for the nature of Māgadhī in the third century B. C., since we do not possess any Asokan inscriptions from pāṭaliputra. We can, however, to some extent deduce what Māgadhī was like because we know that all the other versions are probably based upon a Māgadhī original. From the evidence we should assume that Māgadhī had *l* instead of *ṛ* and the nominative singular masculine ending was -e not -o. These are two of the characteristics of Māgadhī as described by the grammarians many hundreds of years later, but the Asokan inscriptions show no dialect with *ś* consistently replacing *s* which is the third of the typical Māgadhī characteristics described by the grammarians. What occurrences there are of *ś* are usually taken to be scribal errors or anomalous forms, and Bloch has stated (p. 48)⁵ that the characteristic *ś* sound is not found in the Asokan inscriptions except in the North-West. I have, however, pointed out elsewhere⁶ that there is epigraphical evidence that some inscriptions were copied from exemplars which included the *śa* akṣara. Working from entirely different evidence Janert showed independently (32 F)⁷ that there was evidence which supported the belief that *s* in the Pillar Edicts had the same type of pronunciation as *j*, i. e. the palatal pronunciation *ś*. These two pieces of evidence, based as they are upon different approaches to the problem, may be taken as proving conclusively that in the third century B.C. Māgadhī included the sound *ś*. We may, therefore, conclude that Māgadhī in the third century B. C. did not differ appreciably from Māgadhī in the fifth century A. D.

1.6. This conclusion enables us to say that Māgadhī in the third century B.C. was very different from pāli. This fact must have been known to the missionaries who brought Buddhism to Ceylon. Although Frauwallner has shown (p. 21)⁸ that the tradition in the Sinhalese chronicles that the missionaries were sent from Magadha is probably not correct, and the more likely suggestion is that the starting place of the various missions was Vidisā, nevertheless the missionaries (or at least some of them) were likely to have been acquainted with Magadhi and other dialects of North India.

1.7. We therefore have to consider the questions :—

- (a) Why did the missionaries call pāli Māgadhī, when they must have known that there were considerable differences between the two ?
- (b) Where the sources which Buddhaghosa was following correct in saying that the Buddha spoke Māgadhī ?

2. PALI AND MAGADHI

2.1. The phrase *sabbesam mūla-bhāsāya* which I quoted earlier from the *Mahāvamsa* (I.12), is doubtless a reminiscence of Buddhaghosa's own statement that Magadhi is the root-language of all people *Māgadhi-kāya sabba-sattānam mūla-bhāsāya* (*Visuddhimagga* XVI.25-p. 441). Elsewhere he states that the root-language is one which a child who had heard no other language would automatically speak *matā Dāmilā pitā Andhako; tesam jāto dārako sace mātū-kathāṃ pathamaṃ sunāti Dāmilā-bhāsam bhāssati; sace pitū-katham pathamam sunāti, Andhaka-bhasam bhāssati. ubbhinnam pi pana katham asunanto Magadha-bhāsam bhāssati. yo pi agāvnake maharanne nibbatto, tattha ānno kathamto nama n'āttāhi, so pi attano dhammatāya vacanaṃ samutthāpento Māgadha-bhāsam eva bhāssati niraye tiracchāna-yoniyam petti-visaye manussa-loke deva-loke pi sabbattha Māgadhi-bhāsā va ussannā*. (*Sammohavinodani*, pp. 387-8). 'The child of a Damila mother and an Andhaka father will speak the Damila language if he hears his mother first, the Andhaka language if he hears his father. If he hears neither, he will speak the Māgadhi language'. The author of the *Mohavicchedani* said the same: *Brahmāno ca, agāmake aranne kinci vacanam asutvā vāddhita-dārakā ca attano dhammatayā bhāsantā Māgadha-bhāsam eva bhāssanti sa va apāyesu manusse deva-loke c' eva pathamam ussannā* (p. 186).

2.2. The statement that Magadhi is *mūla-bhāsā sabba-sattānam* shows a striking parallel to the statement made by the Jains about *Ardha-Māgadhi*: *Bhagavam Mahāvire . . savva-bhāsānugā minie sarassie joyananihārinā sarenam addha-magahde bhāsāe bhasai sāvīya nam addha-māgahā bhāsā tesim savvesim āriya-m- anāriyānam appano sa-bhāsāe parināmenam parinamaim* (*Aupapātika-sutra* 56).⁹ Elsewhere *āriya-m-anāriyānam* is expanded into *duppayā-cauppayā-miya-pasupakkhi-sari-sivānam*, 'bipeds, quadrupeds, wild animals, cattle, birds, and snakes' (*Samāvayamga-sutta* 34)¹⁰. The similarity between the Jain and Buddhist statements is too great for them to be unconnected, but since it is unlikely that Buddhaghosa could have knowledge of the contents of any Jain text, or that he would have borrowed a phrase from them if he had, it is clear that he must have been repeating a phrase which he found in the *Sihala-atthakathā*.

2.3. The passage from the *Sammohavinodani* continues: *tattha sesā Otta-Kirāta-Andhaka-Yonaka Dāmila-bhāsadikā atthārasa bhāsā parivattanti; ayam ekekāyatha bhucca-brahma-vohara-ariya vohārasankhata Māgadha-bhāsā va na parivattati* (p. 388). The *Mohavicchedani* echoes the same sentiment: *paccha ca tato Andhaka-Yonaka-Dāmilādi-desabhāsā c' eva Sakkatadi-atthārasa-mahabhāsa ca nibbattā. sāvīya yasma itarāsu . . Bhāsāsu parivattantāsu pi na parivattati, sabba-kalam attano sabhāven' eva titthati, tasmā sabhava-nirutti ti vuccati* (p. 186). Again it is clear that the Jain and Buddhist texts go back to a common idea about the development of language, for both explain that (*Ardha*)-*Māgadhi* is intelligible to all beings because from it developed (*parina*) in Prakrit, *nibbattā* and *parivattati* in Pāli) the other languages. I would suggest that this idea of other languages developing from *Māgadhi* is a clear indication of the state of affairs in North India during the Mauryan empire in the fourth and third centuries B. C., and I think the idea of language development expressed in these texts must have arisen during, and very probably because of, that empire.

2.4. At that time *Māgadhi*, the language of Asoka's capital *Pātaliputra*, was in fact the administrative language of the whole of North India, and it (or something very similar to it, i.e. 'modified' *Māgadhi*) was inscribed all over India to make Asoka's decrees known to all his subjects. I suggest therefore that *Māgadhi sabba-sattānam mūla-bhāsā* was a (fairly) correct statement as far as North India was concerned in the fourth and third centuries B. C., and it was natural that a statement which Asoka might well have made about his administrative language should be taken over by the Buddhist missionaries when they went to Ceylon and were faced with the task of persuading the local inhabitants to accept texts composed in a language which differed from the Sinhalese Prakrit of that period. Their task would have been helped by the statement that 'this is the language of the Buddha; it is called *Māgadhi*; *Māgadhi* is the basis of all languages'.

2.5. An examination of the relationship between Ardha-Māgadhi, Pali, and the language of the inscriptions of the third and second centuries B. C. is helpful at this point. Of the three main characteristics of Māgadhi, Ardha-Māgadhi has the nominative singular in -e, fairly consistently instead of -o, l rarely instead of r but never ś instead of s. Pischel (17) quotes Abhayadeva as saying : Ardha- Māgadhi bhāsā yāsyam reasor lasau Māgadhyā m ityādykam Māgadha-bhāsā-lāksanam paripurnam nāsti, 'the Ardha-Māgadhi language in which the characteristics of the Māgadhi language exemplified in such statements as "In Magadhi śa replaces a sa and la replaces ra" are not fulfilled. He assumes that the reason why the language is called 'Half-Māgadhi' is because it has only half its characteristics. The alternative explanation quoted by A. M. Ghatage (p. 2)¹² that the name could mean "current in half the country of Magadha" seems less likely, if only because the adjective from Ardha-Magadha would presumably be * Ārdha-Māgadhi. The latter explanation is given in Nisitha-curni 11. p. 733 [(quoted by J. C. Jain, p. 177)],¹³ and also an alternative explanation that Ardha-Māgadhi comprises the eighteen kinds of desi-bhāsā. This fits in well the idea that Ardha-Māgadhi developed, was the basic language. The number eighteen and the word desi-bhāsā are reminiscent of the quotation from Mohavicchedani above (2.3).

2.6. If we now consider Pali and compare it with Māgadhi we can say that of the three main characteristics it shows -e very rarely for -o, l rarely for r., but never ś for s. It is therefore rather further away from Māgadhi than is Ardha-Māgadhi, but given that tradition thought that Ardha Magadhi, was not inappropriate for the name of the language of the Jain canon, then it is not entirely unreasonable that the name Magadhi should be given to the language of the Theravāda canon. It would seem reasonable to assume that both languages could have been spoken somewhere in Magadha, although not in the very heart of the state, where the typical Māgadhi must be supposed to have been spoken.

2.7. An examination of the inscriptional pattern of Eastern India in the third and second centuries B. C. supports the dialect geography postulated on the basis of the literary languages. Of the inscriptional sites discussed by Mehendale in his section on Eastern inscriptions,¹⁴ only one (the Jogimara cave) shows the typical Māgadhi ś instead of s, about half use l instead of r, and two have the nominative singular in -o. One of the latter is Hāthigumphā, the site of Kharavela's inscription. It is possible that in the case of a royal inscription a scribe was imported from outside the region, and the dialect of the inscription might represent the language of the scribe rather than the language of the region. Mehendale, however, states that the later material from the same site does not point to any linguistic variation, and we may therefore be fairly certain that the Hāthigumphā inscription gives a true picture of the dialect spoken in Kaliṅga in the second century. The -e and l characteristics of Asoka's Kaliṅga inscriptions probably result from the scribe copying his exemplar which was in Māgadhi, and making little or no effort to adopt the language of the inscription to the language of the people.

2.8. The pattern we observe, therefore, is one where the three characteristics of Māgadhi (l, s, and -e) are restricted to a small area; the greater part of the region shows only two of the three (l, and -e), just like Ardha-Māgadhi; the border of the region shows none of the characteristics. Somewhere rather closer to the centre of the region, where an admixture of the Kaliṅga features and the Ardha-Magadhi features could occur, would probably be the most likely place to name as the home of the language which was used as the language of the Theravāda canonical texts.

2.9. To sum up at this point. If we assume that Māgadhi was called the 'basic language' because the other Middle Indo-Aryan dialects were regarded as being derived from it, since in the fourth and third centuries B. C. Magadha was politically superior and therefore the language of Magadha, i. e. Māgadhi, was linguistically superior, and if we believe that those dialects derived

from Magdhī were still regard as being Magadhi (or following the Jain tradition, Ardha-Māgadhī), then the tradition which the Buddhist aṭṭhakathās in Ceylon retained that the language of the Buddhist canon brought by the missionaries in the third century B. C. was Māgadhī becomes understandable, even if by our modern methods of language classification it is not strictly true to say that the other dialects are derived from (Ardha-) Māgadhī.

2'10. In case this seems to contradict what I said earlier (31'6) I should point out that the fact that the missionaries set out from Vidiśā tells us nothing about the language of the texts they took with them, and the theory that the canon as we have it is a fairly good copy of the version current in Ujjenī in the third century B. C. is based to some extent upon the belief that Pāli must have been a Western dialect because of all the dialects of the Aśokan inscriptions it is closest to that of Girnar. Now that recent studies have suggested that to a great extent Aśoka's scribes wrote either their own dialect or the dialect which they thought was most appropriate to the locality, we can discount such evidence.

3. THE BUDDHA AND MĀGADHĪ

3'1. We now turn to the second of the two questions I put forward earlier (1'7.). Was Buddhaghosa correct in saying the Buddha spoke Māgadhī? Can we say what language the Buddha spoke, and in what language he preached? It is necessary to say at once that there is no reason for supposing that the Buddha spoke the same language all the time. The passage I quoted earlier (1.1.) in which the Buddha forbade the translation of his words into another language does not necessarily prove that they were all in the same language, only that they were not to be translated from the language in which they were uttered. If the suggestion which I have just made, that Māgadhī could be used as the name of the dialects which were presumed to have been derived from it, is correct, then the phrase *saka nirutti* as used by the Buddha could cover all the subtle variations of dialect which he might have used when wandering in various areas where the dialects might be presumed to have varied a little from each other as regards pronunciation, and possibly even as regards morphology and phonology.

3'2. Edgerton has pointed out (p. 3 n. 8) ¹⁵ that neither the Buddha's home (Kapilavastu) nor one of his favourite dwelling places (Śrāvastī), nor the scene of his first sermon (Benares), nor the place of his death (Kūśinagarī, Pāli Kūsinārā), was in Magadha, and hence the Buddha is not likely to have spoken Māgadhī in any of these places, although he probably did in Rajagṛha the capital of Māgadhī in his time. Geiger (p. 5) ¹⁶ thought that the Buddha spoke a lingua franca free from the most obtrusive dialect features, but I would suggest that it is more likely that he varied his language to suit his audience.

3'3. We have no knowledge of the extent of translation which was covered by the Buddha's prohibition. Buddhaghosa on his commentary on the passage says) : *chandaso āropemā ti vedam viya sakkata-bhāsāya vacana-maggaṃ āropemā* 'Let us translate in accordance with their various desires, as we translate the Veda into Sanskrit'. This degree of translation, from Vedic Sanskrit into Classical Sanskrit, would imply nothing more than translation from one dialect into another, but this is, of course, merely an illustration which Buddhaghosa was giving. He had no more idea than we have of the circumstances of the case, nor the degree of translation which was required.

3'4. We have no direct evidence of the language or dialect divisions in North India in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., and we must do what we can to deduce this by extrapolating backwards from the situation in the third century B. C., and seeking corroborative evidence from other sources. The way in which the dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan continued to diverge further from the norm

of Sanskrit after 250 B. C., suggests that before 250 B. C. the dialects were less divergent from Sanskrit. We may, therefore be certain that in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. the dialects of Indo-Aryan spoken in North India were morphologically and phonologically closer together than the dialects spoken at the time of Aśoka, and, as we know, the latter are in themselves not very dissimilar.

3.5. We know, however, that the alternation between *l* and *r* is very old in the history of Indo-Aryan, dating right back to the period of Indo-Iranian, and the language of Madhyadeśa showed an inclination towards the *l* sound.¹⁷ The fact that one example of the change of *-as*—*-e* in external sandhi, in place of the usual *-o*, is found in the Rgveda ¹⁸ indicates that there was probably at least one dialect at the time of the Rgveda which had this change as a characteristic. There is therefore no reason to doubt that long before the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra there could have been a dialect in the Magadha region where nominative singular was in *-e*, and *l* replaced *r*.

3.6. There is also a small number of words where the *ṣ* which is expected on the basis of comparative philology turns up as *ś*, ¹⁹ besides the words which in Sanskrit are found with both *s* and *ś* (kusula/kusula etc.), which might indicate a less-widely spread tendency to convert *s* to *ś*. This would not be inconsistent with a dialect pattern whereby in a small area in Magadha we found Māgadhi spoken with all three typical changes, viz. *-e*! *-o*, *l*! *r*, and *s*/*ś*, but elsewhere in Magadha Ardh-Māgadhi, with only two of these changes, viz. *-e*! *-o*, and *l*/*r*. We could imagine that visiting preachers might well make the small change needed as they wandered about Magadha, pronouncing all their *s* sounds as *ś* when they were in the *s* speaking area, but using only *s* elsewhere.

3.7. There is evidence for other dialect differences too. We know from the Aśokan inscriptions that in the third century B. C. there was a dialect variation in the treatment of consonant groups. In the East the dialects tended to resolve consonant groups by inserting an epenthetic (svarakti) vowel. In the West such consonant groups were simplified by assimilation. We occasionally find that a word is found in the Pāli canon which shows one regional variation, while the explanation of the word which is preserved in the commentaries shows a different regional development, e. g. we find in Dhammapada 266 the phrase *vissam dhammam samādayā*, usually translated 'having adopted the whole law'. The commentary, however, explains this as *vissān ti, visamam vissa-gandham vā kāya-kammādikam dhammam samādaya*. The alternative explanation signified by *va* shows that the commentator did not in fact understand the meaning of the word, but nevertheless the tradition of the Sinhalese atthakathā he was following had preserved the correct meaning for him. One Sanskrit version of the verse has *vesma-dharma* and it is probable that the Gāndhārī Prakrit version also has *vesma*-. The meaning therefore is 'domestic manner (of life)' 20. In the Pali version *vissa* stands for *vessa*, where *-ss* results from the assimilation of *-sm-* — *-ss-*. The first explanation in the commentary shows the alternative development of an epenthetic vowel being inserted, i. e., *vesma* — *visma* — *visma* — *visama*. Another Sanskrit version of the same verse has *visama* (Mahavastu, Volume III, p. 422), which is clearly a backformation from the same tradition which preserved the Pali commentarial reading *visama*.

3.8. Brough has shown (p. 226) 21 that in a number of cases other (non-Pāli) traditions preserve as canonical those forms which are akin to those in the Pāli commentary, showing that those traditions thought that the Buddha had uttered them, e. g. where Pali Dhammapada 41 includes the words *adhisessati*, *chuddho*, and *apeta-vinnāno*, Gāndhārī Dharmapada 153 has *vari sa isadi; tuchu*, and *avakada-vinana*. The Pali words are, however, glossed in the Pāli commentary as *uapari sayissati*, *tuccha*, and *avagata-viñāna* (Dhammapada-atthakathā i 320-1), which clearly shows acquaintance with the same tradition as underlies the Gāndhārī version. A possible explanation of this is that the Buddha uttered the same sermon more than one occasion, sometimes making

changes, as the occasion or locality demanded. When tradition preserved more than one version, it sometimes kept one as an explanation of the other. In the case of *vissa/visama* we may presume that the sermon was preached at least twice, once in an area where consonant groups were assimilated, and once where they were resolved, showing that the dialect variation already existed in the time of the Buddha.

3.9. Other comparable mixtures of Eastern and Western developments of consonant group are found in the Pāli canon itself, e.g. the usual development from Sanskrit *ārya* is the Eastern from *ariya*, but *ayya* (with the change-ry-yy-) is found, less frequently, with a somewhat specialised sense. In this example the Eastern form predominates, whereas in the categories I mentioned before (-e for o, and l for r) Western forms are much more common. These, and other, characteristics led Luders to postulate the existence of an Ur-kanon (original canon) which he thought was written in Old Māgadhi, and he collected together from the canon all the examples he could find of the features which he held to support this theory.²² Bechert has correctly pointed out that these features do not in fact support the theory that there was actually a canon written in Old Māgadhi.²³ All that the features prove in themselves is that portions of the Pāli canon are based upon a tradition that at some time was transmitted in a dialect which differed from Pāli in certain respects.

3.10. Nevertheless, if we combine together the fact that the Buddha was known to have sometimes preached in Magadha, with the information we have been able to deduce about the nature of the dialect or dialects which were likely to have been spoken in that area in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., we shall inevitably come to the conclusion that some at least of the Buddha's teaching must have been given in the dialect which we can call Old Māgadhi. If we accept the suggestion that in Māgadha itself there was likely to have been at least one dialect which differed somewhat from Māgadhi, e. g. not having *ī* for *ī*, and that the Buddha varied the dialect of his sermons to meet local requirements, then we can probably conclude that he also preached in Old Ardha-Māhgadhi.

3.11. There is evidence to show that the proportion of the Pāli canon in the Eastern dialect was originally greater than it is now. Luders collected examples of instances where it can clearly be shown that difficulties in the understanding of Pāli can be removed if we understand that they are based upon mistranslations of passages which are originally in an Eastern dialect.²⁴ We may therefore deduce that much more of the Pāli canon was originally composed in one or more of the Eastern dialects, and in the course of time it was subjected to one or more recensions, where translation into other dialects took place, perhaps because Buddhism was spreading into parts of India where the Eastern dialects were not fully understood, or where they seemed strange and out-landish or because as the Middle Indo-Aryan dialects continued to develop some change was required to bring them up to date to prevent them seeming old-fashioned and eventually becoming unintelligible. Such changes in the form of the language can frequently be seen, e. g. there are many examples of verses which no longer can perfectly because they have an excessive number of syllables. Examination shows that if we disregard epenthetic vowels in these verses they scan perfectly, showing that when they were first composed the dialect had not yet evolved epenthetic vowels in consonant groups. Similar examples can be given of verses which are unmetrical until we realise that archaic forms of verbs must be substituted for forms which have been introduced into the text by later reciters to whom the older forms seemed strange, e. g. we must read *katvāna* instead of *kā tva* in Sutta-nipāta 362.

3.12. If we assume that the Buddha's sermons were preached in a number of dialects, and several recensions took place, then it becomes easier to understand why some Māgadhi forms remained while other disappeared. We may assume that the collection of sermons ascribed to the Buddha grew all the time, until the extent of the canon was finally fixed. Sermons which were accepted as canonical during the lifetime of the Buddha or immediately after his death might therefore be presumed to have undergone more recensions or editorial treatment than material which was added to the collection at a later date. There seems to have been no great effort made to standardise such

material if it was added at different times, even if it might have been presumed to have originally been identical. So we find that there are significant differences between the form of the *thera Vaṅḡsa's* verses as they appear in the *Samyutta-nikāya* (Volume I, pp. 185-96) and in the *Theragāthā* (verses 1209-62). Similarly the reply given to the Buddha by the *ajivika Upaka* appears in the form *hupeyya* 'it may be' in one place in the canon (*Vinayapitaka*, Volume I, p. 8) but as *huveyya* elsewhere (*Majjhimanikāya*, Volume I, p. 171). Since *hupeyya* is an anomaly in the Pali canon, we may deduce that this is the correct form of *Upaka's* reply, and doubtless represents the form of the word as it occurred in his own particular dialect. The other form *huveyya* must represent the result of normalising *hupeyya* to make it conform to the Pali pattern.

3.13. Sometimes, however, we may assume that the presence of non-Pāli forms in Pāli merely represents an incorrect or hurried attempt at normilisation, during which not all the anomalous forms were dealt with. This is probably the explanation of the forms in-e in the *Kathāvatthu*, a text which is said to have been recited by *Moggaliputta-Tissa* at the end of the third council, which was held (according to the Southern Buddhist tradition) during the reign of *Aśoka*. Since the council was held at *Pāṭaliputra*, in *Magadha*, it is at least possible that part at least of the text was uttered in *Māgadhī*. Alternatively, we may assume that some of the views which are mentioned in the text were recited in the language of those who held the views, just as we have just assumed that *hupeyya* must have been *Upaka's* own way of pronouncing the word. If the *Kathāvatthu* was immediately accepted as canonical, then there was little time for it to go through all the process of recension, if there was any special machinery for this, and if it still existed in the third century B. C. A hurried removal of the non-Pāli forms to bring the language of the text into line with that which the rest of the canon had assumed by that time was almost certain to be incomplete, particularly when the nominative singular ending -e was capable of interpretation as a locative ending-e, and in an ambiguous position might well not seem to need correction or translation.

3.14. The case with which texts containing *Māgadhī* forms could be added to the canon, and the way in which such *Māgadhī* forms, having been added, were not quickly removed as being unintelligible, persuades me that the Pali canon must have been preserved in North India in the third century B. C. in an area where *Māgadhī*, in the broadest sense of the word, was used and understood. This too would account for the way in which some *Māgadhisms*, so far from being removed, became the standard Pāli form, e. g. the Eastern form *seyyathā* 'as follows' is used consistently throughout the canon, and it is very indicative that the one text which uses the expected Western form *tamyathā* is the *Milindapañha*, for which a North-Western origin has been postulated.

4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1. We may postulate that the Buddha used a number of closely related dialects when preaching. When he preached in *Māgadhī* we may suppose that he used a dialect showing the characteristics of the later *Māgadhī*, which we may therefore call Old *Māgadhī*. Elsewhere he used dialects showing fewer of the *Māgadhī* characteristics, including one which did not include *s*, which we may call Old *Ardha-Māgadhī*, although we have no way of telling whether the speakers of these dialects were conscious of the fact that their dialects did in fact differ. After the Buddha's death his teachings were collected together, and a certain amount of editorial work was done on them, including the removal of all the *s* sounds. The fact that the original material was not all in the same dialect, and additions were made to it from time to time, resulted in a canon which showed a mixture of forms and dialects. This was tolerated because it was preserved in an area where the dialect was of a similar mixed nature.

4.2. The rise to pre-eminence of *Magadha* in the fourth and third centuries B. C. led to the rise of *Māgadhī* as the administrative language of the Mauryan empire. The fact that a *Māgadhī* version was the basis of the various versions of *Aśoka's* edicts which were inscribed around India in various *Prakrits*, and also Greek, Aramaic and perhaps Dravidian, led to the belief that *Māgadhī*

was the 'root-language' of all these other languages. One of these North Indian Prakrits, closely akin to Māgadhī, and actually spoken on the borders of Magadha, was used as the language of the recension of the Buddhist canon which was introduced into Ceylon in the third century B. C. Being akin to ('derived from') Māgadhī it was correct by the usage of the time to call it Māgadhī, and a Magadhi it was regarded as the root-language of all languages.

4 3. Buddhaghosa took over this statement from the Sīhalaatthakathā-s he found in Ceylon, and knowing nothing of the historical development of language he accepted the tradition that the words ascribed to the Buddha in the canon were actually in the form in which they had been uttered. The language of the Buddha was accordingly Māgadhī because the language of the canon was Māgadhī.

NOTES

1. All references to Pāli texts are to Pāli Text Society editions.
2. See K. R. Norman, 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies VIII', Journal of the Oriental Institute (Baroda), Vol. XX, pp. 329—31.
3. Bhikku Nānamoli. Minor Readings and Illustrations, London 1960.
4. H. Bechert, 'Über Singhalesisches im Pālikanon', Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens, Vol. I, pp. 71—5.
5. J. Bloch, Les inscriptions d'Asoka, Paris 1950.
6. K. R. Norman, 'Some aspects of the phonology of the Prakrit underlying the Asokan inscriptions', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XXXIII, p. 139.
7. K. L. Janert, Abstände und Schlussvokalverzeichnungen in Aśoka—Inchriften, Wiesbaden 1972.
8. E. Frauwallner, The earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist literature, Rome 1956.
9. E. Leumann, Das Aupāṭṭika Sutra, Leipzig 1883.
10. See Phulchandj Maharaj, Suttagama, Vol. I, Gurgaon 1953, p. 346.
11. R. Pischel, Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages, Delhi 1957.
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14. M. A. Mehendale, Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits, Poona 1948. pp. 183—202.
15. F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar, New Haven 1953.
16. W. Geiger, Pāli Literature and Language, Calcutta 1956.
17. T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Language, London 1955, pp. 32—4.
18. Burrow, op. cit., p. 100.
19. Burrow, op. cit., pp. 97—8.
20. J. Brough, The Gāndhārī Dharmapada, London 1962.
21. Brough, op. cit., p. 192.
22. H. Luders, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons, Berlin 1954.
23. H. Bechert, 'Notes on the formation of Buddhist sects and the origins of Mahāvāna', German scholars on India, Vol. I, Benaras 1973, p. 10.
24. Luders, op. cit., pp. 12—24.

THE UPALIPARIPRCCHASUTRA, A VINAYA TEXT IN CHINESE

Valentina Stache—Rosen

Immediately after the death of the Buddha, a council was held at Rājagṛha in order to memorise the teachings of the master. Ānanda recited the Sūtras and Upāli the Vinaya. The canon was handed down verbally and was laid down in writing at a later date.

The cause for convening this council was the fact that the monk Subhadda was glad to be free to do as he pleased and not to be bound by the rules the Buddha had laid down.

Hundred years after the Nirvāṇa, a second council was held at Vaiśālī, because of difference of opinion on some of the rules of conduct. After this council, the first schism in the Buddhist order arose. The Mahāsaṃghikas favoured the more liberal interpretation, whereas the Sthaviras or Theravādins were stricter. In the course of centuries, a number of other schools—some texts mention as many as eighteen—developed in India.

The Ceylonese chronicles mention a third council at Pāṭaliputra, held under the patronage of king Aśoka. Aśoka sent missionaries to many countries after this council. The most successful of these missions was that of his son Mahinda, who converted the king and the people of Ceylon to Buddhism.

A number of Vinaya texts of different schools have come down to us.

The Vinaya of the Theravādins, which according to tradition was brought to Ceylon by Mahinda, has been published by the Pāli Text Society. The Sanskrit version of the Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya of the Ārya Mahāsaṃghika Lokottaravādins has been published by the Jayaswal Research Institute¹, as well as the Abhisamācārika,² and the Prātimokṣa of the same school³. The Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins has been translated into Tibetan (Dulva I—XIII), and fragments of the Sanskrit original have been found in Gilgit. ⁴ Fragments of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, originally written in Sanskrit, have been found in Central Asia. Among them are the Bhikṣuprātimokṣa ⁵ and the Bhikṣuṇīprātimokṣa, ⁶ the Bhikṣu ⁷ and the Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā ⁸ and the Bhikṣuvīṇayavibhaṅga ⁹. The Chinese Tripitaka contains the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins (T 1435), the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (T 1442—57), the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas (T 1428), the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas (T 1421), and finally the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṃghikas (T 1425).

Apart from these canonical Vinaya texts, the Chinese Tripitaka contains a number of commentaries or annotations, e. g. T 1440 Sarvāstivādinayavibhāṣā, T 1441 Sarvāstivādinayamātṛikā T 1463 Vinayamātṛakā, T 1461 Lu-erh-shih-erh-ming-liao-lun and T 1462 Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha. The latter text is a translation of Buddhaghosa's Sāmantapāsādikā rendered into Chinese by Saṃghabhadra in 489 A. D. This text has been translated into English by P. V. Bapat.

T 1466, the Upāliparipṛcchāsūtra is one of the Vinaya texts in Chinese. Bapat in the introduction to the translation of the Shan-chien-p'i-p'o-sha says that this text closely resembles Prātimokṣasūtra. ¹⁰ W. Pachow, who made a comparative study of the Prātimokṣa (Santūniketan 1955

included this text in his study and found it came closest to the Pāli Pātimokkha. A further comparison has shown, that almost the whole of the Upālipariṣcchāsūtra has a parallel in the Pāli Vinaya, the parallels, however, are found not in one place but in different parts of the Vinaya.

The Pāli Vinaya consists of four parts, Bhikkhuvibhaṅga, Bhikkhunūvibhaṅga, the Khandakas and the Parivāra. The nucleus of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga is the Pātimokkha, a list of 227 offences recited every fortnight at the Uposatha ceremony. The four Pārājikas, sexual intercourse, theft, murder, and falsely claiming to have obtained supernatural powers are the most serious offences. A monk committing one of these offences was expelled from the order for good. The 13 Saṃghādhisesa offences entailed a temporary exclusion from the order. After the guilty monk had undergone a period of probation (parivāsa) and penance (mānatta), he could be rehabilitated by the order of monks. The thirty Nissaggiya Pācittiyas deal with worldly goods like robes, mats, alms bowls, bedding and the like. If a monk possessed more than the prescribed number of goods, or goods made of material that was considered too costly for a recluse he had to confess his fault and the articles in question were confiscated.

Various offences fall under the 92 Pācittiyas. These rules regulate the behaviour of monks towards their brethren, nuns or laymen. A number of rules are concerned with food. These Pācittiyas, as well as the four Pātiesanīyas had to be confessed. The 73 Sekhiyas deal with the behaviour of monks, their way of dressing, eating and moving about.

In the Suttavibhaṅga, an introductory story precedes each rule, stating on which occasion the Buddha proclaimed the formula in question. Each rule is followed by a commentary and a casuistry. In the casuistry there are discussions on what constitutes an offence, when an offence is less serious and when a monk is not guilty—anāpatti. Two terms, thullaccaya and dukkata a serious offence and an evil action, which are not found in the Pātimokkha, are introduced in the Vibhaṅga. Oldenberg, who was of the opinion that the Pātimokkha was promulgated by the Buddha himself or by his personal disciples, thinks that the redactors of the Vinayapitaka hesitated to increase the number of rules, therefore they introduced these two terms.

The Khandakas, twenty in number, deal with such matters as food, clothing, etc.

The Parivāra is a kind of compendium of the other Vinaya texts. It contains lists for memorising as well as questions and answers on the problems dealt with in the Suttavibhaṅga and the Khandakas. The Parivāra is a special feature of the Pāli Vinaya. The colophon says the Parivāra was written by a monk Dīpa for the benefit of the students, after he had made enquiries here and there after the methods of the former teachers :

pubbācariyamaggañ ca pucchitvā 'va tahiṃ tahiṃ
Dīpanāmo mahāpañño sutadharo vicakkhaṇo
imaṃ vitthārasaṃkhepaṃ sajjhāmaggena majjhime
cintayitvā likkhāpesi sissakānaṃ sukhāvahaṃ
Parivāraṃ ti yaṃ vuttaṃ sabbaṃ vatthuṃ salakkhanaṃ
atthaṃ atthena saddhamme dhammaṃ dhammena pannate
sāsanaṃ parivāresi Jambudvīpaṃ vā sāgāro
Parivāraṃ ajānanto kuto dhammavinicchayaṃ

The Upālipariṣcchāsūtra begins with questions put by Upāli to the Buddha. He enquires on account of which qualities a monk is dependent all his life. The Buddha answers that if monk knows neither the Uposatha nor the procedure during the Uposatha ceremony, if he does not know the Pātimokkha and the recital of the Pātimokkha and if he has been ordained five years or less, he will be dependent. This passage is found in the Parivāra among a chapter entitled Upālipaṇcaka, p. 180 of the PTS edition. The next two questions

of the Chinese text also have a parallel in the same chapter of the Pāli Parivāra. Two questions follow in the Chinese text, for which no Pāli parallel has been found. As against this one chapter with five questions of the Chinese text, the Upālipaṇcaka has fourteen chapters with 149 questions in all.

After this introduction, the text proper begins. Each rule of the Pātimokkha is given in abbreviated form, followed by a casuistry and an anāpatti clause. Two examples from the Upāliparipicchāsūtra may show the character of the text.

Pārājika 2, the rule concerning theft, reads as follows : ādinnam ādiyanto kati āpattiyo āpajjati. ādinnam ādiyanto tisso āpattiya āpajjati. pañcmāsakam vā agghanakam adinnāṃ theyyasaṃ khātāṃ ādiyati, āpatti pārājikassa. atirekamāsakhaṃ vā ūnapañcamāsakam vā agghanakam adinnāṃ theyyasamkhātāṃ ādiyati, āpatti thullaccayassa. māsakam va unamaṣakam vā agghanakam adinnam theyyasaṃ khātāṃ ādiyati, āpatti dukkaṭassa. ādinnam ādiyanto imā tisso āpattiyao āpajjati " (This passage, corresponding to the Chinese text, has been taken from the Parivāra, whereas the following is found in the Suttavibhaṅga) anāpatti sakasaññissa vissāsaghahe tāvakālika patapariggahe tiracchana-gatapariggahe paṇḍukūlasaññissa ummattakassa khittacittassa vedantassa ādikammikassā 'ti¹²

The translation of the Chinese text reads as follows : When a monk takes something that has not been given, there are three offences. When he takes something to the value of five coin or more, it is a Pārājika offence. If he takes something to the value of more than one coin but less than five coins, it is a Thullaccaya offence. If he takes something to the value of one coin or less than one coin, it is a Dukkata offence. It is no offence if he thinks (the object) belongs to him, if he takes it with general consent, if he uses it for a short while, if it belongs to a Yakṣa or an animal, if he thinks that the object has been thrown away, if he is mad, if he is the first offender.

In the Pātimokkha this rule has the following wording : "Whatever monk should by means of theft take from a village or from the jungle what has not been given to him in such a manner of taking as kings, catching a thief in the act of stealing would flog him or imprison him or banish him saying, 'You are a robber, you are foolish, you are wrong, you are a thief, even so a monk, taking what is not given him, is also one who is defeated, he is not in communion.'"

A detailed explanation of each term of this rule is given in the commentary, then it is said that it is a Pārājika offence if the goods taken are of five māsakas value or more than five māsakas value. If the value is less than five and more than one māsaka, the monk becomes guilty of a Thullaccaya offence. He commits a Dukkata offence if he takes something valued at one māsaka or less.

We see from this example that the Patimokkha rule together with the commentary have been combined—in a very condensed way in the Upāliparipicchāsūtra.

Our second example is Pārājika 3, the rule concerning murder. In the Pātimokkha the rule is as follows : Whatever monk should intentionally deprive a human being of life or should look about so as to bring him a knife or should praise the beauty of death, or should incite anyone to death, saying : 'He there, man, of what use to you is this evil, difficult life " Death is better to you than life', or who should deliberately and purposefully in various ways praise the beauty of death or should incite anyone to death, he is also one who is defeated, he is not on communion¹³.

The Vibhaṅga commentary enumerates many other ways of causing death, either by digging pits or by giving poison, or by influencing the six senses, by handling a weapon to a person or by inciting him to commit suicide by words or gestures. It is no offence if a monk kills a person by accident, attempted murder is a serious offence, as well as murder of *ayakkha*. Aiding an abetting abortion is considered like murder.

In the Upālipariprcchāsūtra this rule has been abridged and reads as follows :

sañcicca manussaviggahaṃ jīvitā voropento kati āpattiyo āpajjati. sañcicca manussaviggahaṃ jīvitā voropento tisso āpattiya āpajjati. amanussam odissa opātam khanati papativā marissatīti, apatti dukkatassa. papatite dukkhā vedanā uppajjati, āpatti thullaccay assa. marati, āpatti pārājīkassa. sañcicca manussaviggahaṃ jīvitā voropento imā tisso āpattiyao āpajjati. (Parivāra p. 33) anāpatti asañcicca ajanantassa na maraṇādhipayassa ummattakassa adikammikass ti. (SV I, p. 78).

With the exception of the Sekhiya section, each and every rule of the Chinese Upālipariprcchāsūtra is found in the Parivāra, and the anāpatti clauses are found in the Vibhaṅga, although the order is different.

Parājika 1—4, Saṃghādisesa 1—10 and Nissaggiya 1—23 and Patidesaniya 1—4 correspond to each other. Among the 92 Pācittiya rules, the order is different, and among the 73 Sekhiya rules eight have no correspondence in the Pāli text. One may therefore say, that the Upālipariprcchāsūtra corresponds to the whole of the Vibhaṅga, not only to the Pātimokkha.

Whether the Upālipariprcchāsūtra is prior to the Vibhaṅga or whether it is a compendium of the Vibhaṅga compiled to facilitate memorising the rules is a question that cannot be answered at present. According to the Cullavagga (Vin. II, p. 287), the Vinaya of the Mahīṣāsakas (T. 1421, p. 191 a) and one recension of the Mahāparinirvāṇasātra (T. 15, p. 175 c) Upāli recited an embryonic form of the Vinaya, which in course of time developed to its present extent. Other accounts claim that Upāli recited the whole of the Vinaya as handed down by their school. According to Kumārahīva (344—409) and the Chinese scholars Sengyu (444—518 and Huei-chiao (497—554) Upāli recited the whole of the Vinaya at the council of Rājagṛha. I) took him 80 times to do this, and therefore the Vinaya was called “The Vinaya of Eighty Recitations”. This Vinaya was preserved by the first five patriarchs. Later-generations were unable to memorise such an extensive text, and therefore in Asoka's time, Upagupta left out the Avadanas and Jātakas which had been included in the original text. He composed a Vinaya in ten recitations—Daśādhyaya Vinaya. This Vinaya of the Kaśmir country was translated by Kumārakīva at Ch'iang-an in 404/5 under the title Che-sung-liu (T 1435). Section 1—3 comprises the rules for monks, section 4—6 the Skandhakas, 8—10 the appenndices, Ekottara, Upālipariprcchā, Kāu drakavarga and Kusalavarga¹⁴. This Sarvastivada Upālipariprccha, a Sanskrit fragment of which was discovered in Central Asia, is not identical with the Chinese text T 1466.

The Chinese text of T 1466 is so close to the Pali that there can hardly be any doubt that the language from which this translation was made was Pali. Unfortunately it is not possible to say where the original came from and who translated it.

The Taisho edition, as well as the Yüan edition of 1290 and the Ming edition of 1601 state that the Upālipariprcchāsūtra was translated by Gunavarman during the Yüan-chia period of the Sung dynasty (424—454). The following twelve texts contain biographies of Gunavarman¹⁵ :

1. T 2145 Chu San Tsang Chi Chi by Seng Yu, A. D. 515
2. T 2059 Kao Seng Chuan by Hui-Chiao, 553 A. D.

3. T 2064 Shen Seng Chuan by an unknown author with a preface dated 1417 A. D.
4. T 2122 Fa Yüan Chu Lin by Tao Shih, 668 A. D.
5. T 2151 Ku Yin I Ching T'u Chi by Tsing Mai, 664 A. D.
6. T 2154 Kai Yüan Che Chiao Lu by Che Ching, 730 A. D.
7. T 2157 Cheng Yüan Hsin Ting Che Chiao Mu Lu by Yüan Chao, 7th century
8. T 2034 Li Tai San Pao Chi by Fei Chang-fang, 597 A. D.
9. T 2149 Ta Tang Nei Tien Lu by Tao Huan, 7th century
10. T 2131 Fan I Ming I Chi by Fa-Yun, 12th century
11. T 2035 Fu Tsu T'ung Chi, by Chih Pan, 13th century
12. T 2106 Chi Shen Chou San Pao Kan T'ung Lu

Seven of these texts, Nos. 1 and 2 and Nos 5—9 list the translations made by Gunavarman but the Upāliparipīcchā-sūtra is not among them. The oldest of these biographies, the Chu San Tsang Chi Chi ascribes five translations to Gunavarman, with the later biographies the number increases to twelve.

Gunavarman was born in Kashmir, he stayed for some time in Ceylon and Java before coming to China, where he died in 431 A. D. If he had translated the Upāliparipīcchāsūtra, one might assume that he brought it with him from Ceylon.

The old Sung edition of 1104—48 refers to the Han Catalogue according to which the translation was made by an unknown author. The Han catalogue of Chu Shi-hsing is mentioned for the first time in 587 A. D. by Fei Chang-fang.¹⁶ As he states he did not have access to this catalogue, it is doubtful if it ever existed as an independent work. The Kai Yüan Chi Chiao Lu mentions the Upāliparipīcchāsūtra among the works of the later Han dynasty¹⁷ and the Li Tai San Pao Chi lists two translations, one of the later Han dynasty (25—220 A. D.), the other of the Eastern Chin dynasty (317—420 A. D.).¹⁸ As Gunavarman translated a Māhayāna work called Upāliparipīcchāsūtra it is quite possible that at one time the translation of the Hinayāna text of that name was ascribed to him.

The Japanese scholar A. Hirakawa studied the terminology of the translation and came to the conclusion that the translation must have been made at about the same time as that of the Sarvāstivāda Vinaya, i.e. the fifth century.¹⁹ In a foot-note, the Chinese translator refers to Tan-mo-lo-cha, Dharmarakṣa.²⁰ Three translators named Dharmarakṣa are known, but unfortunately no Vinaya work of theirs is extant, so that the quotation cannot be traced. This "terminus post quem" does not help in establishing the date of the translation.

It is also not possible to state with certainty which school the Upāliparipīcchāsūtra belonged to. The fact that the text is closer to the Pali Vinaya than to any other Vinaya justifies the assumption that the text either originated in India at a place where Pali was known and used or in Ceylon.

In the fourth century, King Meghavaṇṇa of Ceylon had caused a monastery to be built at Bodhgayā.²¹ The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang, who visited Bodhgaya in the 7th century, wrote about this establishment: "In old days, there was a king of Ceylon, which is a country of the Southern Sea, who was truthful and a believer in the law of Buddha. It happened, that his brother, who had become a disciple of Buddha, thinking on the holy traces of Buddha, went forth to wander

through India. At all the convents he visited, he was treated with disdain as a foreigner. He therefore returned to Ceylon, and induced the king to build convents throughout all India. Being furnished with money, he returned to India, where he was informed that the Bodhi is the place where all the past Buddhas have obtained the holy fruit and where the future ones will obtain it. There is no better place than this for carrying out the project. He accordingly built a monastery at Māhabodhi and set up the following inscription engraved in copper. "To help all without distinction is the highest teaching of the Buddhas, to exercise mercy as the occasion offers is the illustrious doctrine of former saints. And now I, unworthy descendant in the royal line, have undertaken to found this Saṃghārāma, to enclose the sacred traces and to hand down their renown to future ages, and to spread their benefits among the people. The priests of my country will thus obtain independence, and be treated as members of the fraternity of this country. Let this privilege be handed down from generation to generation without interruption." Hsüan Tsang also records that nearly one thousand monks lived in this monastery. The Ceylonese monks are mentioned again in an inscription of the year 1157 "for the offering of Buddha the daily ration with pots, incense and lamps shall be given so long as the sun and moon shall endure, by the leaders of the Ceylon Assembly in Mahābodhi."²²

C. Bendall found a fragment of a manuscript in the library of the Mahārāja of Nepal.²³ These fragments correspond to the Cullavagga of the Pāli Vinaya and are ascribed to the 8th—10th century. Bapat, discussing this manuscript, says : "The manuscript is important in the sense that most of the Pali manuscripts are either in Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese or Cambodian characters, while this fragment proves that in the Himalayan regions Pali texts were written in Indian script and used by the Buddhist monks and that probably in Northern India and Nepal such books did exist and were used by the monks of the Sthavira school."²⁴

Thus we see, that Ceylonese monks must have been present in Northern India from the 4th to the 12th century and that texts in Pali were written in India.

Sinhalese monks are attested in other places in India as well. An inscription at Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā of the 14th year of the Ikṣvāku king Mātharīputa Siri Vīrapurisadata (ca 240—260 A. D.) mentions the erection of a caityagṛha and a caitya for the benefit of the monks from Tambapāṇḍa (Ceylon), who converted Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Cīṇa-Cilāta, Tosali, Avaramta, Vamga, Vanavasi, Damila Palura and Tambapāṇḍadīpa.²⁵ Although the claim that the Ceylonese monks converted the whole of India to Buddhism is unacceptable, this inscription does show that a number of Ceylonese monks must have lived in Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā in the 3rd century A. D.

In Sarnāth, a Pali inscription of the Kushān period was found. The inscription reads :

cattāri imāni bhikkhave ariyasaccaṃ
 katamāni cattāri—dukkham bhikkhareo ariyasaccaṃ
 dukkhasamudayam ariyasaccaṃ kukkhanirodham ariyasaccaṃ
 dukkhanirodhagāminī ca paṭipadā ariyasaccaṃ.²⁶

In South India, Kāñchipuram was a centre of the Sthavira school. Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla are said to have received their training there, and Buddhaghosa wrote some of his works at Kāñchipuram.²⁷ Buddhaghosa quotes the commentary of the Andhra country, Andha Aṭṭhakathā, generally in order to find fault with it.²⁸

The possibility that the Upāliparipicchāsūtra originated in any of the centres in India, where Pali was used, cannot be ruled out. It is however more likely, that the text originated in Ceylon. If this is the case, the text cannot have belonged to the Mahāvihāra monastery, as the

order of the rules is different. The Upāliparipīcchāsūtra might have belonged to the Abhayagirivihāra. This monastery was founded in the first century B. C. by king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. Shortly after its foundation, the monks of this monastery had a quarrel with their brethren at the Mahāvihāra, and in the course of time the Abhayagirivāsins formed their own faction. In the third century A. D. the monks of the Abhayagirivihāra adopted the view of the Vetulyavāda. Sixty monks were expelled from the country and went to India, where they gained support of a monk Saṃghamitta. Saṃghamitta came to Ceylon and used his influence at court to make the king withdraw his support from the Mahāvihāra. The reason given was that these monks did not teach the correct Vinaya—no accusation of heresy was made.³⁰ When Fa Hsien visited Ceylon in the 5th century, he found 5,000 monks in the Abhayagiri monastery and only 3,000 in the Mahāvihāra.³¹ The Abhayagirivāsins kept contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India.³² It was only under king Parākramabahu I in the 12th century that a unification of the Saṃgha was achieved and the Abhayagiri fraternity disappeared as a separate entity.

The Mahāvamsa Tīka says that the monks of the Abhayagiri Vihāra changed the meaning and wording of Khandaka and Parivāra ; Tesam Abhayagirivāsino Lankā dīpamhi sāsanaṣa patiṭṭhānā sattarasavassamattādhikesu dvisu vassasatesu atikkantesu Vaṭṭagāminirañṇo kale Bhagavato ahaccabhasita Vinayapitakato Khandakaparivarṇaṃ atthantarapathantarakaranavasena bhedaṃ katvā Theravadato nikkhamma Dhammarucikavāda nāma hutvā tena Veṭṭagāmina Abhayagiriviharamhi karapite tattha te vasiṃsu.³³

This passage does not say, as has been stated, e.g., in the Encyclopedia of Buddhism, that the Abhayagirivasins rejected the Parivara. It therefore seems likely that the Upāliparipīcchāsūtra belonged to the Abhayagirivihara section of the Theravādins.

Relations between Ceylon and China were brisk from the 5th century onwards.³⁴ King An of the Chin dynasty received a Buddha statue from a Ceylonese king in 429 A. D.³⁵ Emperor Wen of the Liu Sung dynasty requested king Mahānāma of Ceylon to send some texts of the Hīnayāna school, as there were too few works of that school in his country.³⁶ If Mahānāma complied with this request, he will have sent some texts of the Abhayagirivihāra, as he favoured that faction. The Upāliparipīcchāsūtra may have been among the texts sent by Mahānāma to China. In any case, the Upāliparipīcchāsūtra has to be grouped together with the Vimuttimagga and the Sāmantapāsādikā among the texts translated from Pali into Chinese.

A NEMINATHA SCULPTURE ON TIRUMALAI

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

Polur is an important station on the Villupuram-Katpadi rail link of the Southern Railway, in the North Arcot district of Tamilnadu. About 16 Km. to its east in the village of Tirumalai, which was an important Jaina centre in the days of the Pallavas and Cholas. There is a hill here known in local inscriptions as Vaigai (or Vaigavur) Tirumalai. Some of these inscriptions refer to a Kundavai Jinalaya on the top of the hill.

According to a latter Chola inscription, this Jaina centre was ruled by a Yavanika called Elini of Vanji (the latter to be identified with presenday Karur in the Tiruchirapalli district of Tamilnadu) during the early Sangam period—the early centuries of the Christian Era. This Chief is reputed to have set up images of Yaksha and Yakshini on the Tirumalai hill, the hill itself being called Arnasu giri in Sanskrit and En-guna-virat-tirumalai in Tamil.

The earliest Chola inscription at Tirumalai, of the 3rd year of Parantaka I (i. e. of A. D. 910) relates to a gift of gold by two residents of Kaduttalai for feeding a devotee in the Jaina temple at Vaigavur. We next hear of a gift of a lamp to the Yaksha image at Tirumalai, made in A. D. 959 by a servant of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. Then comes a record of the 21st regnal year of the great Chola king Rajaraja I, found on a rock in front of the gopuram at the base of the Tirumalai hill (South Indian Inscriptions, I, 66). It mentions that a certain Gunaviramamunivan built a sluice for the local reservoir. There are two inscriptions of the days of the Chola king Rajendra I, both of his 12th regnal year. One records a gift to the mple on Vaigavur Tirumalai called Kundavai Jinalaya (temple dedicated by Kundavai, sister of Rajaraja I and aunt to the ruler, to the Jina); SII, I, 67. According to this inscription, one "Chamuddappai, wife of the merchant Nannappaiyan, resident of Perumbanappadi alias Karaivari malliyur, gave a perpetual lamp to the temple of Kundavai Jinalaya (on) the holy hill as a pallich-chandam (-village dedicated to the temple ?) of Vaigavur in Mugai-nadu, a division in the middle of Panagala-nadu in Jayangondasola-mandalam. Twenty kasus were given for one lamp, and ten kasus for the sacred food-offerings".

At the foot of the hillock is a shrine in a natural cave under a ledge of the rock mentioned above. It is likely that this cave temple was renovated at about the time when Kundavai built the Jinalaya and reconsecrated the sculptures of Yaksha and Yakshini held to have been set up in the days of Elini. There are paintings on the walls of the cave, which may also have been carried out at the instance of Kundavai; they appear to have been overlaid on an earlier layer of paintings. Patches of the latter are still to be seen in the background. Presumably, the older paintings had mostly

faded, and Kundavai had them repainted. The centre of attention in the paintings is a wheel of victory (vijaya-chakra) whose nave is occupied by the Jina flanked by attendant deities. What the dharma-chakra is to the Buddhist is the vijaya-chakra to the Jaina. Such a wheel is mentioned by the Jaina ruler Kharvela of Kalinga in his inscription at the Khandagiri-Udayagiri caves near Bhubaneswar in Orissa. There is also a similar wheel painted on the ceiling of the Jaina cave temple at Sittannavasal in the Pudukkottai district of Tamilnadu.

Thus Kundavai Jinalaya was a foundation of the days of the Chola emperor Rajaraja I and a culpture of Neminatha was installed and endowments for it made in the days of his son Rajendra I (11th Century A. D.).



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JAGANNĀTHA— THE INCARNATION OF BUDDHA

B. Panda

The philosophy and doctrines of Buddha and the art and literature, sculpture and shrines connected with the life of Buddha or belonging to the pantheon of Buddhism, have predominating influence on other system and thoughts through the ages beginning with Asoka, the great emperor of 3rd century B. C. As years passed by the simple teachings of Buddha were widely interpreted and elaborated resulting in a much more complicated system inviting into this fold many alien thoughts either accepting them as original or superimposing on them the thoughts of their own. An inroad into the realms of these intricacies very often land one in astonishing conclusion. Jagannāth, the highly celebrated deity of universal acceptance and in whom the art, music, literature and the very culture of Orissa hovers round, is also attributedly described as the incarnation of Buddha.

Orissa, a holy ground, with the famous historical name Kalinga, is well known as Purusottama Kshetra where Lord of the universe is worshipped. It is rightly said that—

Sarveṣāmapī devānāṃ Rājā Śrī Puruṣottamaḥ

Sarveṣāmapī Kṣetrāṇāṃ Rājā Śrī Puruṣottamaḥ¹.

The Jagannātha is represented in all religious faiths of India. He is all in one. The theologist of different philosophies seek their fundamental truth in the theory of Jagannāth cult and accept the trio, i. e., Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadra as a symbol of their own God in the following nature :—

In the 'Aṇākāra' theory of 'Sūṇya' philosophy the 'trio' is Nirānjan, Sūṇya and Jyoti. The 'Visarga' theory of 'Yoga' is represented by Sarbāṅgasundar Puruṣa, Amānab Puruṣa and Nirvāṇa Kālā. Uttama Puruṣa, Akshara Puruṣa and Vaksara Puruṣa are the three main components in the theory propounded by Geeta. The Sakti theory of 'Sāktas' believes in Tārā, Bhuvanēsvārī, Mahākālī again recalling the trio. In the 'Mahābindu' theory of 'Saivas' the trio is symbolized as 'Bhairava', 'Śiva' and Durgā. The 'Vaishnavas' 'Sesaśāyī' theory ascribe as Sri-Vishnu, Sesadeva and Sridevi or Bhudevi. In 'Nārāyan' theory of 'Kṛṣṇa' philosophy the 'trio' has been manifested as Srikrṣṇa Balarama and Subhadra or Ekanamsa. The 'Refarudha' theory of 'Srirama' philosophy takes that as Srirāma, Lakṣmana and Jānaki. The 'Jaina' triratna philosophy recognises this (trio) as Puruṣottama, Puruṣa and Salākā. The 'Triratna' theory of 'Buddhist's' also describe this—Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha. In this theory of Jagannath cult the 'Om kārvaḍin' see kalā, Vindu and Nāda

and Akāra, Ukāra and Makāra ; whereas the Panchatattvavadin finds therein the Panchatattvas viz., Gaṇa, Surya Sakti, Shankara and Nārāyaṇa². "The Cult of Jagannath, therefore, is unique in India in many respects, being a curious synthesis of many mutually warring tenets³. Hence it is said that—

Yaṃ 'aivāḥ Samupasate 'iva iti Brahmeti Vedantino
Bouddhāḥ Buddha iti Pramaṇa Patavaḥ Karteti Naiyayikāḥ
Arhannityatha Jainaśāsanaratāḥ Karmeti Mimansakāḥ
Soyāṃ vo bidadhātu vañchita Phalaṃ Trailokyanātho hariḥ⁴.

Keeping apart these theories advocated so far, the theory of incarnation of Budha and Buddhist influences on the cult of Jagannath is being discussed. "Though religious beliefs were based on different schools of Philosophy they were nevertheless interrelated ; consequently Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism were not different religions in the same sense as Hinduism and Islam. All these three religions were like the different branches of the same tree⁵". We also know that the Buddhist rites described in "Bodhicharyāvatāra" of Santideva is the same as those performed in Brahmanical image-worship.

The first great exponent of Buddhism, Asoka and the subsequent patrons of this faith who contributed significantly to its growth like Kaniska in 2nd century A. D. and later on Harsa in 7th century A. D. made this faith an worldwide phenomenon much in par with that of the Brahmanical faith. Although the Gupta rulers revived Vaisnavism as the state religion, still then Buddhism prevailed and could be able to maintain its popularity. May it be the tolerant attitude of Gupta rulers or the revival of a parallel faith (Brahmanism) under their patronage led these two faiths to become much closer for a rapprochement. This might have resulted in give and take of faiths and believes and even the deities. The Hinduism possesses much more catholicity to embrace many novel and accepted tenants of other faiths. In course of time Budha has been also accepted as one of the incarnations of Vishnu. Subsequently he was described as a saviour of the mankind like Rāma, Balarāma, etc., who have descended onto the earth at several phases of the history to establish virtue and truth as mentioned in the Bhagavadgītā—

Yadāyadā hi dharmasya glanirbhavati Bhārata
Abhyuthānamadharmasya tadātmānam Sṛjāmyaham
Paritrāṇāya Sādhunāṃ Vināśāya Chā duskṛtāṃ
Dharma Samsthāpanārthāya Sambhavāmi yuge yuge⁶.

"The hypothesis is not groundless that it was towards the end of the Gupta age (round the middle of the sixth century A. D.) that the psychological background was set for the emergency of that arresting phenomenon in India's religious history the acceptance of the Buddha as a deity of the Hindu pantheon. It did not take place in the Gupta age itself, but not very long afterwards⁷.

2. Jagannath Tattva Chakar—Preserved in the Jagannath Temple

3. The Sage of the land of Jagannath—By Dr. M. Mansingh, pp. 154

4. Mahanatakam 1—3

5. History of Orissa, Vol. II by Dr. H. K. Mahatab, p. 308

6. Bhagavadgita—Ch. IV—Verses 7-8

7. Buddhist monks and monasteries of India—By S. Dutta, P. 196

Buddha had already been accepted as Avatāra, Avatāri and Upāsya long before he came into the fold of Hindupantheon which is evidently known from the Buddhist stupas of 3rd century B. C.⁸ The historians are of the opinion that the 24 Avatāras as described in Bhāgavata has been influenced by the Buddhism. The Buddhists and Jainas as well have also 24 Buddhas and 24 Tirthankaras which led the instances to arrive at such a conclusion.⁹

"It is a well known historical fact that for several centuries, there was keen rivalry between Saivism, Jainism and Buddhism to possess the mind of the Indian mass. That struggle is clearly visible in Jagannath of Puti. Jaina, Buddhist and Saivite Characteristics being present in the daily practices of this temple even today.¹⁰ The rapprochement did not end with mere acceptance of Budha as one of the incarnations in Hindupantheon. It was reciprocated by accepting Jagannatha in their system, the evidence being the famous esoteric book "Jnanasiddhi" of Indrabhuti in which the author enumerates—

"Praṇipatyā Jagannāthaṃ Sarvajinarārchitaṃ.

Sarvabuddhamayaṃ sidhi-Vyāpinaṃ gaganopamaṃ.¹¹

Indrabhuti (7th century A. D.) a royal sage of modern Sambalpur, was an original prophet of vajrayana, the tantric school of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is the first scriptural recognition of the Hindu deity Jagannatha on the soil of Orissa between two arraying faiths Buddhism and Brahmanism.

It is with the rise of Mahayana Buddhism that the worship of images became widespread in India and for a few centuries Jagannath temple was probably a Mahayanic shrine where the three images of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha were worshiped.¹²

The three shapeless figures of Jagannath and his brother and sister are simple copies of the symbolical figures of the Buddhist triad-Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha of which the second is always represented as a female.¹³

The able reviewer of Mr. Fergusson in his "Tress and Serpent Worship" remarks that "One of the General Cunningham's happiest hits is his derivation of the three fetish like figures of Jagannath and his sister and brother from three of the combined emblems of the Buddhistic Trinity placed side by side as at Sanchi." The resemblance, he adds "is rude but unmistakable."¹⁴

There is no doubt—at one time the symbols of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha were being worshipped all over India. Recently a stone of Asokan polish with the symbols of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha at the top has been found out at Bhubaneswar and it is now preserved in the Ashutosh Museum of Calcutta. . . . The symbols are a little different from those found out at Sanchi and other places but the Bhubaneswar symbols are almost exactly like the images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra¹⁵.

8. Significance and importance of Jatakas, P. 156—158

9. Madhyakalin Bharatiya Sanskriti—By G. S. Hirachand Ojha, P. 13

10. The saga of the land of Jagannath by Dr. M. Mansingh, P. 163

11. Jnanasiddhi—Ch. I, Verse 1

12. The saga of the land of Jagannatha by Dr. Mansingh, P. 167

13. The ancient Geography of Iddia, P. 585

14. History of Orissa, Vol. II, By Dr. H. K. Mahtab, PP. 520

15. Ibid. P. 521

The sacred vedi or Mahavedi on the coast of Mahodadhi as described in the Mahabharata is 'the same name vedi and Mahavedi in the same place is mentioned in the Skanda Purana as the place where Jagannath images were established, replacing Nilamadhava. The same stone, it may be gave rise to the name of Nilamadhava when it was re-established by Kharvela after more than 300 years. This was there just like something which came out of nothing thus clearly leading to the Buddhist Nihilism of the Mahayana times and later'.¹⁶ This fact has also been supported by Dr. Mansingh the eminent Historian of Orissa who observes that "the pedestal inside the temple of Jagannath on which the trinity now stands, is called Ratnavedi and most probably as a result of usual shortening of syllables in common speech the original expression Triratnavedi (pedestal of the three Buddha ratnas or jewels) has become merely Ratnavedi."¹⁷

Though the Hindus primarily accepted Jagannatha as an Avatara of Vishnu they have made no provisions of a Snānayātra or Rathayātrā which are now accepted as most important festivals of Jagannatha, Puri in their worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vasudeva or any other manifestation of Viṣṇu earlier. So one is led to believe that these two important festivals might have a Buddhist origin. Dr. Mahatab also corroborates to this opinion. Another fact which may be mentioned here is that the entire worship of the deities of Puri during the "Aṇavasara" period preceding Snānayātrā is performed by Daitās who are descendant of Savaras which seems a morai practice in this case particularly. The scholar like Wilkins says that—"The probability being that He (Jagannatha) was the local divinity of some, now unknown tribe, whose worship was engrafted into the Hinduism and the god when admitted into the pantheon was regarded as another manifestation of Viṣṇu".¹⁸

During the Navakalevara of Jagannatha the Daitapati blindfolded removes a casket from the old deities to be kept in the new ones. This is believed to be the "Danta" of Buddha. But there is no evidence to prove, since this has been kept secret so far. This story of "Buddha danta" finds mention in the "Datha Dhatu Vamsa" by Dharmakīrti which is not accepted as historical evidence.

Since the time of Varāha Purāṇa (9th C. A. D.) Budha had been accepted as the incarnation of Viṣṇu and this theory was found mention in "Dasvatara Charitam" by Khemendra (11th C. A. D.) and in the "Gitagovinda Mahakavyam" by Kaviraj Jayadeva (12th C. A. D.) a native poet of Orissa. The Lord Jagannatha has also been described as Buddha in "Svayambhu Puranam" (9th C. A. D.)¹⁹ as well as in "Mahabharata"²⁰ by Sarala Das (15th C. A. D.) in "Darubrahmagita"²¹ by Jagannatha Dās (16th C. A. D.)²² and in "Suryasamhita" by Achyutananda Dās (16th C. A. D.).²³ All these works written in Oriya in mediaeval period.

7. Hindus have tremendous faith in "Kaivalya" as the giver of 'Mukti' the last attainment in the life. This Kaivalya which is being served in the temple of Puri is said to be the bliss of Lord Jagannatha in the form of Prasada which is being accepted by one and all irrespective of caste and creed alike. The Kaivalya which is the Mukti for Jains and Nirvana for Buddhists, co-related to the above fact of Hindus.

16. Hints of the significance and History of Jagannatha O. H. R. J., Vol. VII, No. 1, Page 23

17. The saga of the land of Jagannath—by Dr. M. Mansingh, P. 166

18. Hindu Mythology—P. 208

19. Madhyakalina Sahityame Avatar Vad—by Dr. K. Pandey—P. 73

20. Mahabharata—Vanaparva—D. C. A. Edition, P. 189-190

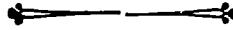
21. Darubrahmagita—P. 6

22. Suryasamhita—Ch. 39, P. 224 (1st Edition 1924).

There are scholars like Dr. B. M. Padhi who, however, are apprehensive of the conclusion that if the present forms of the deities of Puri are concluded to be of Buddhist influence, then why there is no repetition of like forms in the whole Buddhist iconography?. It may be said in this connection, that the shrine of Puri with present deities may be the first discovery so far.

Hence the Jagannatha, the incarnation of Buddha, at length identified with Visnu moves in the hearts of millions of devout people all over India as the most catholic and the most human. "He is great enough to nonchalantly absorb all faiths and declares through intelligent compromises the most fundamental religious truth first uttered in human history a vedic seer, namely—"truth is one though pedants might speak of it variously" ²³—

Idam̐ mitram̐ varunamāhu ratho divyab
sa suparnogarutmān
Ekam̐ Sadviprā Vahudhā Vadanti
Agniṁ Yanam̐ mātariśvānamāhu. ²⁴



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²³. The saga of the land of Jagannatha by Dr. M. Mansingh, P.

²⁴. Rg. Veda—1—164—46

EARLY JAINISM IN KALINGA

Jagannath Patnaik

Orissa of today was not what she was in the hoary past. It was a blessed land of glory and grandeur, of unbounded peace and prosperity, of imperial expansion and cultural greatness. Fantastic it may appear, Orissa was then a vast land stretching from the Ganges to Godavari and from Amarkantaka to Bay of Bengal. And again the rich exuberance of the alluvial soil of the coastal region made by multiple streams and rivers with a long sea base washed by the swirling waters of the Bay of Bengal as well as a vast hinterland of veritable mountains and high lands with all its beauties and bounties of nature formed the home of the ancient Kalingans. It emerged into the flash light of India's political history right from the antiquity. This we come across in the Jatakas which give numerous references to her Kings and people, culture and religion specially in the pre-Buddhist era. In Kalinga there were many kings who reigned in the remote past, but among them Sāttabhu, Karakandu, Kalingā, Nālikira and Ugattā, were a few who figured prominently in the pre-Buddhist period.

The Jatakas, speaking of Kalinga's political history of pre-Buddhist time have given references to a dark period when her fortune sank down to a low ebb. It is said that under the wicked king Nālikira, who accorded ill-treatment to a holy sage, "the country laid waste by the curse of the Gods and turned into wilderness" (1). But this political set-back had never touched the religious life of the Kalingans who were said to have been too firmly religious a race. She then breathed an air of religious magnificence unparalleled in the entire range of her history. It was the Jainism which appeared to have acquired prominence as the religion of Kalingans since 8th century B. C. down to the advent of the Christian era.

The traditional accounts of the Jainas give to Rishabhadeva or Rishaba the honoured place as the founder of Jainism. This (2) has been supported by the Brahmins and the Buddhists who are apparently antagonistic to Jainism. This Rishabhadeva is intimately connected with the cultural history of ancient Kalinga, which will be known from the fact as follows—

The Line 12 of the famous Hatigumpha inscription of the mighty emperor Khatabela brings out the fact that the image of one Agrajina (3), was carried away from Kalinga by the king Nanda of Magadha as a trophy of his astounding victory over that Kingdom.

Some palaeographers of course read the word "Agrajina" as "Kalinga Jina" (4). However, there is reason to accept the image of this Kalinga Jina as no other than that of the first Jina-Rishabha. It was a practice prevalent in India to name the image of the Tirthankara after the place of his worship. The image of Rishabhadeva at Satrunjay is called Satrunjayajina and the image at Abu is called the Abudajina and so on. But it is to be seen that the designation of

(1) Jataka V. 144

(2) Jains Antiquary Vol. I

(3) J. B. O. R. S. III P

(4) J. B.O.R.S. IV—Select inscriptions, Vol. I, by D. C. Sircar

'Kalingajina' does not reveal a particular place like Satrunjay or Abu but the entire Kingdom of Kalinga and thereby it carries with it a name of national significance. It is perhaps the solitary example to name the image of a Tirthankara after a kingdom.

Thus it can be said in all fairness that, Rishabhadeva the first Jina was the established and well-reputed deity of Kalinga even long before 6th century B. C. when Mahavira, the last Tirthankara of the Jina tradition appeared in the religious firmament of India. Therefore, Nandaraja took away this image to vindicate his victory of Kalinga.

Besides Rishabhadeva, Parsavanath, to whom Jaina tradition gives 23rd place in the hierarchy of Jina Tirthankaras is equally associated with the cultural history of ancient Kalinga. Amidst many sculptural representations in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri the images of the Jaina saint Parsavanath are found to have stood magnificent and conspicuous. This fact goes a great way to prove that he was the most venerable and reputed of the Tirthankaras in Kalinga. The radiantly carved scenic pictures of the Ranigumpha faithfully depict the different episodes on the life and activities of this honoured saint. From Parsavanath Charita as well as from Kalpasutra it is known that for the propagation of his teaching Parsavanatha paid visits to Pundra, Tamralipta and Nagpuri where he converted large number of people into his own faith. Mr. N. N. Basu on the basis of Jainakshetra Samasa and numerous such other work reveals the fact that Parsavanath after leaving the Tamralipta came to a place called Kopakataka, where on the second day of his meditation he broke his fast in the house of the Dhanya and based on this episode Kopakataka was named Dhanyakataka. Mr. Basu identifies Kopakataka with modern Kopari, situated in Balasore district. This Kopari in ancient time was regarded as one of the most reputed shrines of the Jainas. According to the Jaina account this great saint attained Moksha on a mount Sametasikara identified with Parsavanath hill in about two hundred fifty years before Mahavira, i.e. in 777 B. C. Thus as early as 8th century B. C. Jainism was prevalent in Kalinga and in the pageant of her religious history Parsavanath played a distinguished role. Probably contemporaneous with Parsavanath, there appeared in Kalinga an illustrious ruler named Karakandu who took to Jainism. It is known from a legend that once the king of Champa, Dadhibabana, while moving in Jungle with his pregnant queen found her separated from him. She was then given shelter by a Jaina nun. The queen gave birth to a son Karakandu by name who was brought up by a 'Chandala' couple. At last the king got back his son Karakandu who was given the kingdom of Kalinga. In Jaina shastra the reference made to a Chandal king in all probability might be this Karakandu. About this Jaina king of Kalinga, a few references are found in different texts. Once a royal disciple of Parsavanath Karakandu by name the king of Champa, visited Terapura caves and built Jaina shrines there in which he instilled the old as well as newly constructed images of Jainendras⁽⁵⁾. A reference has been made in Abhidhana Rajendra⁽⁶⁾ which says that in Kalinga there ruled a king Karakandu and his wife Padmavati was the daughter of Maharaja Chetaka⁽⁷⁾. A reference to it has been given in the dictionary of Pali proper names⁽⁸⁾. It is said that one day Karandu (Karakandu) the king of Dantapura in Kalinga was eating mangoes in his park from a tree laden with fruits and when his followers began to eat fruits from that very tree, it appeared barren. Returning home the king Karandu thought on and on of the fact that a barren tree which was once fruit-laden was not to face any such ravages. Then he came to the conclusion that worldly prosperity is transitory and this is again the cause of all the sorrows and unhappiness. Kumbhakara Jataka⁽⁹⁾ says that the

(5) Annals of the Vhandrakara Volume—XVI

(6) Abhidhana Rajendra Vol. III page 357 to 369

(7) The antiquity of Jainism of south India

(8) Dictionary of Pali proper names G. P. Malala Sekara

(9) Jataka III Kumbhakara Jataka

transitoriness of this world reflected his mind so much so that he became a Pacceka Buddha and went to the Nandamula Pabbhara with three other kings. Naggaji, Nimmi and Dummukha. Identifying those kings, the Jaina Uttaradhyana states that Karakandu was the king of Kalinga. Dummukha was that of Panchala, Nemmi that of Videha, and Neggaji that of Gandhara. And they were all contemporaneous to each other. It further says that all those kings had adopted the faith of the Jainas. It is of course difficult to find out the exact date of their rule. However, if Parasvanth be accepted as their preacher, all those kings including Karakandu of Kalinga who embraced the faith of Jainas may plausibly be placed some time after him, i. e., after 777 B. C. Be that as it may, admittedly Jainism was prevalent in Kalinga as early as the 8th Century B. C. and it was then basking in the sun shine of the royal patronage.

In 6th Century B. C. when Mahavira was preaching his gospel, Jainism used to enjoy the royal patronage in Kalinga. It is known that Caetaki, the Kshetriya king of Kalinga invited Mahavira with all cordiality to preach his doctrine in his kingdom. This account has been corroborated by the other important Jaina canonical works like the Avasyakasutra which tells that Mahavira Swami during his tours of preaching visited Toshali, the capital of Kalinga. Dr. Jayaswal basing on the line 14 of the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela writes that Mahavira visited Kalinga and preached Jainism from Kumari Parvata (Udayagiri) near Bhubaneswar. A reference to this has also been made by K. P. Jain in the antiquity of Jainism in South India⁽¹⁰⁾.

This it can be said with certainty that Mahavira during his life time visited Kalinga to propagate his doctrine at a time when Jainism was in flourishing condition under the patronage of Kshetriya monarch.

Jainism continued to be the royal religion of Kalinga even in 4th Century B. C. when Mahapadmananda carried away the image of Jaina to Magadha after defeating the people of Kalinga. Furthermore Jainism was also in the flourishing condition when emperor Ashoka sounded his war drums against Kalinga. It seemed to have revived its importance again when Kalinga threw off the yoke of the Maurya rule after the death of Ashoka. It reached the height of its glory in Kalinga in the first century B. C. under the patronage of the illustrious emperor, Kharavela.

Buddhism and Jainism in the Prachi Valley

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Prasanta Kumar Ray

B U D D H I S M

Sixth Century B. C. marks a cardinal epoch in the history of the world. Buddhism was but a natural reaction to the stiff and high philosophy of the Upanishadas which was quite unintelligible to the ordinary mind. The leaders of Hinduism had prepared the ground which proved very fertile for the new religion 'Buddhism' to thrive on. From the survey of the Prachi Valley, it is clear beyond doubt that in spite of the wordly duel, sometimes culminating in bloodshed, Brahmnism and Buddhism flourished side by side. But the process of borrowing and intermingling never stopped. The important Buddhist images of the Prachi Valley are the images of Buddha in Bhumisparsha-Mudra, now fixed on the outer wall of the Siva temple at Dakshineswara near Kantapara Block; Tara image kept inside the Iswaradeva temple at Junti, near Kakatpur; Avalokitesvara image at Mudgala; Avalokitesvara image at Lataharana; inscribed Avalokiteswara image kept inside the Lakshmi-Nrishinga temple at Amareswara (now shifted to the Orissa State Museum; Avalokiteswara worshipped under a tree in the village Kenduli Sashana; Tara worshipped under a tree in the village Phiriphira; Vajraghanta worshipped under a tree at Kantikula across the Prachi river near Chaurashi; Marichi at Astaranga; the image of Jambala at Arkavata near Nuagaon and the image of Buddha in Yogasana fixed on the outer wall of the temple of Grameswara at Nivarana.

Among the Tantric images mention may be made of a very beautiful and unique image of Vajraghanta worshipped under a tree at Kantikula near Chaurashi. The image is three-faced and has six arms. Two of the arms carry Vajra and the bell cross with one another against the breast in Vajrahunkara style.* The eight armed Marichi at Astaranga may be identified with Samkshipta Marichi. The finding of so many Buddhist sculptures in the Prachi Valley creates an impression that the Brahminism was for the time being pushed into oblivion and confined to a small section of the people. We find that at the time of the rise of Buddhism, the worship of the popular deity Shri, the goddess of luck and success, spirit of the earth and the great mountains; the Digpalas; tree worship; serpent worship; river worship, etc., were prevalent. The depiction of the tree and serpent, etc., on the Buddhist sculptures would suggest the hypothesis of such ritualism. As for example, the images of Gautami and Sakshya Singha, etc. found inside the compound of the Angeswara temple at Pitapada and as side deity on a Siva temple near the road leading from Ambapara to Jogeswarapur of the Prachi Valley are associated with the tree worship.

The Buddhist Vihara and Chaitya also existed in the Prachi Valley. The Iswaradeva temple in the village Junti, P.-S. Kakatapur and the Angeswara temple at Pitapara, in Niali Block were built on the Buddhist Stupas as appear from the remnants of the ancient brick structures. Kuruma, an ancient site 8 Kms. to the North-East of the Sun temple, on the Valley of Kadua, a branch of the Prachi, is a Buddhist site which can be assigned to 9th century

A. D. on the basis of surface findings. The unique image of the Buddha in Bhumisparsa Mudra and the image of Heruka, now worshipped inside a temporary shed built on the Buddhist Chaitya, indicate the Buddhist affinities of the place. Not very far from this site is a place called Chitreswari where the river Kadua has merged with the Bay of Bengal. At this point stands a half buried light post greater in height, which might have acted as a signal, when ships were plying from the Prachi river to the sea. There is every possibility that this place Chitreswari on the sea may be Chi-li-Ta-Lo of Hiuen Tsang's accounts. Hiuen Tsang during his visit to Orissa might have come through this route.

Thus, Buddhism exercised a great almost overwhelming influence on Hinduism of the Prachi Valley. It gave birth to neo-Hinduism which absorbed the best elements of Buddhism. It was the result of this influence that the Saivas borrowed the monistic and contemplative elements of Mahayana Buddhism, the Vaishnavas borrowed devotional and humanitarian elements and the Buddha was given a place in the Hindu Pantheon as the tenth Avatara. The image of Buddha is worshipped at many places in the Prachi Valley, somewhere as Vishnu, some where as Siva and somewhere as some other Goddess. Thus, before the dawn of the seventh Century Buddhism lost its entity as an independent faith and Vaishnavism finally incorporated the faith of the Buddha into its present stock.

JAINISM

A systematic exploration work conducted in the Prachi Valley, reveals that Jainism and Buddhism flourished simultaneously with Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism. A number of Jaina images are lying scattered in various parts of the Prachi Valley. At some places they are kept inside the Siva temples of the Valley. Visitors as well as scholars are in confusion when they see the jaina images inside the ruined temples of the Prachi Valley. These Jaina images can in no way be connected with the dating of the temples where they are found.

The findings of Jaina images inside the Siva temples of Adaspur of the Prachi Valley creates an impression that Jainism flourished side by side with Saivism. A very beautiful image of Rishabhadeva (21" x 11") has been kept inside the ruined Swapaneswara temple, assignable to circa 7th century A. D. at Adaspur. He is being surrounded by twenty-four Tirthankaras, twelve on either side. The peculiarities of the image will lead one to identify Rishabhanath as Mulanayaka. This indicates that Adinatha was the temple cult of this locality and a temple enshrining this deity might have been situated in the vicinity of the Sovaneswara temple. The temple dedicated to this unique Jaina image might have been collapsed in course of centuries. The Lanchan bull is depicted below. The pedestal of this image has been carefully carved at and flanked by two lions. Just above the lion throne, three lotus pedestals have been placed and on the middle one the image stands in Kayastavarga posture. He is completely nude but is bestowed with a divine grace and with anatomical perfections. On the two other lotus pedestals, placed on the lion throne, are found two standing images of Bharata and Bahavali with fly whisks in their heads and busy in rendering services to the Adinatha. Divine musicians with musical instruments have also been depicted.

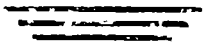
It may be said that this image is one of the perfect representation of Rishabhanath, depicting most of his divine attributes. These attributes were noticed in the Jaina image which is slight damaged and has been kept inside the Nilakantheswara temple of Adaspur. Eight Jaina divinities have been depicted on both the sides of the image. A female attendant stands to his left side with some indistinct objects. An umbrella has been depicted just above the head of the image. Divine musicians have been depicted on the top playing with musical instrument, vina. These above two images, found in two Siva temples of contemporary date, suggest that Adaspur of the Prachi Valley was the principal centre of Jainism during 6th, 7th century A. D.

A miniature image of Rishabhanatha was noticed in the Visvamitra Ashrama near Kakatpur and a similar type of small mutilated image was laying near the Bharadwaja Ashrama (both the Ashramas situated in a horizontal line of the Pranchi Valley). It creates an impression that Jainism of this area was not in the state of decay when Shaktism predominated the place during the 9th century A. D. and the goddess Mangala (the temple of Mangala near to the site) was worshiped as the Pistha Devi of the Valley from that time.

A very beautiful image of Parsvanatha is to be found inside the temple of Grameswara of the Prachi Valley 5 Kms. from Nayahat. This image has been disfigured and locally called as Kamadeva. Pairs of Yakshya-Yakshini images pertaining to Jainism is to be found in several sites of the Pranchi Valley. An image of Yakshya associated with Neminatha, one of the Jain Tirthankaras, is to be found in the Antarvedi Matha (at the place where the Prachi, Saraswati and Manikarnika meet) near Banamalipur of the Pranchi Valley.

Jainism got a strong footing on the sacred soil of Orissa during the reign of her worthy son Kharavela who extended the Kalinga Empire from the Ganga to Godavari. Towards the last part of his life he became a staunch devotee of Jainism and like Chandragupta Maurya spent his last days as an ascetic by excavating caves in Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills for himself and Jaina monks.

We have numerous remains of Jaina art and architecture scattered all over Northern India. It has been aptly remarked "that the Hindu art owes to them a great number of its most remarkable monuments. In the domain of architecture in particular that have reached a degree of perfection which leaves them almost without a rival. (Studies in Jainism and Buddhism Mithila, Page 99). Like the Buddhist tradition, the Jaina traditions also refer to the practice of erecting stupas over the ashes of the Jainas. One such stupa existed at Vaisali—dedicated to the Jaina Muni Suvarata and another at Mathura dedicated to Suparsvanatha. Thus, stupa worship in Jainism seems to have been a predominant feature. So there is a possibility that the loose Jaina sculptures found in the Prachi Valley might have been installed inside such Jaina stupas.



SOME RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

Atsushi Uno

The study of Indian philosophy in Japan has a long history dating back as early as the 6th century A. D., when Buddhism was first introduced into the country. As is generally known, Buddhism had a great influence on many aspects of Japanese culture; above all, its contribution in the spiritual and intellectual spheres was immeasurably great.

Indian studies, however, were carried on for centuries chiefly on the basis of Chinese translations of the Buddhist canon, along with commentaries on them by Chinese and Japanese monks. The value of Chinese and Tibetan translations cannot be overestimated, for the greater part of the Sanskrit originals had been long since lost. Such being the case, 'Indian philosophy' has naturally been taken by most Japanese as synonymous with 'Buddhism'. Though some chair in 'Indian philosophy' have been established at various universities in Japan, Indian studies at these institutions are pursued mostly in line with Buddhism.

The vast corpus of Chinese translations of the Buddhist canon handed down over the centuries contains some works of non-Buddhist systems. Among these are 'Kanakasaptatikā (?)' of the Sāṃkhya system, and 'Dasapadārthasāstra (?)' of the Vaiśeṣika system, both Sanskrit originals have long since been extinct. The former is a Chinese translation by Paramārtha, original text of which seems to have been different from that of Gauḍapāda or Māṭhara; research on this Chinese version finally culminated in a French translation by Dr. Takakusu entitled 'La Sāṃkhya-kārikā'. The latter is a Chinese translation of the work of Candramati (?) by Guṇabhadra; the study of this work resulted in the famous treatise by Dr. H. Ui, 'Vaiśeṣika Philosophy according to Dasapadārthasāstra'.

In the Chinese translation can even be found a sūtra related to Jainism, the title of which may be translated literally as 'Mahāsattanirgranthasūtra', though, judging from other sources, its original title might possibly have been 'Bodhisattvagocaropāyaviṣayavikruvananirdeśasūtra'. It consists of 12 chapters, the gist of which is as follows:

Once Bhagavan Buddha, accompanied by his many monks and nuns, stayed at Ujjain. At that time, a Nirgrantha (Jaina) leader from South India named 'Mahāsatta' happened to visit the place with his many Nirgrantha disciples and was heartily received by the king of Ujjain. There began a long series of questions and answers between them concerning the teaching of Jainism (Chapts. 4—6). When the king asked Mahāsatta of the faultlessness of religious saints one by one, Mahāsatta proudly began speaking ill of them and listing their faults. When the king, however, rebuked him for his conceited manners, Mahāsatta frankly repented of his misdeeds and asked the king's pardon (Chapt. 7). Then he mentioned the name of Gotama Sākya Muni as a faultless saint described his career, praised the Buddha, told of his manifold excellencies, both spiritual and physical and finally explained the Buddha's teaching (Chapt. 8). Having listened to his exposition with great delight the king and his courtiers obtained complete enlightenment (anuttarasamyaksambodhi). Following their advice, Mahāsatta presented himself before the Buddha, paid his humble respect and prostrated himself at the Buddha's feet. At this point his discourses with Buddha's disciples, such as Mahā-sāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mañjuśrī and Kāśyapa; all of them praised him as really having carried out the Bodhisattva vow by producing anuttarasamyaksambodhi, despite the fact that he was "disguised" as a heretic. Finally, Buddha praised Mahāsatta and preached his sermon (Chapts. 9—11).

Despite its title, this sūtra was evidently composed to show the superiority of the Buddha, by having Mahāsatta, a Jaina, play a leading role in the story.

Jainism has long been known to the Japanese in connection with the term Nirgrantha Nātaputra, by which it is referred to in Buddhist works like 'Brahmajālasūtra' and 'Samaññaphalasūtra'. Buddhist sources however do not seem to have depicted justly the state of Jainism; instead they presented distorted accounts of it in order to confirm the superiority of Buddhism over other religious systems. This practice is hardly limited to Buddhist materials; whenever one system of thought tries to present a striking contrast to another with the intention simply of justifying its own theories, deliberate distortion of one sort or another invariably results.

Indological studies on a wide scale were started in Japan only a little less than one hundred years ago, through the impetus and with the guidance of European scholars. Japanese scholars have made a not inconsiderable contribution to the study of Buddhism, thanks to their ability to deal with ample materials in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Indological studies in Japan however, though their present state reveals a good deal of variety, are undeniably, on the whole, being carried on in line with Buddhism.

Strictly speaking, the beginning of Jaina studies in Japan came even later than the case with Buddhist studies. The first attempt in this field was made by Dr. E. Kanakura, who had once studied under Dr. Hermann Jacobi. His research culminated in two books devoted exclusively to Jainism which contain the history and doctrines of Jainism and Japanese translations of such important works as Tattvārthadhigamasūtra, Pañcāstikāyasāra, Pravacanasāra and Nyāyāvatāra, complemented by his own annotations. Dr. Kanakura was followed in these studies by Dr. S. Matsunami and Dr. H. Nakamura, who have both made equally valuable contributions to Jaina studies. It is undeniable that the interest of Jaina scholars in Japan has been centred on the philosophical aspect. This development is due to the fact that the philosophical approach to Indian systems of thought has long since taken root in Japanese scholars, as contrasted with Western scholars, have little experience in other approaches, such as linguistic, social or historical. Fortunately, however, there have appeared some signs of change among young scholars in Japan who have had a chance to study Jainism at various institutes abroad.

One thing which should be borne in mind, with regard to the relationship between Buddhism and Jainism, is that famous logical works by such Buddhist authors as Dignāga and Dharmakīrti unfortunately escaped being included in Chinese translations, chiefly because Chinese translators such as Hiuen Tsang gave little thought to translating Buddhist works which were not of a strictly religious character.

The first edition of Dharmakīrti's 'Nyāyabindu' edited by Peterson together with its commentary 'Tīkā' by Dharmottara in 1890, was based on Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in a Jaina bhāṇḍāra at Gujarat. This edition was succeeded by newer editions culminating in the monumental 'Buddhist Logic' by Stcherbatsky. This 'Tīkā' of Dharmottara was even commented upon by a Jaina logician, Mallavādin, in the form of 'Pradīpa', which was finally edited critically by my revered teacher Pt. Dalsukh Marwania. Other Buddhist works, in considerable quantity, have been discovered in Jaina bhāṇḍāras and many quotations from Buddhist texts long regarded as extinct have successfully been recovered from Jaina works. Manuscripts of 'Pramānavārttika', another work by Dharmakīrti, were brought to light for the first time by Rāhula Saṃkṛtyāyana, who later himself published various editions of the work. Other manuscripts of the same work recently discovered in a bhāṇḍāra at Jaisalmer were critically edited by Pt. Dalsukh Marwania in 'Svārthanumāna

Pariccheda'. The greater part of the text of a small treatise by the same author, 'Samandha-parīkṣā' was also discovered by Dr. E. Frauwallner in a Jaina logical work, 'Syādvādarat-nākara' by Vādi Devasūri. Though the 'Pramāṇasamuccaya' of Dignāga had been extinct for centuries, a considerable amount of its text was recovered, through Jaina Muni Jambuvijay's laborious investigations, from the 'Dvādaśāranayacakra' of another Mallavādin.

The above-mentioned are some examples which just come to mind. There is no doubt that Buddhists exerted a considerable influence upon Jaina logic and epistemology, so much so that Jainas tried to preserve and examine as many Buddhist logical texts as possible — thanks to their good care, many Buddhist works long regarded as lost have now been brought to light. A perusal of Jaina works by Akalaṅka, Devasuri and Mallavādin, among others, and of commentaries on them, reveals that much more space is devoted to Buddhism than to other systems ; which shows how Jainas regarded Buddhists as their best and closest rivals. In some cases, a beginner might more easily grasp the purport of Buddhist logic and epistemology by reading a summary in a Jaina work.

Though some Buddhist texts and quotations have been discovered in Jaina sources, many Sanskrit works have been lost for centuries, and some are available only in Tibetan translations. Such being the case, one must not underestimate the value of Jaina materials, beginning with Akalaṅka's works ; for the study of Buddhism and above all of Buddhist logic and epistemology. Though scholars in our country, as a whole, are not yet in a position to do full justice to the Jaina materials, I am looking forward to important achievements in the future by young Japanese scholars making the best use of these sources. Should young scholars from Japan have a chance to pursue their Jaina studies in India, I hope my Jaina friends in India will extend them kind encouragement and spiritual support.

BUDDHISM AND THE INDIAN RELIGIOUS TRADITION

Paul Younger

For some years now it has seemed to me that at least in North American scholarship "Buddhist Studies" and "Religious Studies" were not following exactly the same path. The practical indications of the different paths, while of minor importance in themselves, seemed to indicate a more basic divergence. The Council on the Graduate Study of Religion has been unsure whether or not to recognize the University of Wisconsin's programme in Buddhism as a graduate programme in "religion". A special Buddhist Studies Committee has been set up under the auspices of the Association of Asian Studies, while very few Buddhist panels have been appearing in the programmes of the American Academy of Religion or the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion. The question that has fascinated me as I observed these different paths was whether they were accidental, whether they revealed something special about Buddhism, or whether they revealed something special about the role Buddhism has been playing in Western scholarship. The more one thinks about it the more one is inclined towards the last explanation.

The divergence in the paths of "religious studies" and "Buddhist studies" probably began with the emergence of phenomenology as a method of pursuing the study of religion. Buddhism, along with Islam and some other traditions, did not readily break up into separate phenomena with clear examples of "sacrifice", "priesthood", "initiation" or "death ceremonies" that could be compared with their counterparts from other traditions. As a result many phenomenological discussions quietly omitted Buddhist examples. When the interests in religion shifted to the living religions and the "faith" expressed by the spokesmen of living traditions, Buddhists from South-east Asia and Japan were included, but the voices of India and China, which were the settings of the major developments in Buddhism, were not heard. When religious studies subsequently turned to the examination of sets of symbols as cultural systems, Buddhism again provided an ambiguous example, for while Buddhism played an important role in several different cultures, it was not coextensive with any one culture.

Buddhist scholars, noting their exclusion from much of what has been going on in religious studies, have generally sought to look the other way and turn to their texts with undivided attention. While this concentration on the texts has led to some fine examples of erudition, it seems to me it has also left the field of Buddhist studies without a clear intellectual direction. To what set of questions in human experience do Buddhist studies at the present time address themselves? Much of what I read seems to have one of two sets of questions in mind. One set of questions comes from the "great religions" phase of the study of religion where the "teachings" of the great masters were set forth along with a full account of the "scriptures" and the theological "schools" which emerged from those teachings. The reified entities known as the "religions" which were produced by this particular kind of post-enlightenment rationalism no longer provide a sound basis for scholarship to build upon. Wilfred Cantwell Smith's detailed analysis in *The Meaning and End of Religion*,¹ of the fallacy of reification has turned the scholarly study of religion away from the older presentation of bodies of "teaching" and "doctrine". For some Buddhist scholars, unsure of what the new

1 (New York : Macmillan, 1962)

channels involve, the older framework still provides an easy format to follow. A second set of questions underlying some recent studies in Buddhism seems to be borrowed from the discipline of "Classics". The question involved in the study of Classics is "How do the literary remains of this dead civilization picture human existence?" Part of the purpose of Classical studies includes the understanding that the civilization whose remains are being examined is different from the one in which the scholar lives. The argument is that the scholar who subscribes to one set of values in his every day life is free to take a wholly "objective" view of the Classical texts and to focus his attention primarily on their literary and historical characteristics. He is not involved in understanding the whole of life as experienced by men of the Classical period, but only with analysis of the literary and archaeological remains in themselves. An argument for this kind of scholarship "for its own sake" can be sustained wherever there is money and man-power available, and one could probably argue that Buddhist studies should take Classics as its model and share the destiny of Classics within North American scholarship (that prospect is not good at the moment, but it could improve).

However, I, as a religionist, want to argue that before Buddhist studies go off and elope with the Classics we make one more attempt to reopen the discussion between "Buddhist studies" and "Religious studies". Those of us working on the Indian religious tradition are continually coming upon issues which are insolvable unless we find a way of restoring the Buddhist presence within that tradition. In the remainder of this essay I will try to cite three such issues where current discussions on Indian religion can only proceed with help from Buddhologists.

II

One of the major questions in recent studies of religion has been about the nature of the basic or depth experience of persons within a given tradition. One way of putting the question is : What is the "faith" of that individual? A somewhat more contextually formulated way of putting the question is : What is the ethos or "mood" to which the symbols of that culture or tradition point?¹

The term within the Indian tradition which seems to come the closest to answering this question is the term *duḥkha* or suffering. Many of the later texts assume that the religious problem in the context of which their other questions are framed is the problem of *duḥkha*. One of the clearest examples of this is the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, the standard treatise on *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, which begins with a verse stating the problem as follows :

From torment by threefold suffering [arises]
the inquiry into the means of terminating it. ²

Saṅkara and the commentators accept as a well established tradition the idea that the term *duḥkha* describes the experiential base from which the religious inquiry begins. To quote just one example from the *Vedānta Sūtra* :

In the second place, cessation of suffering cannot take place apart from the knowledge of the highest self ; for as another scriptural passage declares, 'There is no other path to go' (Svet. Up. VI. 15). Moreover, after we have read at the outset, 'Do, Sir, lead me over to the other side of suffering' (Ch. Up. VII. 1.3), we meet with the following concluding words (VII. 26.2) 'To him, after his faults had been rubbed out, the venerable Sanatkumāra showed the other side of darkness.' The term 'darkness' here denotes Nescience, the cause of suffering and so on. ³

2. Throughout this essay I will be using the language of Clifford Geertz' definition of religion in his essay "Religion as a Cultural System" in Michael Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. (New York : Praeger, 1966) I do not completely agree with Geertz, but his is the best known of the attempts to study religion in terms of cultural systems.

3. *Samkhya Karika* 1.1.

4. *Vedānta Sūtra* (S. B. E., 1891) I. 162

When one traces the history of the concept of *duḥkha* back into the Upaniṣads one finds that even there the term is used in a specialized sense to refer to the accepted understanding of experience within the total religious system. The passage from Chāndogya VII cited by Saṅkara is typical. The body of the passage consists of a listing of twenty steps in a path to spiritual enlightenment. But at both the beginning and end the purpose of the path is described in terms of an effort to overcome suffering. The passage begins :

Such a one am I, Sir, knowing the sacred sayings, but not knowing the Soul. It has been heard by me from those who are like you, Sir, that he who knows the Soul crosses over suffering.⁵ Such a suffering one am I Sir. Do you, Sir, cause me, who am such a one, to cross over to the other side of suffering.⁶

and ends :

The seer sees not death, nor sickness, nor any suffering.

The seer sees only the All, obtains the All entirely. ⁷

In another important passage at Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 4.4., the argument is that salvation consists in having a "vision" (*dhi*) of the distinction between the destiny of the soul (*amṛta* or immortality) and the present condition of the soul (*mṛta*, death or *duḥkha*, suffering). After the argument of the prose passage, a verse is inserted which concludes :

Those who know this become *amṛta*,
But others go only to *duḥkha*.⁸

The fact that the term *duḥkha* appears here in a verse which seems to have been inserted into the text, and the fact that the last part of the verse is found in exactly this form at the conclusion of a theistic argument at Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 3.10, seem to suggest that the concept that life was characterized by *duḥkha* was by the time these texts were written an accepted assumption of the religious tradition.⁹

The question one must ask on the basis of this evidence is where one can look for a fuller account of this basic assumption around which the Indian system of religious symbols was developed. A glance back to the Rg. Veda reveals that the term *duḥkha* was not in use in the context where those

5. The term here is *sokam* rather than *duḥkha*, but as Sankara assumes, it clearly refers to the traditional idea of suffering as the basis of the religious life.

6. Chandogya Upaniṣad, 7.1.3.

7. Chandogya Upaniṣad, 7.26.2.

8. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 4.4.14.

9. There are less than a dozen uses of the term *duḥkha* in the principal Upaniṣads, and they all have the general character seen thus far.

hymns were written, Our attention then naturally turns to the texts of the early Buddhist saṅgha where the term is used hundreds of times ; is frequently illustrated in terms of ordinary experience ; is related to other theological ideas ; and is, of course, the main subject of the famous "First Sermon". To provide just one very familiar example :

Now this, brethren, is the Aryan Truth about dukkha : ¹⁰ Birth is dukkha, decay is dukkha, sickness is dukkha, likewise sorrow, grief, woe, lamentation and despair. To be conjoined with things which we dislike, to be separated from things which we like—that also is dukkha, not to get what one wants—that also is dukkha. In a word, this body, this fivefold mass which is based on grasping, that is dukkha. ¹¹

The purpose of this essay is not to examine the complex question of the meaning of the concept of dukkha in early Buddhist texts, but simply to argue that a proper understanding of the experiential dimension of religion within the Indian tradition is only possible if one sees the symbols expounded by the Buddhists as an integral part of the tradition as a whole.¹²

III

A second issue that has emerged in recent religious studies is the attempt to identify the "motivational pattern" within a system of symbols which make up a coherent culture. Some of the best work done in this area has been with reference to Japanese culture where Robert Bellah's contribution has been particularly notable. The problem of explaining the symbols of Indian culture in this regard has thus far proved unmanageable.

A first attempt to define the Indian "motivational pattern" was made by Max Weber¹⁷ on the basis of the little he could learn from the sources he had. Although his argument has the character of a rough outline, Weber did pick up the dialectical character of the tradition and interlocked the "orthodox" "Brahmanical" pattern with that of the "heterodox" "cultured professional monks". His conclusion, however, that the ritually reinforced status of the Brahmanical aristocracy tied down economic and political initiative, and the salvation quest of the monastic communities made them otherworldly, has been sharply disagreed with by many scholars.

Any attempt to understand the motivational pattern of the Indian tradition must be based upon an understanding of the concept of dharma. As set forth in the specialized treatise on dharma known as the Dharmasastras, the term refers to a rather static social order made up of castes which reflects an already established cosmic order. This usage is clearly intended to pick up the earlier usage going back to the Rg. Veda where verbal forms of the root dhr are used to refer to the "sustaining" and "supporting" operation within the cosmic order. But dharma means different things in different contexts and two of the most important statements on "motivation" within the tradition (the Aśokan edicts and the Bhagavad Gita) use the term with a slightly different emphasis.

Asoka was a Buddhist who ruled the first large empire in India. Whether his edicts represent the earliest statement of political philosophy in India or not, they are really the only statement we have of the political philosophy of a specific ruler during the earlier period. Aśoka's conception of dharma was of a path of public morality for both ruler and ruled which would involve the whole

10. The Pali spelling of the Sanskrit dukkha.

11. Digha II. 305 and elsewhere.

12. See author's Ph. D. thesis *The Birth of the Indian Religious Traditions : Studies in the Concept of Dukkha on Suffering*, Princeton, 1965.

13. A similar line of argument might be developed by taking the expression of religion in art (particularly sculpture), rather than in texts, as one's base. The experiential "mood" expressed in the images of the later tradition can be understood as a development from the earliest images which were the very expressive Buddha images.

14. *Religion of India*, (New York : Free Press, 1958)

of society in a dedicated quest of high ideals. This very activist and creative understanding of political life is reflected to some extent in the inscriptions of later empires, although most were devotees of one or another "Hindu" deity. It seems clear that this idea of dharma in Aśoka's edicts is an attempt to carry forward into the political realm the implication of the Fourth Aryan Truth of the "First Sermon" where the Buddha is said to conclude by urging that his hearers follow the Eight fold noble path or mārga. The mārga involved the followers of the Buddha in concrete ritual and social actions which provided a very specific motivational pattern for human behaviour. Aśoka's attempt to carry this over into the political realm provided the tradition with a model for political behaviour which was rooted in one of its basic religious symbols.

The Bhagavad Gītā's use of the term dharma seems to pick up both the Rg Vedic and Buddhist senses of the term as it formulates what was to become the definitive statement on motivation within the Indian tradition. The hesitation of Arjuna as he heads into battle with his cousins has both political and moral implications. Kṛṣṇa's argument initially starts from a Vedic conception of the need for the social and political order to reflect cosmic order. In this he is less idealistic than Aśoka and argues for karmayoga (action) on the basis of its harmony with cosmic order. But he then goes on to transfer cosmic dharma into the very specific and dynamic conception of *sva-dharma* or personal dharma. Eventually Arjuna finds himself thinking not about cosmic order at all, but about the various mārgas or paths available to him in his quest for salvation. The Gītā's blending of a motivational pattern which called for the sustaining of the cosmic order and one which called for an adventurous search along a "path" produced a complex synthesis which has more or less held together ever since. The Buddhist contribution to this synthesis was crucial in spite of the fact that the radical "pathfinding" of the Buddhist saṅgha was later to be taken over by many of the special "orders" found within the tradition.

Once one has argued that both the "moods and motivations" characteristic of the Indian tradition were expressed in symbols which in large measure were formulated by Buddhist teachers, the question of Buddhism's destiny within the Indian tradition arises. How could so central a voice be lost? The answer is that when religion is conceived of as a cultural system, the growth and decay of certain symbols within the system presents no special problem. If Buddhist symbols had not turned up in other cultural contexts, we would no doubt have come to speak quite naturally of "Buddhist" ideas, rituals and institutions as nothing but descriptive labels for some of the earlier elements of the Indian cultural system. Clearly Buddhism was never a separate religion or cultural system within the Indian subcontinent, with its own clientele, its own ethos and its own world view. The question should not be "Who conquered the Buddhists?" or "When and why were the Buddhists marched out of India?", but rather "When did the Buddhist contribution to the symbol system which comprises the Indian tradition begin to fade?" Buddhist symbols are clearly part of the symbol system which continues as a living tradition in India today. Much of the Buddhist contribution to that tradition had been absorbed by the beginning of the Christian era.¹⁵ While initiative passed to others at that point, it remains the case that the Indian tradition is not a coherent whole unless the centrality of the Buddhist contribution is recognized, nor are Buddhist symbols properly understood unless they are seen within the context of the Indian culture system.

IV

A third, and final, issue currently puzzling religious studies, on which Buddhologists could be of great help, is the question of transplants of Indian culture which are found in many other cultures of Asia. For a variety of reasons many of these transplants have been labelled "Buddhist", but

15. Because of the self-preserving quality of monastic organization, a residue "Buddhist" voice could still be heard some ten centuries later.

that label obscures more than it reveals for the transplant in almost every case was different. Recently anthropologists have taken a great interest in these transplants, for it is necessary to understand them with more precision if the symbol system of the receiving culture is to be understood as a coherent whole.

The major difficulty in understanding more exactly just what symbols of Indian culture were transplanted within these other cultures is the fact that the components of the Indian symbol system are not well enough understood and are not therefore carefully arranged in terms of a pattern of development. Picking up the label "Buddhist", the anthropologists, who often know little about the Indian tradition, take a wild guess and posit that "a pessimistic creed" or an "aristocratic monasticism" is what the transplant involved.

If both the giving and receiving cultures are analysed in terms of the various symbolic components of the culture at the relevant stage of development it seems probable that we could move toward identifying the specific symbols which constituted the transplant. Michael Ames¹⁶ analysis of Ceylonese religion in precisely these terms has done part of the work in that context and what is now needed is to identify more precisely the Indian tradition's transplants which in this case probably involve the "mood" of *dukkha* and the Aśokan understanding of *dharma*, both of which were fresh new symbols to the monks who went to Ceylon in the Third Century B. C. The symbols carried by Ninth Century aristocrats to the courts of the Khmers and Sailendras respectively were of course very different, partly because Indian culture had changed but also because the selection processes of the receiving cultures were different. The point can be made even more forcefully when one speaks of the transplants to China in the First Century A. D., and to Tibet probably beginning in the Seventh Century A. D.

Each of these transplants must be studied in detail if the specific symbols involved are to be identified. Little light is shed if they are all described as part of the "spread of Buddhism," but on the other hand Buddhologists have a special responsibility to explain these transplants for they are from the period of the Indian tradition in which symbols suggested by Buddhist teachers played a central role. A reconstruction of "Buddhism" from the stray symbols found in various non-Indian cultures of Asia would be worse than trying to put Humpty Dumpty together again, but with the reformulation of the Buddhist role within the Indian tradition it becomes possible to see the way in which Indian transplants (often bearing a Buddhist label) found their way into other cultures.

Indian Buddhist texts are not the remains of a dead civilization as are the texts of the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans. The ideas, rituals and institutions reflected in the texts of Indian Buddhism live on in the Indian cultural system and in the symbol system of other Asian cultures to which they were transplanted. Students of religion are struggling to find ways of speaking about these symbol systems which will bring all their component parts into a coherent whole. Symbols, formulated by Buddhist teachers are crucial to the understanding of each of these different cultures, but in each case Buddhologists will have to join with others in presenting a picture of the cultural whole. Far from continuing to fade out of "religious studies", the need now is for "Buddhist studies" to return to the new problems being posed within religious studies and help in completing the understanding of these different cultural systems.

16. "Magical Animism and Buddhism : A Structural Analysis of the Sinhalese Religious System", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIII, June 1964.

Tirthankaras and Sasanadevis of Khandagiri Caves

R. P. MAHAPATRA

Navamuni-Gumpha, Barabhuji-Gumpha, Mahavira-Gumpha, Cave No. 10 and Lalatendukesari-Gumpha on the Khandagiri hill are replete with icons of Jaina Pantheon carved in relief on their inner walls. These figures include twenty-four Tirthankaras and their respective Sasanadevis along with their attributes, in hands, postures, *lanchnas*, decorative pedestals, keval trees, trilinear umbrella, etc.

Cave No. 10 and Lalatendukesari-Gumpha of the group are completely inaccessible as major parts of the stone in front of them are removed in the subsequent period. The images on the back and side walls of Lalatendukesari-Gumpha and back wall of Cave No. 10 are visible at much higher places than the surrounding ground level. Mahavira-Gumpha, is prevented from entry of the casual visitors. Navamuni-Gumpha is wide open in front due to the removal of the inner wall of the verandah. The figures in Barabhuji-Gumpha though open to the public without any restriction, in its damaged condition are the only evidence of twenty-four Jaina Tirthankaras with their respective Sasanadevis available in this part of the country.

There are three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Somavamsi King Udyotakesari, son and successor of Yayati-II, Chandihara Mahasivagupta which are found engraved on the cave temples of Khandagiri. One of them is found in the Lalatendukesari-Gumpha and the remaining two in the Navamuni-Gumpha. The one in the Lalatendukesari-Gumpha and one in the two in the Navamuni-Gumpha expressly refer themselves to the reign of Udyotakesari and since the donor of the third one is also the donor of the inscriptions in the Lalatendukesari-Gumpha, it has been generally accepted that all of them undoubtedly belong to his age. But the mere depiction of inscriptions inside the caves cannot be taken as a conclusive proof that the caves belong to his reign in the presence of various arguments to the contrary. It can well be said here that these cells in Khandagiri were reconditioned in medieval times to serve as sanctuaries for which we find here, as in other parts of the country, a developed Jaina iconism consisting of the Tirthankaras and their Sasanadevis.

Navamuni-Gumpha contains the figures of ten Tirthankaras, a figure of Ganesa and seven Sasanadevis of the seated Tirthankaras on the back wall; Barabhuji-Gumpha, twenty-four Tirthankaras excluding the standing Parsvanatha at the beginning of the back wall, twenty-four Sasanadevis leaving apart the two in the verandah; Mahavira-Gumpha, twenty-four Tirthankaras, sixteen seated and eight in standing pose; Cave No. 10, two standing Tirthankaras and one standing Sasanadevi and Lalatendukesari-Gumpha as many as eight Tirthankara images all in standing posture. Of the lot, Risabhanatha and Parsavanatha have been repeated in nine and ten places respectively. Similarly among the Sasanadevis, Rohini Chakresvari and Amra have been carved at three places and Prajnapti, Vajrasmkhala Gandhari, Padmavati at two places each. In Navamuni-Gumpha, only seven seated Tirthankaras like Rishabhanatha, Ajitanatha, Sambhavanatha, Abhinandanatha, Vasupujya, Parsvanatha and Neminatha and their respective Sasanadevis are given additional representations. The small figure of Chandraprabha is no exception to this.

There is a regular order based on chronology in the arrangement of the Tirthankaras having characteristic symbols. This order has been reversed in some cases in Mahavira-Gumpha. The reversal order in these cases is due to the ignorance and inadvertence of the sculptures.

Navamuni and Barabhuji-Gumphas are remarkable for the reliefs of the Jaina Sasanadevis depicted below their respective Tirthankaras. They were originally dwelling cells and converted in the medieval period to sanctuaries with excavation of their floors to deeper depths and removal of pillars and inner walls of the verandah.

The Tirthankara images though appear more or less in conventional posture having much similarity with the fundamental features of the Jainas, the Sasanadevis with the exception of Amra do not as a rule follow the canons of Jaina iconography as laid down in the available scriptures. This indicates either the existence in this region of a different text which the artist followed in carving the reliefs of the Sasandevīs or the germinal state in which iconographic concepts still existed without being crystallised into rigid forms. The later alternative is suggested by the difference in the attributes of the same Sasanadevi carved not only in separate caves, but also in the same cave.

On the back wall of the right cell of Navamuni-Gumpha are seven Tirthankaras, seated cross-legged with both soles visible in Yogamudra, within niches rounded at the top. Over their heads are canopies of three-tiered umbrellas flanked by a pair of hands playing on cymbals. On either side of the Tirthankaras are standing flywhisk bearers wearing loin cloths.

Immediately below each Tirthankara, is his Sasanadevi. The seven Sasanadevis, preceded by the figures of Ganesa seated in Maharajalila appear to be the reminiscent of the Brahmanical sapta matrukas. The grouping may not be accidental as most of them evince characteristics which are not available in the Jaina texts but which occur in their Brahmanical proto-types, with their attributes and mounts they disclose unmistakably the assimilation of the Brahmanical deities into the Jaina pantheon.

Similarly in the Barabhuji-Gumpha we find altogether twenty-five figures of Tirthankaras. Parsvanatha being repeated twice covering the three walls of the inner chamber. The Parsvanatha figure standing at the commencement of the images of the back wall is larger in size than the rest and is shown stripped of all raiments. It evidently occupies the position of mulanayaka in this cave.

The rest of the figures of Tirthankaras are in Yogasana on double-petalled lotus pedestals supported by lions, beneath the trees under which they attained their kevalajñāna (supreme knowledge). Above their heads are three-tiered umbrellas (chatra). They are flanked on either side by an attendant holding a fly-whisk. All, except, Parsvanatha have haloes round their heads. Celestial music is indicated by cymbals played by hands of invisible figures, and close to them are two flying ones holding garlands. The general appearance of all these figures is the same except for their distinctive lanchanas carved below their lotus seats.

Below the Tirthankaras, in different compartments are their respective Sasanadevis, all of whom excepting Mahamanasi, who is in Yogasana and Bahurupini who is lying down are seated in lalitasana. Twenty of them are on plain pedestals and four the fourteenth, twenty-second and twenty-third on lotus below which are their mounts. All except Bahurupini and Padmavati, the later with a canopy of snake, have haloes behind their heads. Figures of twelve-handed Rohini and Chakresvari having respective attributes

are also carved on the right and left walls of the verandah. They are in worship as Barabhuji Durga by the local priests, unaware of Jaina Pantheon.

Among the three sides of the inner chamber of MahaviraGumpha are the reliefs of twenty-four robeless Tirthankaras of crude workmanship. Stylistically they are much later than their counterparts in other caves of the hill. Parsvanatha instead of occupying the twenty-third position in the group of figures in the cave is placed roughly at a central place on the back wall. Risabhanatha, Ajitanatha, Sitalanatha, Parsvanatha, Vasupuja, Vimalanatha Sreyamsaptha and Mahavira the eight Tirthankaras standing in Kayotsarga pose were evidently given more prominence in the group by their height being longer than those of the seated ones which are designed more or less in a uniform size. The figure of Rishabanatha, the first Tirthankara is the largest, in the entire series. All of them have fly-whisk bearers, the standing ones further differentiated by the addition of naga devotees. Over most of them trilinear umbrella is represented in the shape of a pidha-deul.

Three reliefs, two of Risabhanatha and one of Amra, the Sasanadevi of Neminatha are carved against the back wall of cave No. 10. Both the figures of Risabhanatha are robeless and stand in kayotsarga pose on a double-petalled lotus supported by a pair of lions with the conventional lanchana, bull below. On their sides are eight grahas and two fly-whisk bearers. At the top of their heads are three-tiered umbrellas flanked by cymbals and drums played by hands, below which are flying figures holding garlands. Amra, whose left half is partially destroyed, is standing in a captivating tribhanga pose under a mango tree above which is her jina approached by a flying figure. Her mount, the lion is carved below the double-petalled lotus pedestal on which she is standing.

On the back and left walls of the left cell of Lalatendukesari-Gumpha are carved two figures of Risabhanatha, and three of Parsvanatha, all standing in Kayotsarga pose with conventional paraphernalia. The right cell has three figures, two of Parsvanatha and one of Risabhanatha also in the same pose.

Apart from the figures of Tirthankaras and their respective Sasanadevis, the figures of Ganesa in maharajalila pose available in the caves. One of them is carved on the back wall of the right cell of Ganesa-Gumpha and the other at the beginning of the Sasana-devis in Nevamuni cave. Along with the first image, we notice an inscription of the time of Santikaradeva of Bhaumakara dynasty and the other carved along with the group of sculptures in that cave which renders possible to determine their age.

Other iconographic details as available with these figures are given below—

Keval Trees—

Each Tirthankara has been associated with a heavenly tree, known in the jaina pantheon as the 'keval tree' like that of the Kalpa vrksa of the Hindus and Peepal of the Buddhists. The Tirthankaras attained their keval jnans or perfect knowledge under the tree associated with him.

All the seated Tirthankaras in Bhrahmuji—Gumpha are shown with their respective kevala trees behind their heads. The leaves of the trees are spreading on either side in one and the same fashion in all the figures. Hence it becomes difficult to identify them. Though they bear different names and each Tirthankar attained his Kevala knowledge under the tree associated with him as per the text, the artist only made stylistical representation of the trees behind the figures. The images both seated and standing which are not shown with this tree indicates the gross negligence of the sculptor.

Trilinear Umbrellas—

The trilinear umbrella forms another significant item in eight pratiharyas of the Jainas. This umbrella in three folds is usually shown over the head of the Tirthankaras. In some cases, they are very much decorated and in others they are shown only in outline. In most of the *Tirthankara* figures of Mahavir-Gumpha, the umbrella is designed in the pattern of a *pidhadeula*. We find the trilinear umbrella with all the Tirthankara figures in the caves of Khandagiri hill except Chandraprabha in Navamuni-Gumpha and Sitalanath and Parsvanatha in Mahavira-Gumpha. Non-representation of the traditional umbrella with the three images, however, can not be taken as a major deviation from the Jaina iconography.

Cymbals played in hands

Cymbals played in two hands on either side of the Tirthankara images indicate the heavenly music. It too is a feature of the Jaina Tirthankaras carved in the Khandagiri hill except the ninth, all Tirthankara figures in Navamuni-Gumpha, all Tirthankaras of Barabhuji-Gumpha, all except eleventh, fifteenth, eighteenth, twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-second figures of Mahavira-Gumpha, the Risabhas of cave No. 10 and all the figures of Risabhanatha and Parsvanath of Lalatendukesari-Gumpha. In all, the hands are shown with playing the cymbals but with twenty-third figure of Mahavira-Gumpha, two flying Vidyadharas are engaged in producing the heavenly music by beating the cymbals.

Astagrahas

The Astagrahas are present only in two standing Risabhanatha figures of cave No. 10. Following their Brahmanic counterparts as available in Orissa, they are shown in either side of the Tirthankaras (four on each side) in the conventional pose and with the usual attributes. Ketu is absent in the group as the Jainas did not perhaps believe the theory of his separation from Rahu. They are all seated in yogasana with a pot of nectar and rosary in their hands except Surya (sun), who is depicted with holding the stems of two full-blown lotuses. The Chamardharis though found above the graha figures in the left figure, they are found below them with the right image. None of these graha images are provided with a vehicle or their attributes, except Surya, agree to the textual description.

Chauri Bearers (Ganadharas)

Another feature of the Jain icon is the presence of Ganadharas just to the right and left of the main figures irrespective of its carving in seated or standing position. Jaina texts specially on iconography mention them as attendants of a Tirthankaras. Such figures are invariably represented in standing position with chauries in hands across their shoulders. Barring the small image of Chandraprabha on the left wall of Navamuni-Gumpha all other Tirthankara images in Khandagiri hill are provided with Chauri bearers on their sides. In some cases, these attendants are carved along with the Tirthankara figures in the same pedestal, but in other cases, separate pedestals are provided for them. The attendants of the first Risabha image in cave No. 10 are shown above the graha figures leaving their conventional place immediately over the pedestal. They are fully decked with costumes and ornaments though the Tirthankaras to whom they attend are shown naked.

Flying figures

Flying figures having garlands in hands, a feature not only available with Jaina Tirthankaras, but also forms a part of most of the sculptures in Buddhist and Brahmanic

pantheon, of the images in Khandagiri hill such heavenly figures are entirely absent in Navamuni-Gumpha, but they are found depicted in uniform pattern on either side of all Tirthankaras of Barabhuji-Gumpha, three images including Amra in cave No. 10, first, third, thirteenth, twenty-third and twenty-fourth Tirthankaras in Mahavira-Gumpha and all the Risabhanatha and Parsvanatha images in Lalatendukesari-Gumpha.

Halo

Halo or Pravamandala of a beautiful radiance forming one of the items under the eight Pratyaharias of the Jaina images is found with one of the Risabhanatha figures of Navamuni-Gumpha, all the images except Parsvanath, Bahurupiṇī, Padmavati and Sidhayika in the group and Chakresvari and Rohini in the Verandah of Barabhuji-Gumpha and two Risabhanatha figures of cave No. 10. Such halos emitting radiance are normally attached to Gods, Goddesses and those attained the status of God-hood through their noble deeds either in circular or in oval shape. In some cases, these haloes at the back are decorated with various designs, but with the images of Khandagiri referred to above, we find the halo is uniformly oval in shape and plain in design.

Devotees

Devotees in folded hands are found with a limited number of Tirthankaras and Sasanadevi figures of Khandagiri hill. They are either seated kneeling with hands folded across the chest as shown below the pedestal of the middle figure in cave No. 10 or are depicted with semi naga figures (the lower part being the snake and the upper part in human form) with the usual anjali pose as available on either side of Parsvanatha images of this place. With the semi naga figures, a canopy of three or five-hooded snake is shown at the top. Grouped together, these devotees are found with all the Parsvanatha images of Navamuni-Gumpha, Barabhuji-Gumpha and Lalatendukesari-Gumpha and first, second, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth figures of Mahavira-Gumpha and middle image of cave No. 10:

Offerings

Apart from the distinctive lanchana or symbol below the pedestal of Tirthankaras and their respective Sasanadevis, we find a series of sacred objects and heads of offerings in several of these figures in Khandagiri hill. They usually form single or two pitchers, spouted jars and other items sacred to the Jaina religion. Such type of offerings are noticed with the twenty-third Tirthankara in Navamuni-Gumpha, Chakresvari in the verandah of Barabhuji-Gumpha and below pedestal of the images of first, third, fifth, seventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fifteenth, and twenty-fourth figures of Mahavira-Gumpha.

Symbolic Representation

Symbolical representation of the sun, moon, lotus and nandipada motifs yet form other peculiar features with some of the Tirthankara figures of Mahavira-Gumpha. They are conspicuous in their absence with Tirthankaras and their respective Sasanadevis found elsewhere in the Khandagiri hill. Apart from their late representation, the sun, and moon are also depicted in one of the [tympana] of Ananta-Gumpha and the inner wall of Tatowaa-Gumpha No. 2 with variation in design. Of all the symbols the sun has been depicted with figures, second and eighteenth, moon with second and sixteenth, lotus with fourth, fifth, eleventh and fourteenth and nandipada with the tenth image of Mahavira-Gumpha.

Third-Eye

Representation of third-eye, a typical feature very rarely found elsewhere with the Jaina images is definitely an idea borrowed from their Brahmanic counterparts. It can rightly be established that the Sasanadevi figures carved below the Tirthankaras in Navamuni-Gumpha are much influenced by the Saptamatruka tradition prevalent during the period in Orissa. In the entire series of images in Khandagiri hill we find the third-eye on the forehead of Rohini in an horizontal shape and with Padmavati in a vertical design, both being in the same Navamuni-Gumpha.

Asana (Posture)

Among the great religions of India, certain symbolic position of hands and legs form prominent parts of poses in spiritual contemplation. They are believed to be heads to mental concentration. We find several such postures like 'Kayotsarga', 'Yogasana', 'Lalitasana', 'Maharajalila' associated with the Jaina figures of Khandagiri.

Besides the postures described above, Amra in cave No. 10 is standing under a thick mango tree in captivating tribhanga pose and Bahurupini in Barabhuji-Gumpha lying in a cot duly attended by three attendants. Similarly Mahamanasi, the only Sasanadevi is seated with both the legs crossed over the pedestal which may otherwise be attributed to Yogasana or Padmasana.

Mudras (Gesture in hands)—

Among the mudras in hands of the Jaina figures we notice Abhaya, Varada, Anjali, Vitarka and Tarjani, etc. Most of the Sasanadevis of the place are shown with Varada mudra atleast in one hand. Anjali mudra is normally shown with the devotees carved below the pedestals.

Pedestals —

Various standing and sitting postures represented with the Jaina Tirthankaras and their respective Sasanadevis are also associated with several types of pedestals at this place. Some of these pedestals are designed in double-petalled and single-petalled lotuses either carved without legs or supported by lions, peacocks, conch-shells as the case may be, or only plain seats and in other cases, no seat at all. All the five Parsvanatha figures in Lalatendukesari-Gumpha are without any seat of the types mentioned above. The pedestals of Neminatha in Navamuni-Gumpha is supported by a pair of conch-shells, and in Mahavira-Gumpha with two peacocks. Similarly most of the double-petalled lotus pedestals provided to the Tirthankaras in Barabhuji-Gumpha are carried over by two spirited lions. This type of seat may be otherwise called a Simhasana. Twenty of the seats available with the Sasanadevis in Barabhuji-Gumpha are legged seats, plain in design (except the fourth, sixteenth, twenty-second and twenty-third). Similarly Ganesa, three of the Tirthankaras and six of the Sasanadevis are shown seated on plain pedestals in Navamuni-Gumpha. Single-petalled lotus thrones are more prominent with Sitalanatha, Vimalanatha, Anantanatha, Dharmanatha and Santinatha, all in Mahavira-Gumpha and Chandraprabha of Navamuni-Gumpha. In a few instances of Barabhuji-Gumpha, the pedestals are badly damaged but their similarity with the group can be conjectured easily.

Lanchana (Symbols)

Except the early Mathura statues, the Jaina Tirthankaras and their respective Sasanadevis have a lanchana or symbol which not only distinguishes them from other images, but differentiates them from each other. The fact that the Jaina images of the Kushana period

from Mathura did not bear the lanchanas prove that in the earliest state of Jaina iconography, there had not been a practice of marking out a Jaina figure with a distinctive symbol. Next probably confusion arises to distinguish a Jaina figure from another having a stereotyped appearance. Thus images of Gupta and subsequent periods have invariably a lanchana and cannot be misapprehended. Although the Tirthanakara images of the Kushana age bear no lanchanas, in case of the Parsva images, the Kushana artists have given a snake canopy behind the head of the figure and we are enabled to identify the Jaina without any difficulty.

Following the tradition of the later variations the Jaina Tirthankaras, and the respective Sasanadevis here, are invariably provided with their lanchana below pedestals. Due to weatehring conditions in some cases, these lanchanas are badly eroded or damaged and in other cases, they are carved so crudely that it becomes difficult to identify the lanchana prescribed in the text and carved with the image. These symbols though almost correspond to the textual prescriptions for the Tirthankaras, they largely differ with the Sasanadevis. Apart from this representation, these symbols are intimately connected with the Tirthankaras and their Sasanadevis either hereditarily or associated with some particular event in his/her life. For the sake of convenience we have grouped all these symbols under the following categories irrespective of their representation with the images in different caves.

(1) Animals including Garuda

(2) Birds;

(3) Fishes and Reptiles; and

(4) Miscellaneous items

Under item one; bull, elephant, horse, rhinoceros, buffalo, boar, deer, goat, lion, percupine are prominently displayed. Bull has been connected with the figures of the first Tirthankara Rishavanatha at the place as his mother like the mothers of all Tirthankaras saw certain dreams and the first dream was about a bull. It also finds further representation with Rohini and Mahakali in Barabhuji-Gumpha. Elephant on the similar ground is connected with images of Ajitanatha and Sasanadevis like Rohini in Navamuni-Gumpha and Sidhayika or Barabhji-Gumpha. It is one of the most popular animals associated with kingly powers. Horse has become the symbol for Sambhavanatha, which in India regarded as auspicious and originates from the idea of good chance associated with his name. It also found below the pedestal of Anantamati in Barabhuji-Gumpha. Monkey has been represented as the vehicle of Abhinandannatha in all the caves of his representation and Vajra-srunkhala in Navamuni-Gumpha. Rhinoceros has been fittingly associated with Sreyamsanatha for the qualities of its turbulence and forwardness. Buffalo has become the vehicle of Tirthankara Vasupjya and Sasandevi Vijaya in Barabhuji-Gumpha. The sharpness (of intellect) of the Tirthankara Vimalanatha has been emblematised by the boar noted specially for its sharpness. Contrary to the depiction of a wheel flanked by two antelopes as found elsewhere, Santinatha has been associated with a deer lying below his pedestal in all cases of Khandagiri caves. Similarly a goat with Tirthankara Kunthunatha and Sasanadevi Aparajita of Barabhuji-Gumpha, lion with Mahavira and Jvalamalini of Navamuni-Gumpha and Amra of Navamuni-Gumpha, Barabhuji-Gumpha and cave No. 10, percupine with Anantanatha are the available lanchanas represented with the images referred to above. Garuda is the symbol of Chakresvari marked below her pedestal in Navamuni-Gumpha and Barabhuji-Gumpha. In front of the Garuda figure in Navamuni-Gumpha, a crane is available.

Ayudhas:

Sasanadevis of Navamuni-Gumpha and Barabhuji-Gumpha are provided with various attributes in their hands which helps in distinguishing them from each other. These ayudhas are normally based on the prescription of a particular scripture current in this part of the country. As indicated earlier the ayudhas as well as the symbol attached to most of the Sasanadevis in Khandagiri hill widely differ from those known so far in the available texts. It naturally presupposes to the existence of another such text on the basis of which the artists reproduced them into live sculptures.

As the sculptures in Navamuni-Gumpha and Barabhuji-Gumpha are ruined to a large extent we are in difficulty to trace the details of these attributes in the hands of the figures. Again many of these items are very often repeated in not only with the figures of other caves, but also in the same cave. These attributes on the other way are also found associated with deities of other religious faith.

With much difficulty, we have traced as many as twenty-three attributes in the hands of the figures of the caves. They range from various types of deadly weapons of war to manuscripts, musical instruments, baby on the lap, flowers and branches of trees.

JAINISM IN ORISSA

By Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi

The date of the origin of Jainism cannot be determined. The twenty-three Tirthankaras who preceded Mahavira Vardhamana, the last of the Tirthankaras, had reformed this old religion at various times of which no chronology is available. The date of Parsvanatha, the immediate predecessor of Mahavira Vardhamana has however been approximately known. He lived and preached about 250 years before Mahavira (i. e. in the eighth century B. C.) and was the son of Asvasena, king of Banaras. Most of the essentials of his preachings were later on adopted by Mahavira. Parsvanatha and Mahavira were thus historical figures¹.

The latter's connection with Kalinga (Orissa) is suggested by traditions recorded in the Jaina sacred literature. The Jaina Harivamsa-Purana records that Mahavira Vardhana preached his religion in Kalinga and Jaina Haribhadriya-vritti says that he went to this country as its king was a friend of his father². The early spread of Jainism in Orissa is evident from these traditions and it will not be unreasonable to conclude that Jainism made its first appearance in this country in sixth century B. C. when Mahavira visited it, and since then it continued to be one of its major religions at least up to the end of the first century B. C. when Kharavela's dynasty seems to have ended.

There was a long rivalry between Magadha and Kalinga from the days of the Nandas down to the days of Mauryas, which for a while ended with the occupation of Kalinga by Asoka in about 261 B. C., but which was again revived in the reign of Kharavela who is generally placed in the second or first century B. C. The Nandaraja of the Hatigumpha Inscription, who is represented to have taken away the sacred seat of Jina from Kalinga, later recovered by Kharavela, and who is also represented to have dug a canal in Kaligan later re-excavated by the same king, is identified by some scholars with Mahapadma Nanda and by others with Asoka³. At any rate there is no doubt that there was a long and continued rivalry between Magadha and Kalinga in the pre-Christian era. The reasons of this long struggle might have been mostly political, but a religious factor cannot altogether be eliminated.

The first attack of Magadha on Kalinga during the days of the Nandas must have been an outcome of the Nanda imperialism. According to the Puranas Mahapadma Nanda conquered most parts of India and became ekarat or the sole emperor. The Nandas have been represented as greedy, unscrupulous and most unpopular among their subjects and it is due to their lust for conquest that they must have conquered Kalinga. No accounts of this first war between Magadha and Kalinga is available, but we can well imagine that it would have been as terrible as Asoka's Kalinga War of 261 B. C. of which Asoka himself gives us a graphic description. At the conclusion of the war Nandas must have carried away from Kalinga a vast booty of which the honoured seat of Jina was most precious and has therefore found a particular mention in the Hatigumpha

1. The Age of Imperial Unity, Bharatiya Vidyabhavana, P. 411.

2. R. D. Banerjee, History of Orissa, Vol. I, P. 61.

3. K. C. Panigrahi, Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar, P. 192 ff.

Inscription. This honoured seat was an object of worship among the Kalinga people who must have felt and resented its loss. It therefore follows that Jainism was the major religion of Kalinga in the fourth century B. C. and we shall not be far from the truth, if we conclude that it was its state religion.

The History of Orissa from the days of the Nandas to the date of Asoka's invasion is completely blank and we do not know when Kalinga regained her independence so that there was the necessity of conquering it again by Asoka. There is however no reason to think that Jainism ceased to be the dominant religion of Kalinga soon after its conquest by the Nandas. It must have continued as the major religion of this country and might have been one of the causes of Asoka's invasion. From all accounts we get the impression that Asoka was a Brahmanical Hindu prior to his invasion of Kalinga and it is therefore not unlikely that the war waged against this Jaina country, was tinged with a sectarian bias.

In his Thirteenth Rock Edict Asoka tells us that the Kalinga War resulted in one hundred thousand people killed, one lakh and fifty thousand carried away as captives, many more that number dying of starvation and disease that followed in the wake of the terrible war. This description presents an overall picture of the devastation and the loss of life in Kalinga and it is difficult to determine as to how much of her culture survived after this great cataclysm. The Kalinga war formed a turning point in the life of Asoka, in the history of Buddhism and in the culture and religion of the Kalinga country. Asoka engraved his Fourteen Rock Edicts at Dhauili near Bhubaneswar and at Jaugada in the Ganjam district, both situated in Orissa, and set up a pillar at Bhubaneswar, subsequently converted in to a huge Sivalingam now enshrined in the Bhaskaresvara temple¹. There was thus a period of proselytization following the conquest and ushering in the new religion of Buddhism which in consequence obtained a foothold in Orissa, but it cannot be imagined that Buddhism ousted the old religion of Jainism.

Jainism must have continued as one of the main religions of Orissa even after the Kalinga War of 261 B. C. and the people of Kalinga must have been looking forward to an opportunity when they would regain not only their political freedom but also their religious freedom. We do not know when Kalinga became free again, but it seems that she regained her independence in the reign of one of Asoka's weak successors. At any rate there is little doubt that Kalinga had become an independent country under Kharavela's dynasty of which the Hatigumpha Inscription provides us with definite information. Kharavela was an independent Jaina monarch who carved out an empire, but there is nothing in the Hatigumpha Inscription to show that Kalinga regained her independence during his reign. Rather, the description of the boyhood of Kharavela as given in this inscription gives us an impression that he was the son of an independent monarch. The liberation of Kalinga from Magadhan imperialism must have been achieved by one of his predecessors.

It was however left to Kharavela to wage a war of revenge against Magadha to recover from it the honoured seat of Jina which appears to have had a great significance in the religious life of the people, and to re-establish the supremacy of Jainism as the state religion of Kalinga. He succeeded in achieving all these objects one by one. According to the Hatigumpha Inscription he twice led his expeditions against Magadha in the eighth and twelfth years of his reign and his second expedition resulted in the humiliation of the Magadhan king Bahasatimita and the recovery of the honoured seat of Jina. This sacred

1. *Ibid*, pp. 183 ff.

object appears to have been connected with the state ritual or with the royal household, or else shorn of its religious significance it would not have been counted as a war trophy either by a Magadhan emperor after his victory over Kalinga or by Kharavela after his victory over Magadha.

A panel of sculpture still existing on the Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill, which also bears the inscriptions of Kamdapa-siri and Vadrekha supposed to be the successors of Kharavela, supports our above contentions. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who has attempted to identify the scene depicted in this sculpture, observes as follows :

“The most important scene which arrests our attention in this cave (the Manchapuri Cave) is the central scene on the facade of the Verandah (Plate I). Though unfortunately mutilated, what remains shows a throne with a royal group on the proper left consisting of two men and two women. The first man near the throne is badly mutilated. He is probably the king, by virtue of his proximity to the throne. Behind him stands another royal figure with a tiara resembling the tiara on Mauryan heads found at Sarnath. Let us call him the prince. Behind the prince stand two women of equal status. The first may be taken to be the queen, the next as the princess. Above the king and the prince are two *gandharvas* hovering in the sky and beating a drum suspended on a pole. It is not the bell as R. D. Banerji took it to be. Above the woman adjoining the *gandharvas* there is a representation of a full-blown lotus which has been readily taken by all to represent Surya. While the attitude of the royal party is to adore whatever was kept on the throne, the flower and the *gandharvas* over the party bring out their importance. Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Kharavela), the prince (perhaps Kudepasiri) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kalinga Jina which Kharavela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people ?”

“Another possible identification is with reference to the inscriptions actually found in this cave. The nearest king may be Kudepasiri while behind him stands the Kumara (heir-apparent--is he Vadukha ?), in which case, the peculiar tiara can be taken to be a coronet”.⁵

The identifications suggested by Mr. Ramachandran are most plausible. The scene seems to represent Kharavela and his family as paying homage to the sacred seat of Jina recovered by Kharavela from Magadha and this scene was caused to be carved by the king Kamdapasiri or Kudepasiri who, according to the inscription was the excavator of the cave on which it occurs. The scene also leads up to conclude that the successors of Kharavela were all Jainas and they used to take pride in the achievements of Kharavela, particularly in his recovery of the honoured seat of Jina. It is to be noted that the Hatigumpha Inscription refers to *Jinasana* (the seat or throne of Jina) and not to an image of Jina and in the scene discussed above, we find only a throne and no image. The monuments of Udayagiri thus mark the peak period of Jaina supremacy in Orissa when freedom had been regained, the defeat from Magadha avenged, the sacred seat of Jina recovered and the revival of Jainism was in full force.

It is noteworthy that Kharavela got his inscription engraved on the Hatigumpha not far from Bhubaneswar. Here in the same locality is found the inscription of Asoka in the hillock of Dhauli not far from Bhubaneswar, which is a record of the victor of Kalinga and which must have reminded the people of their defeat and humiliation in the Kalingawar of 261 B. C. Kharavela's inscription at Udayagiri seems to have been intended to counter-effect the Asokan inscription at Dhauli. The latter is a record of the victor of Kalinga and the former the record of the victor of Magadha. The Hatigumpha Inscription

coupled with Asoka's own description of the fearful results of the Kalinga War, supplies us with enough materials to reconstruct that in the late centuries of the Pre-Christian era, Kalinga presented a persistent challenge to the growing imperialism of Magadha. The conquest of Kalinga by the Nandas, its subsequent independence, the necessity of Asoka's reconquest of this country at an enormous cost, Kharavela's war of revenge against Magadha, the recovery of the Kalinga Jina by him and the re-establishment of Jainism as the state religion of Kalinga, all make up a continuous story from the fourth century B. C. to the second or first century B. C., of the rivalry between the two powerful neighbouring countries. The Buddhist record of Dhauli and the Jaina record of Udayagiri occurring in the same locality indicate that this rivalry was not merely political but was also religious and cultural in character.

The Hatigumpha Inscription refers to 117 cave temples excavated by Kharavela in the thirteenth year of his reign in the Kumari Parvata or modern Udayagiri. All these monuments have not survived to us. Even a casual exploration of this area reveals a number of caves half-buried in debris or destroyed by quarries made in the later period for building the temples at Bhubaneswar. What still exists of the earlier caves excavated by Kharavela and in the subsequent periods of his successors, has been divided into the following groups on stylistic considerations and on the basis inscriptions occurring on them :⁶

Group I—Hati gumpha, Sarpa-gumpha, Vyaghra gumpha and Pavana gumpha.

Group II—Swargapuri, Manchapuri and the adjoining caves.

Group III—Ananta gumpha, Tattva gumpha No. 1 and Tattva gumpha No. 2.

Group IV—Rani gumpha and Ganesa gumpha.

Of these caves both in Udayagiri and Khandagiri and their cognate members the first group and the second group certainly belong to the reigns of Kharavela and his probable successors as the inscriptions on them definitely indicate, but about other groups stylistic considerations have been the sole basis for determining their chronology or sequence. However, the conclusion that becomes unavoidable after an examination of these monuments, is that the hillocks now known to us as Udayagiri and Khandagiri and as Kumari Parvata and Kumara Parvata to our ancients, were the hub of the creative activities of Jainas in the late centuries of the Pre-Christian era. These caves were meant for wandering Jaina ascetics for their sojourn during the rainy season. Kharavela's Hati gumpha Inscription refers to the distribution of white garments by him among the ascetics in the thirteenth year of his reign and this reference indicates that he belonged to the Svetambara sect. The caves might have primarily been intended for the monks of this sect, but it must be noted that Kharavela extended toleration to all religions. The Hati gumpha Inscription tells us that he honoured the saints of all sects, viz., the Brahmins, Buddhists, Jainas and Ajivakas. So, the caves in course of time became the abodes of the ascetics of all sects.

The architecture of the caves is severely utilitarian in character and has been inspired by the Jaina sense of ascetism. Most of them are so small that they could accommodate only one or two persons at a time at night, although there are some specious ones of which the Rani gumpha is the biggest. On their walls they bear a variety of bas-reliefs depicting the worship of the Jaina sacred symbols and the panoramic views of the stories of the by-gone days, many of which still remain unidentified. Some scholars have of late tried to

6.—K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, P. 204.

identify some of these stories by connecting them with the life of Kharavela, but the identifications they propose are unscientific and doubtful character. In point of antiquity these bas-reliefs rank with those of Barhut, Sanchi and Bodh Gaya and represent the earliest specimens of devotional art in Orissa.

After the fall of Kharavela's dynasty in about the first century B. C. the fortunes of Jainism cannot be clearly traced. From the first century B. C. to the seventh century A. D. no clear chronological history of Orissa is available. Some stray specimens of art and architecture recently discovered throw welcome light on this dark period of Orissan history, but among such specimens the Jaina monuments do not form a prominent group. It seems that Jainism suffered an eclipse with the subsequent rise of Buddhism and Saivism in Orissa. It must be noted that Brahminism remained a major religion of Orissa throughout ages, though Jainism and Buddhism had their periods of ascendancy. The period of Jaina ascendancy in Orissa was over at the beginning of the Christian era and it then continued to co-exist along with other religious sects. Jainism has all along shown a remarkable non-antagonistic attitude towards Hinduism, which, according to the competent authorities, is one of the causes of its survival. The same spirit worked in Orissa and Jainism continued to co-exist as a minor religion along with other religions.

The Jaina images have been traced throughout Orissa, which are assignable not only to the dark period of Orissan History referred to above, but also to subsequent historical periods. They are to be found at Jajpur which was one of the centres of Orissan art and architecture and are to be seen at Akhandalesvara temple premises, at Narasimhapur and at Hatadiha, all situated in or in close vicinity of Jajpur⁷. There are also to be seen at Ayodhya in the Balasore district at Khiching and its neighbouring place Nakatipat in the Mayurbhanj district, they are affixed to the wall of the Jagannath temple at Baripada and are also found at Baidakhia in Keonjhar. Several Jaina images have also been preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Most of the images referred to above, are those of the Tirthankaras and were no doubt the objects of worship. The Saivas do not seem to have developed an antagonism towards Jainism as is evident from the fact that they have sometimes allowed the Jaina images to be carved on their temples. The Saiva temple of Muktesvara at Bhubaneswar has thus a number of miniature Jaina images on the outer face to its octagonal compound wall⁸.

The Saiva kings of Orissa also did not develop any antagonism towards the Jainas as evident from the fact that in the reign of the Saiva Somavamsi king Udyotakesari (C. A. D. 1040—1065) Khandagiri again became the centre of the building activities of the Jainas. The latest group of the Jaina caves of this hill, viz., the Lalatendu Kesari cave, the Navamuni cave and Varabhuji cave were, as the inscriptions on them clearly prove, excavated in the eleventh century A. D. These inscriptions were first edited by the late Prof. R. D. Banerji⁹, but since his readings were full of discrepancies they have been re-edited and commented upon by the present writer¹⁰. Since these inscriptions throw considerable light on the activities of the Jainas here, the translations of the amended readings are given below:—

7.= K. C. Panigrahi, *Itihasa O Kimbadanti*, Figs. 9, 10 and 11.

8.= K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p. 93, Fig. 60.

9.= *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, 1915=16, pp. 165 ff.

10.= *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa*, Madras Law Journal Press, 1961, pp. 52 ff.

(1) Inscription of Udyotakesari in Lalatendukesari Cave**TRANSLATION**

In the year 549 in the victorious reign of Sri Udyotakesari the decayed wells and decayed tanks were shown (i. e., cleansed) for bathing and drinking and (the images of) twenty-four Tirthankaras were established (i.e. carved on the walls of the cave) on the auspicious Kumar Parvata. If any heretic causes even damage (to them), such a cheat (will) excite the anger of Sri Parsvanatha by his act.

The unspecified era used in this inscription has been referred to the Ganga era of 496 A. D. and the year 549 has thus been made to correspond to 1045 A. D. The name of the hill Khandagiri has been given in this inscription as Kumara Parvata. From the Hatigumpha inscription we come to know that Udayagiri was known as Kumari Parvata. So, the twin hillocks of Khandagiri and Udayagiri were respectively known as Kumara Parvata and Kumari Parvata in ancient times.

(3) Inscription of Udyotakesari in the Navamuni cave**TRANSLATION**

In the year 18 of the ever-increasing and victorious reign of Sri Udyotakesari-deva (this cave temple) belonged to (i. e., was caused to be excavated by) Subhachandra, disciple of Sri Kulachandra Bhataraka, for the abode of the sages belonging to Aryasamgha and coming from Garhwal. One cave temple.

The inscription shows that even in the eleventh century A. D. the Jaina monks used to come to the Khandagiri from the distant places like Garhwal. The eighteenth regnal year of Udyotakesari roughly corresponds to 1058 A. D. which is also the date of inscription.

(3) Second Inscription in the Navamuni cave**TRANSLATION**

The umbrella with the staff belongs to (i. e., dedicated by) Subhachandra, novice-disciple of Sri Acharya Kulachandra.

These short inscriptions clearly indicate that the Khandagiri again became the centre of the Jaina activities in the eleventh century A. D. in the reign of the Saiva king Udyotakesari who evidently tolerated them. The clear history of Jainism in Orissa after the eleventh century A. D. cannot be traced, but, as we have already stated, it continued to be one of the religions of Orissa right up to the modern times when at Khandagiri and Udayagiri a new temple has been erected by the Jainas on the top of the former hill and the images of the Jaina saints enshrined in it. The twin hillock of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are still a prominent sacred site of the Jaina pilgrimage and attract devotees from all parts of India. They are also an attractive site of archaeological interest to scholars and visitors alike.

ZEN BUDDHISM, A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY

Durga Charan Pattanayak

BUDDHISM is *prima facie* recognised as an ethico-religious movement; this is best seen from Buddha's attempt to avoid metaphysical problems. The essence of the teachings of Buddha, the Enlightened one is suffering and the cessation of suffering and this has an enduring effect in the life and mind of the contemporary people as is found in the chief schools of later Buddhism which are approximately thirty in number. Zen Buddhism is one amongst them. In this short paper, I propose to examine the metaphysical status of this school of thought.

(I)

The term 'Zen' literally means 'meditation', it is believed to be derived from the Chinese word *chān* which owes its origin to the Sanskrit word *Dhyāna*¹ (the Pāli equivalent is *Jhāna*). Historical sources reveal that this school of thought (like Buddhism in original) is of Indian origin and in 520 A. D. it was introduced into China by one Bodhidharma, a saint from Madras. It is interesting to note however, that like all other minor religious sects, Zen Buddhism also ascribes its origin to Buddha, the propounder of Buddhism. The legendary account goes back even to the auspicious moment when Gautama became Buddha and it further seeks to justify its theory of extra-speaking experience from the meaningful smiling faces of the idols of Buddha, as are found in different parts of the world. They claim that Buddha himself conveyed this teaching to one of his main disciples, Mahākāśyapa. It is however seen that in the seventh century only, Zen Buddhism emerged as a separate Buddhist movement and for this all the credit goes to the China patriarch Hui-neng (637—713 A. D.). It was introduced into Japan after a long interval of five hundred years approximately and it is claimed by Japanese scholars that Zen has tremendous impact on the Japanese art, culture and civilization. In the course of time, Japanese way of life has also influenced Zen a lot and it has undergone modification. Though found chiefly in Japan it has also made an impact on western countries—notably in the United States, England and France.²

Lankāvatāra Sūtra is said to be the most important scripture which depicts the main doctrines of Zen Buddhism. In recent times, Dr. D. T. Suzuki (1870—1966) an eminent Professor of Ki-Otto College of Buddhism, is regarded as the most eminent interpreter and a prolific writer on Zen Buddhism.

(II)

Zen Buddhism is a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism giving stress on Immediate experience, Nihilism and the significance of the living present unlike other sects of Buddhism, Zen Buddhism believes in the eventual achievement of Buddhahood, it is the dawning of a mystical experience and can be achieved by anybody sincerely trying to have it. They claim that Gautama himself achieved Buddhahood in the same manner.

Zen monks put the metaphysical problems beyond the boundary of language and maintained that man is guided by the concepts created out of percepts and hence is often misguided by the use of language, thinking language to be the only meaning of communication. This anti-intellectual start, they think is unique of its kind, and claim that all kinds of religious experiences are intuitional. As Lao-tiu maintains—"One who knows, does not speak, and one who speaks, does not know"³.

This attitude towards the metaphysical problems has led many a critic of Buddhism to ascribe agnosticism to it. But this attitude itself has immense metaphysical value, I suppose. This intuitional method of approach is not to be discarded thinking that it only degrades the metaphysical questions to the personal level and its ultimate is solipsism. It is rather designed to break down the tendency to think that the ultimate truth is accessible to merely rational or even scriptural inquiry. Zen Buddhism, instead of being intellectual, stresses therefore on the controlling of mind through corporal labour, this makes mind illuminating enough and the image of truth is easily reflected in it. Hai-neng however did not feel even the necessity of corporal labour for the control of mind in his turn, he believed that some mental preparation is only necessary to have the reflection of truth⁴. (If one thinks of ultimate truth as accessible to intellectual pursuit). Only wise people would have been the persons to be enlightened in this world; but it is interesting to note that Bodhisattva himself has disproved this thesis in his words and deed; years of intellectual pursuit could not give him satisfaction, in the true sense of the term. A careful study of history of religions of the world also proves the 'utility' of this doctrine. In India, when the vaisnavas discarded the Naiyayikas view of liberation, possibly there was an echo of this slogan.

Zen Buddhism is out and out nihilistic. Lankāvatāra Sūtra, a scripture of the Yogācāra School of Buddhism is regarded by Zen as an important religious scripture. Hence it is natural that Zen Buddhists like the Yogacarins are absolutely idealistic and believe that pure consciousness is the underlying and embracing principle of things; and in its turn pure consciousness is indescribable. It is beyond any kind of intellectual inquiry. The logical tenability of pure consciousness is questioned very often, but the psychological status is beyond dispute. What we can at best suggest is that the task about pure consciousness is not possible but that does not render its status as non-sense. I think the ancient monks of Zen Buddhism were conscious of such an analysis of pure consciousness and, therefore, they had proposal to negate the view point of existential import of anything; this in its turn resulted in the scope of 'viewing the unlimited in the limited'. They stressed, therefore, in the significance of the present moment, Zen Buddhism is more akin to Buddha's view that the existence is the aggregate of certain passing moments only. An Enlightened man can see the 'completeness of the passing moments'—'once for him', past is dead, and the present has only significance.

It can be maintained that this significance of the present is the direct outcome of Taoism as propagated by Lao-Tzu, who by 'Tao', meant a mystical power which can pervade the whole of universe. This has striking similarity with the concept of pure consciousness of Zen Buddhism. Tao is sometimes taken as a code of conduct and Taoist concept of "acting through not acting" is propounded only when 'Tao' means 'non-actions'. We will shortly see how this has influenced the code of conduct of the persons believing in Zen Buddhism⁵.

Zen Buddhism stressed the need of contemplative training. This involves the training of Zen Buddhist Monks in controlling the code of conduct and much efforts are needed to train the adepts in effortlessness and this is a 'difficult task'—however such a concept is seen in the purāṇas of ancient India, where these names of Rajarsis are mentioned with all reverence⁶.

The contemplative training to be undergone by the aspirants are known as Za-Zen (literally meaning "meditation sitting") which is practised in a 'sado' under the guidance of a Roshin (Spiritual instructor). The training is peculiar, for the aspirants are asked to meditate over certain apparently meaningless paradoxes such as 'can a duck be let out of closed bottle, without

destroying any one of them'—or, we know what the sound of two hands clapping is like, but what is the sound of one hand clapping ? etc. These are known as Koan—the literal meaning of the term being 'Public document'. It will be seen that the 'Koans' are not meaningless if it is analysed effectively—these are designed to break down the conceptualisation superimposed on the flow of experience, these are meant to get rid of the bewitchment of intelligence done by wrong conceptualization and the direct result is to bring about intuitive insight. This I am afraid, however, does not allow the aspirant to choose to be what he aspires, this destroys the 'spiritual discipline' as it depends on the capacity of the Rōshi, who trains the aspirant to reach the 'satori'—this is like veterinary surgeons prescribing the medicines to their 'patients' who do not know how to report their sufferings. It is interesting to note, however, that the 'practical—undeviatingness' and easy-to-practice aspect of Zen Buddhism has drawn the attention of the spiritually dissatisfied people of the west, and there lies its greatness.

Zen Buddhism has influenced the Japanese way of life so much so that the art for which Japanese are famous in the world of Art and culture (e. g., swordmanship, love of flower) are also the direct outcome of Zen teaching. The Rinzai methods of training the aspirants took swordmanship, archery and other secular arts as means at spiritual training. Almost all the Zen hermitages are surrounded by flower gardens, which acts as an instrument to control the mind by placing the beauties and duties (the code of conduct of the hermitage) side by side—it is analogous to the sexual paintings and sculptures in the walls of Indian Hindu temples ; the mind of a true aspirant can see the difference between the two and choose the right one.

(III)

Zen Buddhism is an excellent blending of the Indian mysticism and the pragmatic outlook to life and art as is seen in China. The doctrine of pessimism, as is seen inherently in almost every sect of Buddhism is not found in its rudimentary sense even in Zen Buddhism. The Indian attitude towards life, namely the worldly is the best possible life to attain the bliss, is wholeheartedly accepted by Zen Buddhism. It is therefore, a religion which imparts to its aspirants the real meaning of life.

REFERENCES

1. The word Dyana originates from the Sanskrit root ' ध्या ' (Dhayee)—*chintāyām*—meaning to think persistently ; the significance of 'Zen' is to be considered from this perspective.
2. The Westerners' refuge in Zen is perhaps due to the dilemma to which they are placed by the conflict in between Christian Ideology and the Dialectical Materialism of Marxism. But Zen Buddhism has taken a peculiar shape in west as is seen with 'Beat' sects of California.
3. Lien Tzu—The Book of Lien Tzu, translated by A. C. Graham (London, 1962)
4. R. H. Blyth—The Zen teachings of Huang Po on the Transmission of Mind (London, 1958).
5. A similar view point is found in the Upanisadic slogan—*Jñānādbaktirviśisyate*
6. The Training of Zen Buddhist Monk—Dr. D. T. Suzuki
7. As Janaka maintains—'*Mithilāyām pradīpāyām name lavo no me vṣatih*'

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THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN BURMA

A HISTORICAL SURVEY

Devaprasad Guha

Buddhism and Burma are almost inseparable names, and one finds much of justification in the claim of a Burmese Buddhist that it is his country which still now preserves the orthodox tenets of Buddhism much more religiously than the sister countries following the same faith. Indeed, Buddhism of the Theravāda School, which incidentally was introduced into Burma some fifteen hundred years ago, has been for centuries and is even today a very vital factor in Burmese life and a great social force in that country. Buddhism, again, is the tie that binds Burma with India, and whatever is of any account in Burmese life and society is derived from that great religion. Of course, it cannot be denied that with the passage of time the interpretations of Buddhist tenets too has changed to certain extent. Yet, the fact remains that if the Burmese Buddhists had amended the tenets to suit the changed time and circumstances, the change had been effected in letters only, but definitely not in spirit. Indeed, the profound teachings of the Tathāgata still now inspires millions of people of the world, but amongst them the Burmese Buddhists can rightfully claim a place of great distinction. It is through Buddhism the Burmese people have developed a culture worth envying. It is Buddhism again which has generated in its Burmese votary an outlook on life for which any person would be well proud of. Facts being as they are, we shall first make a brief historical survey of the introduction and march of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, before we endeavour to ascertain how the Buddhist tenets moulded the life and character of the Burmese people.

Buddhism, rather its orthodox form known as the Theravāda, a faith now some twenty-five centuries old, was officially adopted by the Burmans, the major racial unit of the country, as early as the eleventh century of the Christian era. Indigenous tradition, however, takes back the introduction of the faith into Burma even to the life-time of the Buddha when, according to the testimony of the Shwe Dagon Ceti-daw Thamaing, a late native chronicle, it reached the country through the good offices of two Mon merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, of Ukkala. The Buddha, so says the chronicle, was kind enough to give them the dve-vācika sarana gamana formula and five precepts, besides gracing them with eight hairs of his head. It further says that the merchants returned home happy, and with the help of the reigning monarch they built a pagoda on the top of the Theinguttara hill to enshrine the precious relics and propagated the tenets they received from the Master. Incidentally, at the place where the relics were supposed to have been enshrined, now stands the famous Shwe Dagon pagoda. Turning back to the tradition, it can be said that its authenticity is yet to be proved. There is hardly any proof to substantiate the gift and later enshrinement of the relics. Besides, it should be noted that while a series of sculptures, dated sixth century onwards, from Sūkṣetra near Prome and Pagan depict the meeting of the two merchants with the Buddha, nowhere there is any representation of the gift of the hair-relics. Then again, scholars are generally inclined to identify Ukkala of the text with Orissa, and not with Rangoon as the orthodoxy tends to believe. In view of the facts stated above, we are left with no other alternative but to wait till evidences to establish the popular belief are available.

We shall now look at the Ceylonese Pali chronicle Mahāvamsa. According to it, Buddhism reached Suvannabhūmi as early as the third century before Christ when the Mauryan emperor Asoka sent two Buddhist monks, Soṇa and Uttara, to propagate the

teachings of the Master there. The Kalyāṇī Inscription of the late fifteenth century echoes the same sentiment. But there is difference of opinion about the exact location of Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Some identify it with Thaton in Burma, others place it in Thailand, while still others take it to denote broadly the whole of Indo-China.

We shall now turn to more definite evidences about the early existence of Buddhism in Burma. A few years back, a bronze Buddha image has been found at Thaton. On stylistic grounds, it may be assigned to late fifth century. In the fifties of the current century, while the war-damaged Shwe Maw Daw pagoda of Pe was being rebuilt, was unearthed a votive tablet with the representation of the Buddha on the obverse and the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā hetuppabbavā* in Mon characters of the sixth century on the reverse. The Botataung pagoda of Rangoon too was seriously damaged during the Second World War. This one too has been reconstructed, and from its foundation has been found a Buddhist inscription in Telugu-Kannada characters of about the seventh century. There are many other archaeological evidences, a few noteworthy of which are referred to below. They are the Buddha images from Tadagalay near Rangoon; gold, silver, bronze and terracotta images of the Lord, and some other Buddhist icons from Śrīkṣetra near Prome; gold, silver and stone inscriptions on Buddhist themes from the same place or near about sites; and a bell inscription and a few lithic records of Buddhist nature from the Akyab and Sandoway districts in the Arakan division. All these belong to the period between the sixth and eighth centuries. These evidences amply testify to the existence of Buddhism in Burma at least as early as the sixth century. Besides, there are traces of the early existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the country, as also of some form of Tantrik Buddhism in the pre-Pagan period.

To turn to the history of the introduction and subsequent development of the Theravāda faith in Burma, it appears that there had been a princely State in Upper Burma of about the tenth century with its capital at Pagan. The rulers were Burmans, and were racially distinguished from those of Lower Burma who were Mons. The prevailing religion in Upper Burma, so it appears, was some form of Tantrik Buddhism, but Theravāda dominated the south. Sudhammavātī (identified with Taik-kala in Bilin township of Thaton district) was then the capital of Lower Burma and the acknowledged centre of Theravāda faith.

The rise of Theravāda Buddhism in Upper Burma took place during the reign of Anoratha (1044—77). The king, it seems, became disgusted with the religious faith then prevalent in his territory, and adopted the Theravāda faith through the grace of Shin Arahan, a Mon Theravadin monk, who happened to be present at Pagan, his capital, at the time. With the help of his spiritual adviser, the king led a crusade against the prevailing Tantrik faith. Besides, being so urged by Shin Arahan, he requested the contemporary Mon monarch Manuha of Thaton to kindly spare him a set of Pali Buddhist scriptures as a friendly gesture. The request, however, was rudely turned down whereupon Anoratha waged a war against Manuha, humbled him, ransacked his capital, and brought over to Pagan all the thirty sets of Pali scriptures which the Mon monarch so proudly possessed. Fitting honour was done to the scriptures which were housed with all solemnity at the capital in a library specially built for the purpose. The people too envisaged a new ray of hope, obsessed as they were by the faith of the Aris, and possibly also by a motley of other religious rites and practices. Thus, with this great acquisition, opened a hitherto unknown avenue of religious life for the people. The study of the scriptures, coupled with the pressure given by Shin Arahan,

encouraged the king to make Theravāda the religious faith of the State. His unbridled enthusiasm set in motion a new era of religious reform, Pagodas after pagodas rose up their heads, new and still fresher programme of education was adopted, and the cause of culture strongly encouraged and advocated.

Anoratha passed away in 1077. His son Kyanzittha ascended the throne, and enthusiastically followed the father's programme of religious reform. He sent a mission to India to restore the temple at Buddhagayā, an act which thus became the first known official attempt on the part of any Burmese monarch at establishing cultural contact with India. Shin Arahan continued to be the spiritual adviser to the king, and it was to him more than to any body else that Burma owes the establishment of the Theravāda faith in the country, and the era of pagoda-building which he inaugurated was the most creative period in Burmese religious and cultural history. Kyanzittha's successors too enthusiastically pursued the programme set before them by their illustrious predecessors. It is worthwhile mentioning here that if Anoratha and his successors were not able to exterminate all the other prevailing religious cults, they gradually made them weak by their unwavering patronage to the Theravāda and enthusiastic support for its furtherance. Having had command over the sea-girt coast of the country, they were able to keep contact with the reigning princes of Ceylon, and to receive and give help in matters religions.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, in 1287 to be precise, Pagan fell before the onrush of the invading Tartars, and Burma was left in a state of confusion. Buddhism naturally had its share in the general decline. Religion languished, the clergy became split up into sects, and though pagodas continued to be built, none of them could rival even the less known edifices of Pagan. This state of confusion persisted till the second half of fifteenth century when the Mon king Dhammazedi (1472—92) ascended the throne at Pegu, and a somewhat stable kingdom was set up. Reform in the Saṃgha was necessary, and the monarch brought it about. Schisms were healed, and once again the ideal of a unified church with the king as the guardian was attained. With these reforms, Burma entered a new phase in the history of Buddhism. Never again was the country so seriously concerned about its religious orthodoxy, and Buddhism became self-sufficient.

The early kings of the Toungoo dynasty (1486—1752) were too busy with political conquests to devote much of their attention to the internal organisation of the Saṃgha. They too were missionaries, and in the annals shines forth the name of at least one king, that of Bayinnaung (1551—81), who stopped by legislation animal sacrifice in the Shan States and distributed scriptures amongst the people. Another noteworthy achievement of this dynasty was the step taken by the kings towards delimitation of religious lands and the appointment of a supreme civil officer for the purpose.

We move next to the Konboun dynasty (1752—1885). The first point that strikes our notice is the record of an embittered struggle which marred the peace of Buddhist Brotherhood during the reign of Alaungpaya (1752—60), the founder of the dynasty, and four of his immediate successors. The controversy arose with reference to the proper way of wearing the monastic robe as to whether it should cover both the shoulders or leave the right one exposed. After a struggle prolonging for about a century in which much of precious human blood was shed, the controversy at last came to an end during the reign of Bodawpaya (1781—89) with verdict in favour of those who insisted on covering both the shoulders.

Bodawpaya was a great builder. During his days, quite a number of pagodas were erected. Himself an ardent collector of books, he had many treatises, particularly those written in Sanskrit, brought from India, encouraged their study, and even got a number of them translated into Burmese. Besides, he invited to his royal court Sanskrit scholars from Benares, and did them much of honour. His reign too saw an appreciable increase in the pursuit of secular knowledge, even by Buddhist monks, in subjects like astronomy and astrology, massage and medicine, divination and sooth-saying, arts and crafts, music and dancing. The king tolerated for some time. But, when he found the monks much too engrossed with the study and practice of these subjects, he apprehended danger, cried halt and took stern measures to put the Saṃgha in order. His endeavour succeeded but partially, as there are evidences of the pursuit of secular knowledge by monks during the time of Pagan, as also during the rule of Mindon, though secretly.

Bodawpaya's successors—Bagyidaw (1819—38), Tharawaddy (1838—46) and Pagan (1846—53)—were keen enthusiasts who too contributed immensely to the welfare of the Saṃgha. But the real glorious period of the Burmese Buddhist ecclesiastical life is marked by the reign of the celebrated king Mindon (1853—78). The period of his reign was indeed the golden age for the Saṃgha which enjoyed the monarch's ungrudging help and sincere patronage. Mindon infused new vigour into the order by taking interest in all its affairs. Religious studies were pursued by monks with zeal, and some of the best pieces of Burmese Buddhist literary tracts were composed during this period. The king's leadership gave a new lease of life to Burmese Buddhism. It was under his patronage the Fifth Buddhist Council was held at Mandalay, and the version of the sacred scriptures adopted there in was incised on as many as 729 stone slabs. It is this very version which incidentally has formed the basis of the revision work of the Tipiṭaka done under the auspices of the Sixth Buddhist Council held in Rangoon in the fifties of this century to celebrate the 2,500 years of Buddhism.

Mindon was succeeded by Thibaw who ruled for about seven years from 1878. The period was one of troubles only, caused by palace and court intrigues. As such, the monarch could not devote much of his attention to foster the cause of the religion.

In 1885 monarchy in Burma fell for good when the British occupied the entire country. Thibaw was dethroned and deported to India where in 1916 he breathed his last at Ratnagiri unmourned.

The occupation of Mandalay by the British signalled the dawn of modern age in Burma but that is an absolutely different story.

We shall now speak a few words on the effect of the impact of Theravāda Buddhism on Burmese life and culture.

With the advent of the Theravāda in Burma, the country had undergone major changes in different spheres of her life. A primitive Burman was either an animist, or pavotary of traditional deities. But, when Buddhism presented to her a new faith, Burma discarded her old creed and embraced the religion of the Lord. In the process of adoption of the new faith, she gradually gave up the old gods. The force of the new faith was so great that the Nats the powerful deities of primitive belief, became gradually absorbed by the more simple faith that brought light into the land, and hope in the minds of millions.

Buddhism brought Burma inside the arena of a developed culture. The people, who so long were obsessed by rather primitive beliefs and customs, became steadily moulded, and the new faith carved out of them a new people, and enthused them into activities which make life beautiful and worth living. It encouraged them into the pursuit of art and literature. It generated in them the power of systematic thinking, and that is possibly why the abstract philosophy of the Abhidhamma and dry and abstruse subjects like Pali prosody and Pali grammar could attract the Burmese attention so much.

The Buddhist faith has played an important role in unifying the people of Burma. Racial jealousy was a very common feature amongst them. But it was Buddhism which ultimately brought the discordant racial units into one unified whole under one banner in the name of the faith. When the Saṃgha became well-established, we find its leaders taking lively interest, nay even active part, in the political affairs and administrative well-being of the state.

The social life in Burma too became fairly influenced by the Buddhist way. A society based on the theory of equality, was soon developed. Democracy is the essence of Buddhism, and very few countries enjoy such a democratic social life as that Burma does today.

Buddhism again has been instrumental in realising educational uplifts in Burma. Since early times the Buddhist monks of the country took upon themselves the task of imparting primary education to children without any bias for the social and religious units to which the taughts belonged. The toil and labour, put forth by monks in this direction, consequently enhanced the percentage of literacy in Burma, and this high percentage is the subject of envy of most people of the East.

To the growth of Burmese language and literature too, Buddha's tenets made considerable contribution. Originally rather poor in ideas and vocabulary, Burmese became very much enriched and embellished by coming into contact with Pali language and literature. We now find many noteworthy works in Burmese language which directly or indirectly derive their materials from the rich store-house that is Pali literature. Thus, it may be said with confidence that it was through Pali, its language and literature, Burma found the way to intellectual development.

The most effective influence that Buddhism wielded over Burma is that on the nature of the people. The gospel of loving kindness and forgiveness, of philanthropy and generosity, and of other virtues which have been depicted in and glorified by the Jātakas, are found woven into the daily life of the Burmese, thereby making them a people of fine culture and charming qualities. Besides the gift of moral renovation, Buddhism has imparted to the people of Burma deeper thoughts to contemplate upon, higher principles to abide by and nobler ideals to aspire for, thus introducing to a rather culturally handicapped people a totally new outlook on life, an outlook which is thoroughly Buddhistic, and verily that form of the faith is the Theravāda,

Lung-man cave Inscriptions and the Popularity of Maitreya Bodhi Sattva

LATIKA LAHIRI

Throughout the Fourth Century, North China was perpetually invaded by successive hordes of Turko-Mongolian tribes following a long period of disunity, chaos and confusion. They constantly attacked each other and destroyed each other. But out of this utter destruction emerged a new power, a more stable and permanent government that of T' o-ba (Tabghach) from northernmost part of Shan-si province. Thereafter, followed a period of consolidation of political and cultural achievement of immense assurance.

The T' o-ba Turks who had pastoral life was greatly impressed by Chinese ways of life and their culture. Gradually they were completely sinicised and merged with the main stream of Chinese civilisation and culture. They established their ascendancy over North China with their Capital at Ta-t' ung in Shan-si as the Northern-Wei Dynasty. Their rulers embraced Buddhism with great enthusiasm like the Kuṣāṇas who were foreigners in India ¹. They played a very significant role in the history of Buddhism and of art in North China for one and half century (A. D. 386—543).

During the period when Ta-t' ung was their Capital, two famous Buddhist monks Fo-t' u-teng 2 from Central Asia or India and a Chinese monk .Tao-an ³ had been ceaselessly propagating the Buddhist faith converting people of Ho--pei and Shan-si. The first two Emperors of the Northern Wei Dynasty embraced Buddhism. Under their rules Buddhism got imperial patronage. As a matter of fact, believers in Buddhist faith under the supervision of T' an-Yao began to hew out the cliffs of Yun-kang a series of shrines and colossal figures of Buddha which were to be 'a monumental not only to Buddhism but also to the splendour of the royal house itself'.

The Emperor Hsiao Wen-ti shifted his Capital to the south of Lo-yang in the 17th year of the T' ai-he period in A. D. 494, which was a remarkable event during his reign.

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1. See Arthur F. Wright : Fo-t' u-teng Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies II, 1948, p. 356.
 2. *Ibid*. His original nativity is controversial. E. Zurcher thinks him to be Kuchian—Buddhist Conquest of China, p. 181. According to Ch'en, Fo-t' o-teng was a monk of Central Asia. Buddhism in China, p. 79. According to Sooth hill's Dictionary he was an Indian monk who went to Lo-yang about A. D. 310, noted for his magic. A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms p. 226.
 3. *Ibid* Vol. 50, No. 2059 p. 351. The earliest Buddhist Catalogue of the early sixth century was completed by Tao-an. His work is the product of very profound scholarship. His example was folowed by bibiliographes of later times. Tao-an formulated a number of rules and regulations of monastic discipline which was adopted by the monasteries throughout the country.

At the time of shifting the Capital to Lo-yang, various Buddhist Schools were unified by the great Kuchian monk Kumārajīva and the Capital city with ancient traditions became a heart centre of Buddhism. The Emperors of the Northern-Wei undertook a similar magnificent project of chiselling of the caves at Lung-men near Lo-yang which continued through the rest of the Dynasty. With the advent of the Sui and the T'ang Dynasties, the work continued unabated on a large scale. The greatest religious sculptures that of the Buddhist grottoes of Yun-kang, situated in the cliffs of Wu-chou mountain, sixteen kilometres west of Ta-t'ung in Shan-si province and the grottoes of Lung-men (Dragon Gate), thirteen kilometres south of Lo-yang in Ho-nan, are the greatest contributions of the T'o-ba Wei to China. "Epochs of Great religious art is rare. The Wei period is one of them."¹

In each period of History from the Northern-Wei to the T'ang, the imperial houses, the ruling classes, the nobility, officials, monks, nuns and lay-devotees—irrespectively contributed their resources and labour with devotion and sincerity for making the Lung-men what we see today.

The river, Yi flowing through Lung-men bisects a range of small mountains into Eastern and Western groups. In comparison with the Western hill which comprises 28 cave (1—28) temples, the Eastern hill comprises a far smaller number. The important caves are Ku-Yang-t'ung 'P' in-Yang-t'ung and Lien-hua-t'ung. Numerous Buddhist niches were carved inside and outside the caves of the Western hills and colossal Buddhist images are to be seen everywhere in the Lung-men.

The Lung-men caves bear innumerable votive Stupas, episodes from the Story of Buddha's life of his previous births or Jātakas, images of Buddha and a number of different Bodhisattvas, most valuable dedicatory and donatory inscriptions. The purpose of the sculptures probably was to glorify Buddha and His faith. These inscriptions are indispensable materials to evaluate the prosperity and decline of Buddhism there desire, and aspiration of the people, irrespective of Imperial family monks, nuns and laities, their superstitions and beliefs. Besides this, the donatory or dedicatory inscriptions which have come down to us show not only the trend of Buddhism but also the socio-political and socio-economic condition prevailed during the period.

So far, very little work has been done on these caves and very few visitors and scholars go there to investigate and study the world famous monuments. Therefore, it is really difficult to assess the actual number of images and inscriptions. On the report given by the then Governor and the District Magistrate in 1916, the Lung-men caves possessed 1,42,289 images and 3,680 inscriptions². In his recent article published in the Times of India, dated August 1970, Dr. Tan-chung has also said that the number of images was more than a lakh at Lung-men. However, during the later part of the Ching Dynasty (The Manchus, the last ruling Dynasty in China) only 1500 images survived and many of them were destroyed by the ravaging touch of time. I must admit here that every student of Chinese Buddhist Thoughts, Arts and architecture are greatly indebted to Japanese scholars Tosio Nagahiro and Seuti Miozuno for their valuable and monumental contribution regarding the Lung-men cave Temples³.

Lo-yang the Capital of the Northern-Wei being the nerve centre, there was regular exchange of trade and commerce with the Western World and constant flow of foreign Buddhist monks from distant countries creating a great upsurge in the world of Buddhism in China. It was during the period of Shan-kuei Period A. D. 517 and Chang-kuang period A. D. 519 under the regency of Dowageress Empress Ling T'ai-hou the royal treasury possessed enormous wealth, there was a long

1. Rene Grousset: Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire, University of California Pres. 1965.
2. Magazine Lu-hsing Tsa-ehih Pa-eh'i. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en : Buddhism in China, p. 171 Princeton University Press, 1964.
3. A Study of the Buddhist Cave Temples At Lung-men, Ho-nan. Publication of Toho Bunka-Kenkyusho (in Japanese).

period of economic and material prosperity. This period was specially marked by flourishing foreign trade with Western regions. As a result of this trade valuable and precious commodities came to China ¹. Lo-yang Chia-lan-chi also says that the merchants and traders, handicraftsmen were fabulously rich, living in big building, wearing expensive and gorgeous clothes, eating rich food, keeping slave girls who also used to wear beautiful embroidered satin dresses ². This economic prosperity helped the Empress to execute such splendid work of art.

Here I shall discuss three types of donatory inscriptions which have come down to us and which reveal the circumstances that led to social, political and religious transition. On the one hand the most important explanation of the donors (Slave of Buddha) is given and on the other, we can see at a glance the faith they had in Buddhism. These inscriptions exhibit the different feelings, different emotions, different religious ideas of donors. The inscriptions are in thousands. So it is not possible to discuss everything here. Three types of inscriptions are picked up for discussions.

Firstly, the inscriptions made by the ruling class, the nobility, specially the members of the Imperial family of the Northern-Wei and other nobility belonging to the northern clan before.

Secondly, besides these inscriptions made by the nobility, there are large number of inscriptions by common people, family members of the officials who were the believers and directors of Buddhism and by monks and nuns.

Thirdly, inscriptions set up by the groups and leagues organised by the Buddhist monks. The previous two types were made individually and the third one collectively ³.

From overall description of the first category of inscriptions it seems that most of these inscriptions and a large number of images were erected under royal patronage. Special mention may be made here that the Empresses, the royal concubines and other ladies belonging to the royal family, mothers, wives of nobles made no less contribution for this creative work.

From the stone records of the Lung-men, we know that the oldest inscriptions of the cave Ku-yang-t'ung belonged to the 19th year of the T'ai-he period A. D. 494 and other inscriptions belonging to Ching-Ming period A. D. 500-501, Chang-shih period A. D. 504—507 and others covering more than twenty years. After the third year of the Chang-kuang period the Dynastic inscriptions ⁴ of the Northern-Wei are to be seen in various caves of Lien-hua t'ung, Hui-shao t'ung, Wei-tze t'ung and others beside Ku-Yang t'ung.

The earliest inscription which still exists in the southern wall of the Ku-yangt'ung mentions the name of one Sun Ch'iu-sheng and two hundred other names. In the seventh year of the T'ai-he period A. D. 483, it is incised in the temple :— Kuo-tsu yung-feng San-Pao mi-hsien, let the country prosper forever and let the Three Jewels illuminate more shiningly than ever.

The Emperors Hsiao Wen-ti A.D. 471—500, and Hsuan—Wu-ti A.D. 500—516 were great and devout patrons of Buddhism. The Emperor Hsuan Wu led a life of a monk. He was a voracious reader of Buddhism Sutras. The famous and renowned monks were invited from every part of the

1. Lo-Yang Chia-lan-chi. Taisho E. C. Tripitaka Vol. 51, p. 1018 Wei-shu shih-hua-chih.

2. *Ibid* Taisho Ed. Vol. 51 p. 1018.

3. Lung-men Shih K'o-lu. •

4. Pei-Wei Chi-nien tsao-hsiang-ming.

country to the royal court in the Forbidden City where they had regular debate and discussions. The Emperor used to take active part in the discussions. He started four eras during his short period of reign. To celebrate the birthday of Buddha, the Emperor, it is said, erected 1000 images of Buddha in the temple of Ching-ming. In the period of Chnag-shin A. D. 504, the officer Ts'ui-kuang collected 4,00,000 yān as endowment of the temple².

Most of the inscriptions at the Lung-men caves are dedicated to the Maitreya Bodhisattva after the death of the donor's dear and near ones.

Wei Ch'in-shih, the wife of Ch'iu-Mu-ling-liang, the King of Ch'ang-le erected a magnificent statue of Maitreya after the death of her son. On the north wall there is a large Buddhist nich and a seated cross ankled Maitreya Bodhisattva which is the principal image there. The inscription which was dedicated to that principal image of Maitreya, follows as-Wei Ch'ih, the wife of Chiu Muling-liang the King of Ch'ang-le and officer in the Imperial household, Lord in waiting, after passing away of their beloved son Niu Chueh requested a sculptor to erect an image of Maitreya. Her sincere prayer was that the soul of her bereaved son should be free from suffering of this world of sorrow and misery, should rest in heaven, the abode of eternal peace and his soul should be free from bondage of life and death. If he has to be born again, she prays, he should be born in heaven, the abode of Buddha or if in this world again, he should be born in a place of joy and freedom. If his soul is in distress let Buddha, she prays, by His grace save him. Let him be free from three lowest transmigration of hell, hungry ghosts and beasts. Not only her son but let the living beings be free from this place of horror³.

The grand mother T'ai Fei-hou constructed the image of Maitreya after the death of her husband Chia Lan-han the King of Kuang-ch'uan as well as Shih-chung⁴ who by the order of the Emperor, led the army as General to the north to defeat the Warlords, where he died. T'ai Fei took a vow to dedicate inscription and erect a statue of Maitreya Bodhisattva. The writings inscribed by her express the sorrows and tragedy of her life when her husband and only son died. Her inscription says "In my long circle of birth and death in this world, I find only shelter in Buddha. I was lucky enough to be born in the king's family but both of my husband and son died early. I had to bring up and educate my little grandson so that he could ascend the throne. The road before us is difficult to traverse, I must be careful I would fall into the ice. I have faith only in Buddha who would save me from all difficulties. I carve the ornate statue of Maitreya. I pray to Buddha that this act of merit would give me good health. I may have real consciousness so that I could leave this world of Avidya, ignorance and distress. I pray for the long life of my grandson and his wife. I pray for the birth of their children, prosperity and glory of the family. I pray for the safety and security of the Imperial throne for the eternal and everlasting glory of the Crown so that they could propagate Mahadharma Ch'ap-fa⁵. Let all the beings who are in darkness of ignorance realise the greatness of Buddha". This inscription shows her sincere devotion for Buddha as well as the pathos of her heart, who was held in high esteem in the society.

1. Wei-shu shih-lao-chih

2. Record of the Buddhist Monasteries of Lo-yang, Chun 2, Lo-yang chia-lan chi, chuan 2 Taisbo Edition Vol. 51.

3. The former Han rulers governed Kuang-Chu'an. It was known as Hsin-tu, old I-Chou, Shen-Chou and Liang-Chou area. (Han-Shu ti-li chih, Geo Topography in the Han Records.) There was a big river flowing through Hsin-tu. So the name of the place is given as Kuang-Ch'uan or long river.

4. The name of a big office. During the time of the Wei and Chin, Shih-Chung was an important provincial post.

5. Saddharma. The wonderful Law or truth (of the Lotus Sutra)

Inscriptions by monks and nuns

Besides the inscriptions by ruling classes, there are number of inscriptions by Buddhist monks and nuns of the Northern Wei period. In carrying out the project the ruling classes, the nobility the gentries were always advised by the monks and nuns. They also took active part in this work.

In the catalogue of "Stone Inscriptions" there are 189 inscriptions belonging to the Northern Wei Dynasty. Among these about 72, i. e., about 2/5 of the total were incised by the monks and nuns. There were about 72 donors 35 of whom were monks and 37 were nuns. At the early period of the history of Lung-men, i. e. in the T'ai-he A. D. 477-500 Ching-ming A. D. 500-504 and Chang-shih A. D. 504-508 period, there was a large community of monks but no mention of nuns. But in the beginning of the Second year of Yung-ping period A. D. 508-512 of the Emperor Hsuanwu, suddenly sprang up a large number of nuns who also contributed a great deal for the Lung-men cave project. In this field the pioneer was the Empress herself and then followed a number of ladies from the royal houses and gentries. Many nunneries were established under the patronage of Dowgeress Empress Ling T'ai-hou. Before A. D. 520 most of the images and inscriptions were engraved in the Ku-yang-t'ung by the monks but following period other caves like Lien-hua, Hui-shao and Wei-tze also contained their inscriptions. The images were erected and inscriptions were dedicated by individual nuns after the expiry of their sons and daughters and prayed for the successful conjugal life of their children. Interestingly, these nuns did neither start their life as recluse nor they entered into ecclesiastical order but after many years of married life they left home and joined the nunnery. This was not very uncommon in China. During the T'ang period, the Emperor Hsuantsung took Yang-Kuei-fei a beautiful consort of his son as his concubine who was very artful. She retired temporarily as a nun to the T'ai-chen Palace¹.

The famous monks like Hui-ch'ang. Fa-sheng Hui-kan and Hui-rung erected mostly the statues of Sakyamuni and Maitreya. These monks were the ardent believers of the Past, Present and Future Buddha, who would reappear in this human world. The idea of hereditary Buddhahood greatly appealed to the Chinese mind which was to them like hereditary monarchy.

In the 22nd year of the T'ai-he period, the Vikṣu Hui-ch'ang incised the inscription on the north-wall of Ku-yang-t'ung. "Buddha is dead there are only images of Buddha. I consider that sincere endeavour has been made in the cause of sculpturing the images in the period of the Northern Wei Dynasty. I pray to Buddha let the soul of my bereaved father be free from the bondages of this world and let him obtain salvation. I pray for the happiness of seven generations of parents and preceptors and let them be in Tusita the fourth Devaloka. If they are to be reborn, let them be in the royal and noble families. I wish to share Buddha's blessings with all mankind."

Inscriptions by Religious Fraternity

During the period of six Dynasties A. D. the monks, the believers of the same faith assembled together in a group or association consisting sometime for more than hundred members and jointly spent huge amount of wealth for the erection and construction of the cave temples. The religious fraternity under the able leadership took up the cause of propagation of Dharma, and conversion to Buddhism. These associations of monks were known as Fa-she Religious Society Yi-hu etc. During the period of South Dynastic rule comparatively rich people of the society formed such Buddhist Associations. The monk Shih-fa Chan Ch'uan² of the temple Kuang-te-shih along with other fellow brethren started religious activities in Lo-yang during the rules of the Emperor

1. Shu-chiung Yang Kuei-fei. Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1923, p. 15

2. Shu-Kao-Seng chuan Taisho Vol. 50

Hsiao-ming and the Empress Ling Tai-hou. The activities of these associations were not only limited in making images, holding religious meetings, copying Sūtras but also advising people to repair temples and stupas.

In the second year of the Shan-Kuei period A. D. 519 the members of the Religious Society engraved stone inscription which says, the head of the association spent about 9,000 yuans, and each members of 25 brethren spent 100 yuans for the construction of the Lung-men caves.

In later period Northern Wei had two divisions namely the Western-Wei with their Capital at Ch'ang-an in A. D. 535 and the Eastern-Wei. But after a while, these two houses were united giving place to Pei-ch'i the Northern Ch'i Dynasty A. D. 550-577. There is a dedicatory inscription of the sixth year of the Wu-p'ing period, on both walls of the entrance of the Yo Feng-t'ung Cave of Medical Prescriptions. The monk Kuang-tao constructed an image of Vaisajyaraja Bodhisattva or Sakyamuni (?). The prognosis, diagnosis, prescriptions for different illness, the names of medical herbs as well as prayers for longevity are inscribed. I must mention here that from time immemorial there had been quest for elixir of life in China. In the 13th century one mendicant Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un reached Samarkand in A. D. 1221 and reached the camp of Chengiz Khan. The great Khan greeted him and asked him, "Adept, what medicine for long life and eternal youth you have brought for me from afar". He replied, "I know only the art of protecting life but no elixir to prolong it"¹.

Here I shall discuss the circumstances that led to the prominence of Maitreya during the Northern Wei dynasty.

Śākya through different stages of transmigration appeared in the human world, but Maitreya is the expected 'Messiah' of the Buddhists. The mention of this Bodhisattava has been made in early Buddhist literature like Lalitavistara, Divyāvādān, Mahāvastu, Sadharmapundarīka and Vimalkīrtinirdeśa Sutra. In the Manjuvarjra Maṇḍala, he has been described "Maitreya suvarnavarno dvāvyām kṛtadharmadeśanāmudro varada sabyakara, Bamen sapuṣpa nāgakeśarapallava dharah." "Maitreya is of golden colour with two principal hands show the Dharmacakramudrā. The other two hands show the varada mudra in the right and the twig of the nāgakeśara with flowers in the left." ¹In the Sadhanamela he has been described Maitreyaḥ pītavarṇasca, nāgapuṣpa varapradah. "Maitreya is yellow in colour and shows the Naga flower and the varada mudra." ²This idea of Maitreya penetrated into China along with the propagation of Buddhism. As early as the time of Ming-ti (58 A. D. 76 A. D.) of the later Hans, the idea of future appearance of Maitreya as a successor of Śākya was already known. Maitreya was extensively worshipped even then.

In the Lung-men caves, the principal images are of Śākya but on the walls are carved many images of cross-legged Maitreya. According to the Indian Buddhist iconography, this Bodhisattva is usually represented like a prince with legs down, teaching law. Many of the inscriptions are dedicated to Mi-lo-Maitreya. His epithets are 'maitri' friendly benevolence and Ajita unvanquished.

What are the causes for the popularity of Maitreya ? And why the Buddhist society during the time of the Northern Wei had more faith in that particular Bodhisattva ?

The foremost cause was the extensive translation of the Buddhist texts which narrates the story of Maitreya. We must first examine the catalogue of the selected Buddhist Sūtras translated during the time when sculpturing of the images reached its zenith during the Northern Wei period.

1. Journal of the North-China Branch of R. A. S. Vol. LXIV. 1933. Early Chinese Travellers and their successors by WU Lien-teh, p. 12.

In the Ch'u-san-t' sang-chi-chi (A collection of the Records of Translation of Tripitaka compiled by a monk Sang -yu about 520 A. D. of the Liang dynasty 502-517 A. D., in 17 fasciculi) there is a mention of 15 Maitreya Sūtras translated by Dharmarakṣa, Kumārajīva and others. (This is a catalogue of Tripitaka translated in to Chinese from 67 A. D. till about 520 A. D.¹) I note here a few names from among those numerous Maitreya Sutras (i) Kuan-mi-lo-p'u-sa-shang-sheng-tuo-t'a ten-ching² translated by Ts'u-k'u-chin-sheng 455 A. D. Sūtra spoken by Buddha about the meditation on the Bodhisattva Maitreya's going up to be born in the Tusita heaven, (ii) Maitreya Vyākaraṇa-Mi-lo-hsia-sheng-ching Maitreya's coming down to be born (translated by Kumarajiva in 8 leaves). (iii) Sūtra on the time of Maitreya's coming Mi-lo-lai-shih-sheng-ching translated under the Eastern Chin dynasty in 317—420 A. D. but the translator's name is lost.

In all these above mentioned Sūtras, it is said that during the rule of a Cakravarty ruler (sovereign, paramount ruler) peace would specially prevail in this world, when Maitreya would descend from the Tusita heaven, appear in the world and become Buddha under Nāgārjuna tree (Campaka) open three successive meetings, preach law and rescue the suffering humanity. During the time of Eastern Chin, Dharmanandi (384-385 A. D.), a Tukharian monk translated Ekottaragāma, the 48th chapter of which was later copied down. Not only in that Āgama Sūtra the story of Maitreya's appearance in the future world as Buddha is narrated but also in the Madhyāmagāma and Dirghagāma, the same story is repeated. All the Āgama-sūtras were translated round about the period when the Northern-Wei was constructing the country. From these vast Buddhist Sūtras the chapters on Maitreya Bodhisattava were specially copied in large numbers and the appearance of Maitreya was extensively propagated by the Chinese Buddhists. As all these Sūtras on Maitreya were very short, it was all the more easy to propagate and circulate them among a large number of people.

Besides these huge number of Buddhist Sūtras on Maitreya, the Mahāyāna Buddhist sūtras of Fa-hua-ching Sadharma-Puṇḍarīka (translated by Dharmarakṣa of Western Chin Dynasty A. D. 265—316 A. D. and the prose portion by Kumārajīva under the later Ch'in Dynasty A. D. 384—417) Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra translated by Kumārajīva³ in 14 chapters, 3 fasciculi were mostly adored. The other two books, Life of Aśoka-rāja A-Yu-wang-chuan and Ta-chih tu-lun, Śāstra ascribed to Nāgārjuna on the greater Prajñā -pāramitā sūtra translated by Kumārajīva A. D. 397—415 in 100 chuan also narrate the story of Maitreya.

Here also Maitreya is represented as the future Buddha who would appear 5,000 years after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of the Lord on the earth to establish the truths in all their purity. Due to such extensive propagation during the Northern-Wei dynasty Maitreya became extremely popular among the masses.

The next important factor is the popularity of certain individuals who were ardent and sincere devotees of Maitreya like the monks Tao-an⁴ Fa-hsien whose ideal and sublime character greatly moved the hearts of the people of the capital city of Lo-yang.

In the book Shih-lao-chih a Taoist priest said : the heavenly gods sit on clouds or ride on dragons Thousands of fairies and beautiful women are directed by them. They always collect themselves on the top of mountains. The Taoists and the common people of the Northern -Wei believed in this story. There is a line in the inscription T' ien-shang-chu-fo praying for rebirth in heaven after death where the Buddha lives. The Chinese also believed in Chiu-k'ung¹ highest heaven.,

1. Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 327. No. 1475.

2. Ibid No 204

3. Ibid No. 43,44 and 47.

4. E. Zürcher—The Buddhist Conquest of China. pp. 184—204.

Sadharama Puṇḍarīka says : the believers of Maitreya at the time of death would see thousand Buddhas and never go to evil way (Buddhist expression of the lowest transmigration-hell, hungry ghosts and beasts). They would take rebirth in Tuṣita in the highest heaven which is surrounded by 48,000 beautiful fairies and women expert in divine music. So we see the same ideas of the Taoist in the Shih-lau-chih and sadharma Puṇḍarīka. Naturally Maitreya has an universal appeal.

Thirdly, the teachings of future Maitreya emphasise the lives of present human world we love so much. The myths of Maitreya and the time of his appearance synchronise with the idea of an ideal-emperor who could consolidate the entire country and bring peace to the world., The faith in the future appearance of Maitreya inspired the donors to carve the images at Lung-men in the suburbs of the Capital generating the same hope and ideal that the rule of the Northern -Wei may continue when in days to come an ideal and great emperor may appear in the Dynasty. The Śākyamuni will be succeeded by the next ruler generation after generation.

All these clearly show the people's attitude towards Maitreya Buddha. I-Ching speaks of meditating on the advent of Maitreya with aspiration-“Deep as the depth of a lake be my pure and calm meditation. Let me look for the first meeting under the Tree of Dragon Flower when I hear the deep-rippling voice of the Buddha Maitreya.”²

In conclusion, we can say firstly, that Buddhism which was extensively practised in Lo-Yang under the Northern-Wei, Dynasty was predominantly Mahāyāna. Hīnayāna, the religion of Śrāvakas emphasises the importance of Self-interest, where as, Mahāyāna the religion of Bodhisattva emphasises altruism and sacrifice for the welfare of others. In the inscriptions, donors hope to share Buddhas' blessings with all mankind and living creatures. This is a reflection of the spirit of Mahāyāna Buddhism in contrast with the ideal of personal salvation of the Śrāvakas. From the inscriptions, the images sculptured there and from other sources we find that during this period Mahāyāna excelled Hīnayāna.

Secondly, the inscriptions show that the prayers offered for the repose of ancestors' spirit well indicate how Buddhism was practised inseparable with the universal observance of age old custom of ancestor worship and strong morality of filial piety which characterises the Chinese family system. Buddhism succeeded because in its early stage, the votaries of Buddhism compromised this religion with Taoism and Confucianism. There was a strong tendency among the rich and aristocratic circle to synthesize the three religions.

Thirdly, Buddhism was apparently taken up by the upper strata of the Chinese Society before it spread down ward to the peasantry. But the class distinction which was so deep rooted in Chinese society, was somewhat eased during that “barbarian” Northern-Wei Dynasty. Common religion united the rich and poor, nobility and common people and with the co-operation of the entire society the magnificent piece of Buddhist art at Lungmen grew up. The principle of Mahāyana is also co-operation with others (Kung-Chi-Kung-Sheng.)

The whole epoch from the middle of the fourth century to the end of eighth century will be called Buddhist age of Chinese History. the Lung-men caves contain some of the finest artistic remains of early Chinese Buddhism that prove the artistic skill and imagination of the Chinese people.

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1. Nine Divisions of Celestial sphere. According to Buddhist and the later schools of Taoist nine heavens were gradations of successive spheres.
 2. J. Takakusu – A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago, p. 213
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THE LAST PHASE OF BUDDHISM IN NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Upendra Thakur

The Chinese accounts make it clear that though Jainism had lost its force in North-Eastern India Buddhism was yet a dominant religious force. During the time of Fahien's and Yuan Chwang's visit there were large numbers of vihāras, remains of Ambāpali's garden, Bhikṣus and other places of Buddhist importance, though most of them were now in a dilapidated condition and almost in ruins. Later the Buddhists, like the Jains, seem to have migrated to South Bihar where the universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Odantapura and Vajrāsana attracted thousands of pupils to their fold. Moreover, the emergence of Brāhmaṇism in full swing by this time demoralised them to the extent that they found a safe place in their sanctuaries to escape the Brāhmaṇic onslaughts. Thus, from the sixth century A. D. we find that the influence and popularity of Buddhism in North Bihar was almost gone, and it was from Magadha, their stronghold, that they directed their attacks against the Brāhmaṇic logic and thought.

Notwithstanding this total decline in the fortunes of Buddhism in the region north of the Gaṅgā, it must be said that their contributions to the rise, growth and tremendous development of Indian logic and philosophy in the following centuries and earlier have been most significant. Their contributions to ancient language and literature, art, paintings, architecture and sculpture and finally to the growth of democracy have been equally brilliant¹, which may yet be seen all over the country.

The story of the last phase of Buddhism is quite interesting. The incorporation of the Buddha into the cosmopolitan and ever-expanding Brāhmaṇic pāṇtheon² as one of the ten incarnations in which Lord Viṣṇu comes down on earth at different times, by the orthodox Brāhmaṇas, who were at one time the severest critics of the Buddha and his new Order finally put a finis to the long, long story of the bitter wordy duel and violent wranglings between the adherents of the two opposite schools of thought. The Vārāhapurāṇa (Chap. 47) says that as a result of the observance of the vow of Buddhadvādaśī king Śuddhodana had as his son Lord Viṣṇu in the form of the Buddha.³ Similar festivals in honour of other incarnations of Viṣṇu to be performed in different months of the year are also described. But, it is not known when and where they were or are in vogue. As a matter of fact, Buddhism, in its essence, was not hostile to Brāhmaṇism and, therefore, it is not surprising to find that the Buddha later came to be worshipped as an incarnation by the followers of the Brāhmaṇic faith.

Thus a revaluation of the testimony of foreign scholars, inscriptions and contemporary digests makes it clear that with the advent of the thirteenth century A. D., Buddhism was but the last flicker of the lamp, and its old moorings were gone. The Buddhists tried to cope with the changing

1- For detailed see Satkari Mookerjee's article in JBRs (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. I), 1956, pp. 159—72. A. S. Altekar's paper, Ibid., p. 113-27. Vol. II, pp. 333—41.

2. JBRs (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue Vol. I), 1956, pp. 33-34.

3. Also see Hemadri's Caturvarga-cintamani (third quarter of the thirteenth century), Vratakhanda, Bib. Indica Series, No. 1., pp. 1037-38; Lakṣmidhara's Kṛtyakātpataru (second quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Gaekwad Oriental Series, pp. 331-32. The Buddhadvadasi falls on the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa.

times and successfully brought in a reformation. Māhayāna Buddhism was now replaced by Tāntric Buddhism and Sahajiyā Buddhism. Tantric Buddhism, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, led to further decline and fall of Buddhism in India. And, the process of this disintegration could not be checked inspite of strenuous efforts of Acarya Atīśa of the Vikramasilā University, who expelled the Tāntric teachers like Natekana and Vajrapani from the monastery of Vikramasilā in order to maintain the purity of Mahayana Buddhism.¹

The birth of Sahajiyā Buddhism was indeed an expression of revolt against ritualism and formalism and an aversion to scholarship. The leaders of this new sect within the Buddhist fold further attempted to accomodate the lower classes of the community who had by now been completely cut off from this order. On the basis of the songs in the Caryāpadas, regarded as the earliest form of the Bengali and Maithili literatures, it can safely be presumed that the Sahajiyās had successfully communicated their thoughts to the intelligentsia of the time. The introduction of Sahajiyā Buddhism and the recognition of the Buddha by the Brāhmaṇa legists clearly suggest the revival of Buddhism in Bihar, Bengal and Uttara Pradesa during the early jediaeval period and after.

A perusal of the literary works of the twelfth century convinces the readers that 'Buddhism by this time was not disparaged by the Brāhmaṇa community and the followers of Brāhmaṇism, barring a few exceptions. Śrīharṣa and Lakṣmīdhara assigned an honourable place to the Buddha in the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. In the Naiṣadhacaritam the Buddha is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Lakṣmīdhara in his Kṛtyakālpataru³ prescribes that the Buddha is to worshipped on two occasions: (i) on the first of Caitrā and the seventh of Vaiśakha—both time) along with other deities. We have further details to be performed on these occasions. Moreover, the Buddha had long been recognised as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the Matsya⁴, Bhāgavata⁵, Garuda⁶, Liṅga Purānas⁷ etc., besides the Varaha Purāna quoted above.

Coming to North Bihar, we find that Buddhism continued there in some form or other till the thirteenth century A. D. Dharmasavāmī worshipped an image of Tārā in Vaisali⁸ a famous Buddhist deity. A work called Varjravalī opens with an invocation to God of thunderbolt. It gives details of a rite called Vajravrata⁹. Tārā, Mārīci and others are also armed with Vajra. That Tārā become a famous Buddhist deity, is evidenced by a painting of the twelfth century A. D. We find among the inscribed miniature paintings of the two palm-leaf mss. mention of "the Tārā of Vaisali in Tirabhukti".¹⁰ In this connection the Buddha-image in Vaiśālī is remarkable as he is seated in the Vajrāsana pose¹¹.

It is true that Buddhism as a religion, had almost declined in this region, but Buddha, the new avatara, continued to be worshipped as one of the members of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. Caṇdesvara the versatile scholar Prime minister of Harisimhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā, has in his

1. For details see B. P. Majumdar's paper in JBRS (Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. I), pp. 180—82.

2. Ed. Handiqui, Canto, xxi, 88; Cf. Sunyatmavada, Vijnanasamastya and Sakaratasiddhi in X, 87 and Tara in xxi, 136.

3. Kṛtyakālpataru, Vol. III (Niyatakalakanda), Gaekwad Oriental Series, vol. cxi, p. 388.
247- 385-7.

5. I, 3; II, 7, 37: VI. 8, 19.

6. I. 202

7. II. 48. 31-32 etc. ; R. C. Hazra, Studies in Puranic Records, p. 41

8. Biography of Dharmasvamin, p. 42.

9. ASB-Mss No. G-3855

10. ARASI, 1903-04, p. 82.

11. Ibi. pp. 216 ff; also Cf. JASB, VI. pp. 128—38 (extracted from the Journal of Mr. J. Stephenson).

12. U. Thakur History of Mithila, (abbr HM)

Kṛtyaratnākara prescribed that the Buddha was to be worshipped on the first day of the bright fortnight of Caitra (tamase Buddhaye caiva namaḥ prakṛtaye tatha¹. Again, the Buddha was to be worshipped along with the river Ganga² on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha. His image was to be erected on that day and then the festivity was to be held consecutively for three days. Dramas were to be staged, dances to be performed and monks to be fed and given books and dress. On these occasions, alms and clothes were to be distributed to the poorer section of the society.

Further, according to Caṇḍeśvara, the exclusive worship of the Buddha was prescribed on the twelfth day of the month of Śrāvaṇa³. A golden image of the Buddha was to be worshipped on that day and the golden image was to be given away to a Brāhmaṇa after due worship and ritual. The Buddha was neither born, nor received enlightenment nor Parinirvāṇa on any of these dates, but it is well known that the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha is connected with all the three above mentioned events in his life⁴.

But, it seems that all was not well with a section of the Brāhmaṇa scholars who still struck a discordant note contrary to the general accommodating spirit of the age. Jyotirīśvara in his Varnaṇa-Ratnākara (A.D.) 1324 denounces Buddhism as “degraded and dangerous (bauddha pakṣa-aiśana āpātabhīṣaṇa)”⁵ which shows that a section of the Maithilas had not yet reconciled to the fast changing times.⁶ From all available accounts, however, it is clear beyond doubt that except a few, the majority of the people had accepted the Buddha as the tenth avatara of the Hindu pantheon and worshipped him accordingly.

From the account of the Sūfī saints of Bihar given by S. H. Askari⁷ in a series of articles, it appears that strangely enough the Sufis also chose those very places as their seats which had been in the preceding centuries the strongholds of Buddhism. Sūfīs of all orders like Chistiā, Suhrawardiā Qadriā, Firdausiā, Madāriā and Shuttāriā contributed to the Islamic mysticism of Bihar. As the Buddhists had promoted a mystic outlook and mitigated the rigours of the caste system it is but natural that the Sūfīs should have found a congenial soil for the inculcation of their religion and faith in these areas. The most celebrated Sufi saint was Hazrat Sharfuddin Ahmad Maneri (661 A.H. 782 A. H.). In North Bihar, Sheikh Fattu, Sheikh Burhan and Ismail spread the Islamic religion and at or near Hajipur lived Syed Muhammad, Syed Ahmad (who died as martyr at Jaruha), Abul Fateh Hidayatullah (at Tankol), Mir Ibrahim Chisti; at Basārḥ Sheikh Qazin Shuttari; at Muzaḥfarpur, Abdul Rahman of Sargyagang at Tajpur (Purnea), Sheikh Husain Dhukkurhposh; at Samastipur, Shah Tajuddin and in Darbhanga, Sheikh Shamsuddin Saman Madari, Pir Shah Nazir and Sheikh Tajuddin Madarii. Similarly in South Bihar and elsewhere there were hosts of Sūfī saints preaching Sufism and Islam.

1. Kṛtyaratnākara, Bibl. Indica Series, p. 105.

2. Ibid., p. 160.

3. Ibid., p. 247.

4. For details, see B. P. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 171-85.

5. VR, p. 39.

6. For other details see HM, p. 374.

7. JBRS. 1951 (March-June) Historical Miscellany, published by the Patna College Archaeological and Historical Society, pp. 46-70.

CONCLUSION

From the above facts we infer certain irresistible conclusions. The teachings of Buddha went against the grain of Hindu psychology and as such could not take an abiding root in India. Hinduism was based on Śabdapramāṇa (the Vedas) whereas the Buddha repudiated all authority and traditions. The Hindus were metaphysical while the Buddhists showed indifference towards it. The existence or non-existence of God did not at all interest Buddha as, according to him, man was the architect of his own future. Naturally, therefore, there is no place for ritualism in Buddhism. Moreover, he did not succeed in compelling his hearers or followers to adopt an attitude of suspended judgment on the ultimate question. His conception of Dharma was not sufficiently concrete for practical purposes. The result was obvious. The Buddha gradually came to be deified and Buddhism was very much influenced by the Hindu thought. On the other hand, Buddhism too exercised a great, almost overwhelming influence on Hinduism. It gave birth to neo-Hinduism which absorbed the best elements of Buddhism. It was the result of this influence that the Śaivas borrowed the monistic and contemplative elements of Mahāyāna Buddhism; the Vaiṣṇavas borrowed devotional and humanitarian elements; the Vairāgīs replaced philanthropic Mahāyāna Śramaṇas and the Buddha was given a place in the Hindu pantheon as the tenth avatara¹.

There is no doubt that Mahāyāna was built on wholesale borrowing from Hinduism, and this process of intermingling went on and on until in the sixth century A. D. Buddhism was borrowing even from Śāktism, the most esoteric form of Hinduism. It ultimately gave rise to Tantricism and Vajrayāna with the result that the feminine divinities now found their way into Buddhist pantheon. Prajñāpāramitā was the personification of the qualities of the Bodhisattva. The theme, being like the Hindu view that God might best be approached through Goddess, was like the Śakti of the Hindu pantheon. It was thought in sexual unions, an idea as old as the Rgveda itself. Sexual symbolism were introduced combined with a new magical mysticism². It could best be attained by acquiring magical power, Vajra (thunderbolt) and as such this third school (eighth century A. D.) came to be known as the Vajrayāna in Eastern India and grew rapidly in Bihar and Bengal. The chief divinities were now Tārā, Mātṛāṅgī, Pisācī, Yoginī and Ḍākīnīs. This new school was responsible for the presentation of the Buddha in ferocious poses. It was this form of Buddhism modified by primitive local cults and practices which was firmly established in Tibet as a result of missions sent from the great Vajrayāna monastery of Vikramasila³, and which dominates the Buddhist art of the period and after.

The Sahajiyā sect of Bengal and Bihar classed as Vaiṣṇavas also originated from the decadent Buddhism of later times. A good number of works were composed in Bengali on this cult. The process of assimilation began when in about the sixth century A. D., Sūnyavāda, the highest doctrine of Buddhist philosophy of the Madhyamikā school, was accepted as the sole truth in the Yogavāśīṣṭha Ramayana which attempted at bringing about a harmony between this doctrine and the theme of the Gita. In the eighth century, Acarya Gaudapada of Bengal affiliated the said doctrine to the Vedānta which ultimately became the theme of the Brahmasūtras, at the hands of his grand disciple, Sāṃkara and finally attained a predominant position in Indian philosophical thought⁴. It is therefore sometimes argued that Saṃkara drove away Buddhism out of India. He represents the complete synthesis of Brahmanical and Buddhist streams of thought, and his concept of Brahma is nothing but neo-Sūnyavāda. In his *Dasāvatārā Stotram* he described the Buddha as the prince among the Yogis who dwelt in the centre of his heart. He was, therefore, called a *pracchanna*

1. R. K. Choudhary, Bihar : The Homeland of Buddhism, pp. 85-86.

2. Ibid., p. 125.

3. For other details, see Ibid., pp. 125-27.

4. H. Vedantasastry in J.B.R.S. (Buddha Jayanti Special issue, Vol. I) 1956, pp. 173-74.

Bauddha. The acceptance of his view by Vācaspati, the celebrated Maithila Thinker (vide-his *Bhāmatī*) was ultimately responsible for the worship of the Buddha as the tenth avatara in Mithila proper, though the conflict of economic interest perhaps, for the time being, reinforced the hostility of the Mīmāṃsaka Brāhmaṇas towards the Buddhist monks¹. But then, it was a passing phase for we know that a commentary on the original Yoga-vāsistha, namely Vivārtavāda alias Māyāvāda was also written by Ānandabodhendra Bhaṭṭāraka of the Saṃkara school, several centuries after Saṃkara himself, in order to propagate this pseudo-Buddhistic faith². According to R. C. Temple, "Do we not see here the ideas that led to the latter day Parameśvara, the supreme of the Hinduism ? Indeed, there is very much of Hinduism in the Ādi, Buddha who is the Svayambhū or self-being ; in Avilokiteśvara, the Redeemer ; in Manjūśrī the Helper, and the Bodhisattvas generally, who are now fully developed. In fact, the rise of Yogācāra school explores the tenets of Sāṃkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Pāśupatas and other philosophical schools and religious denominations of Brāhmaṇa origin"³.

With the emergence of Vaiṣṇavism in a new form in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Buddha was taken as an avatara, entirely different from the Bhagavata by Jayadeva in Bengal and others in Mithilā.

The age-old Buddhist hostility to the caste-rigidity was continued in neo-Vaiṣṇavism which accepted caste-system, as a mere social institution, without any bearing on religion and the creed of non-violence preached by Buddhism was accepted by Vaiṣṇavism.

The Sahajiyā sect still flourishes in many places, for instance in Bengal. Though inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism it has really deduced itself from the old Sahajasiddhi of Tantric Buddhism and till now in their esoteric Sadhana they use Buddhistic terminology⁴.

The image of the Buddha is worshiped here and there in Bengal and Mithila and other places somewhere as Viṣṇu, somewhere as Siva and somewhere as some Goddess. The worship of some gods and goddesses, the images of which are but images of the Buddha, is even now in charge of lower class people such as Domas, Namahāṇḍras, etc., which is certainly reminiscent of Buddhist practices⁵.

Dharma is one of the three ratnas of Buddhism and the worship of Dharma or Dharमारāja is very popular with a section of the Brāhmaṇas as well as the masses, especially of the lower classes in Mithilā and Bengal⁶.

Thus, before the dawn of the thirteenth century Buddhism lost its entity as an independent faith and Vaiṣṇavism finally incorporated the faith of the Buddha into the parent-stock. The process was accelerated by the rising tide of Muslim invasion which swept over Bengal and Bihar and gave a shattering blow to the last vestige of Buddhism. The process that had begun in the sixth century A. D. took final shape in the closing part of the twelfth century when Buddha was accepted as an avatāra by the Brāhmaṇas including the Maithilas all over the country, and running through different phases over a period of four hundred years, Buddhism became fully incorporated into the

1. R. K. Choudhary, op. cit., p. 87.

2. H. Vedantasastry, op. cit., p. 75.

3. Quoted, R. K. Choudhary, op. cit., p. 87.

4. H. Vedantasastry, op. cit., p. 75.

5. Ibid.

6. H. Vedantasastry, op. cit., p. 75.

body of Hinduism in the later part of the sixteenth century, mainly through the medium of neo-vaiṣṇavism.

Thus died Buddhism in Mithila, Bengal and elsewhere, but death concerns the body, and not the soul. And, in this case also we find that Buddhism is still living, though in a different garb. A close study on comparative basis would show that Buddhism has been incorporated into the body of Hinduism and the former still lives in the cults of the Vaiṣṇavas, the Sahajiyās, the Saivas, the Bauls, the Dervishes, the Sūfis, the Saṁnyāsīs¹ and also in Tantricism and Advaitavedānta.

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1. Even now in village Nabara Bhagabatipura, near village Koilak in Madhubani subdivision, there is a Durga temple in which stray finds of Buddhist sculptures are collected. There is no image of Durga in the said temple, and only the Buddhist images are worshipped. There are many Sannyasis there, who now form a caste and trace their origin from their Buddhist ancestors. A coin of Vigrahapala III was also discovered there which is now in the possession of Profeser Tantranath Jha of C. M. College, Darbhanga, who kindly gave me this information.
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Role of Foreigners in early Indian Buddhism

SUDHA SENGUPTA

The Greek envoy Heliodorus who installed the Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar (ancient Vidiṣā), in the second Century B. C. has become a luminous in the horizon of Bhāgavatiṣm (Vaiṣṇavism), as a foreigner (yavana) embracing Indian religion. But he is not the solitary specimen of foreigners adopting Indian religion. There are names of numerous foreigners in recorded history, who not only made India their own home, but embraced different Indian religions also. Their Indianisation went as far as even to adopt Indian names by many of them.

India's reputation as a country full of enormous wealth, 'yielding gold and flowing with milk and honey', was spread far and wide and attracted both tradesman and invaders alike from most ancient days; and its treasure of generous religions particularly that of Gautama Buddha attracted pious pilgrims from far off countries. Though India had connections with the outside world from a hoary past we do not have any knowledge if the foreigners who came in contact with India in the earliest days were designated by any common appellation. The earliest term we come across to designate a foreigner is Yavana or Meleccha, which was used indiscriminately for any foreigner, at least up to the medieval period, if not later still. The Muslims were also called by the same name.

The term 'Yavana' is derived from the old Persian form 'Yauna' occurring in the Behistan, Persipolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam inscriptions of Dariua I belonging to the sixth Century B. C., as well as Persepolis inscription of Xerexes, of the fifth Century B. C.—indicating Ionian Greeks¹. The Greeks of Ionia, in Asia Minor and the people of north-western India came into contact with each other under the common suzerainty of the Achemenian emperors of Persia since the time of Darius I. The appellation "Yauna" was accepted by Indian in later days, to mean, firstly, all people of Greek nationality and then ultimately, to foreigners in general.

Starting with the invasion of Darius I, in the north-westren borders of India in the sixth Century B. C., India had to encounter series of invasions like the waves of the sea. We need not discuss them individually here but suffice it to state that none of the invaders wiped out their traces when they left the country. They left small principalities behind them, which, in their turn, tried to extend their dominions into as far interior of the country as possible. They included not only Greeks but almost all other people of foreign origin, who came to India in subsequent periods. As has been already mentioned, they were known by the same appellation 'Yavana' and these are the foreigners who gradually merged their identity into the ocean of Indian population so much so that in the Brahmanic texts also they are admitted as of Indian origin². They took part in the religious and cultural activities of the country of their adoption like and other child of the soil. In addition to Heliodorus mentioned above, the devotion of other foreign personages, both rulers and civil, towards different Indian religions like Saivism, etc., is manifest from their coins and inscriptions. No wonder, the altruistic religion of the Buddha will attract them deeply. But this was no single-way traffic. A they received spiritual inspirations from Buddhism, they also contributed their best towards the development of the religion and religious establishments. These mutual contributions are recorded in different literature as well as numerous inscriptions scattered all over the country, inscriptions forming the most important instrument to throw light in this matter.

NOTES

1. *Select Inscriptions*—D. C. Sircar, p. 3. (1942)

2. *Manu* X. 43—44

Buddhism seems to be the first Indian religion to be accepted by any foreigner. Though we are still in the darkness as to which of the foreigners was the pioneer to embrace Buddhism, it is well nigh sure that it was at least during the time of the emperor Aśoka, if not earlier, that foreigners were initiated to this religion due to his proselytising efforts. Of course, we come across the term 'Yavana' in Indian literature as early as the days of Pāṇini and Patañjali, as originators of a kind of script, 'yavānani lipi', in Buddhist literature 'yavana' is mentioned for the first time in the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where it is mentioned that after the Third Buddhist Council held during the reign of Aśoka, may be to give effect to a resolution passed during the Council, Moggalliputta Tissa, the convener, sent missionaries to different countries to propagate Buddhism and 'yona' or 'yavana' Dhammarakkhita was sent to the Aparānta or Western countries. Objections may be raised as to *Mahāvamsa* being a Ceylonese chronicle and not an Indian one. But unfortunately, we have no record of Indian origin for the life of Aśoka excepting his edicts, which also do not give us a complete picture and as such, have to depend on the Ceylonese chronicles for such informations. Moreover, it is also well-known that the complete set of Pali Tripitaka was preserved in Ceylon only; and for the early history of Buddhism also we have to depend on the Ceylonese texts and they are supposed to preserve the records with a fair amount of faithfulness. So, in the absence of similar Indian source we have no other alternative than to rely on such foreign sources.

To come back to the missionary Dhammarakkhita: the record of the *Mahāvamsa* shows that yavana Dhammarakkhita not only accepted Buddhism as his own religion, but had taken an Indian Buddhist name also and must have been proficient enough in the religious texts as to be sent as an envoy of the faith. Vice versa, another envoy Maharāksita was sent to the yavana or Greek country.

Indian Epigraphy owes its origin to Aśoka. The existence of any pre-Aśokan inscription within the boundaries of India has not been established. In the edicts of Aśoka we come across the names of his foreign neighbours—the Greek kings who ruled in Egypt, Macedonia, Syria, and Epirus or Corinth—to whom his missionaries were to convey his message of non-violence and benevolent actions, and Aśoka tells us in his inscriptions that the 'Dharma' was being practised not only in these countries, but also through them in other foreign countries not visited by his envoys. May be, as a result of these efforts, Buddhism was well-known in Alexandria (Kandahar or Bactria) at a very early date³.

Though there is no positive proof of the Greek king Menander embracing Buddhism, his name has become immortal in the Buddhist world as the hero of the Pāli work *Milindapañho* which is supposed to contain the discussions between him and a Buddhist monk Nāgasena on every knotty point of Buddhist philosophy. It is said that Menander ultimately embraced Buddhism after being satisfied with the discussion. The authenticity of this tradition is not beyond dispute, but in support of this theory it may be noted that one type of Menander's coin bears the epithet 'Dharmika' before his name. The sign of a wheel—supposed to be a Buddhist one—on the same coin, and as such supporting his affiliation to Buddhism, does not seem to be very practical, because, many other kings also had the same symbol in their coins and their affiliation to Buddhism is not established. (The Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī, at a much later date, also had the wheel symbol in their coins, but they were definitely not followers of Buddhism). It is further said that Menander abdicated his throne in favour of his son and became a Buddhist monk and attained Arhathood. Plutarch⁴ tells us that Menander was so popular that after his death, a number of cities claimed his remains which was at last divided amongst them and memorials were built on each of them. This reminds us of the same episode after the demise of the Buddha. A stately casket containing, according to the inscription on it, relics of the Buddha, was discovered from Shinkot,

3. Ref. R. E. XIII of Asoka

4. Ind. Ant. VII, p. 37

a place beyond the borders of North-Western Frontier. The installers, named Viyakamitra and Vigayamitra seem to have been feudatories of the king Menander, and it refers to the reign period of the said king⁵. Though it does not definitely prove his favouritism towards Buddhism, it certainly does prove his appreciation. An Indo-Chinese tradition associates him with the most famous statue of Buddha in Indo-China.

Another relic casket, also containing the corporeal relics of the Buddha and belonging to the first century B. C. has been found from Swat, a place near the previous one. It records that the relics were installed by some Meridarkh (a Greek official designation), Theodor by name⁶. A copper plate discovered from Taxila, of about the same period records the establishment of a Stūpa by a certain other Greek official (Meridarkh) whose name is not given⁷.

The Greek rule in India was supplanted by the Parthians and the Scythians known locally as the Sakas and Pahlavas. The latter did not penetrate much interior into the country, confining their activities to the north-western borders only, while the former held sway over territories much interior, both in the west and the east. The Greeks also held small principalities at different places. Numerous inscriptions scattered throughout the country testify to their existence in those areas.

If the term 'Dharmia' or 'Dharmika' is taken to signify 'devoted to the Buddha', then it is almost certain that the early Scytho-Parthian rulers were mostly Buddhists, for, in a number of coins belonging to such princes as Śpalahora, his son Śpalagadama, another later ruler Spalirises and others, the said legend is found along with the symbol, of wheel in some of them,—both of which are supposed to be Buddhist ones. But the wheel symbol is not positively a Buddhist one, as is explained above,—it might as well be a solar sign. And the term Dharmika also may not be beyond doubt.

The imperial dynasty of the Sakas were ruling from the Punjab and eastern parts of Afghanistan, but they also wielded power over the northern, central and western parts of India, which were governed by their Kṣatrapas or Satraps, i. e., the governors,. The term Kṣatrapa or Satrap is taken from the Persian 'Kṣatrapāvan', occurring in the Behistan inscription⁸, which means 'protector of the kingdom'. Obviously the Saka rulers perpetuated the Perso-Hellenic system of government by military governors in their Indian dominions also. These Satraps, however, did not adhere to their suzerainty for long and soon declared independence. A number of inscriptions⁹ mostly written in Kharoṣṭhi script, hailing from Taxila and the neighbouring areas, as well as (at least one) from Mathura, testify to the Buddhist leanings of these ruling families.

The well-known Mathura Lion Capital inscription⁹ records the erection of a Stūpa over the relics of the Buddha and a monastery by Nadasakasa, wife of the Mahākṣatrapa Rajula. It further records various other benefactions connected therewith by other members of the family whose names are given as : Abuhola, Piṣpasa (?), Hayaura, Hana.....etc. The benevolent works are meant for the benefit of the members of the Sarvāstivādin sect. The Mahākṣatrapa Rajula or Rañjuvula mentioned in the inscription, probably ruled earlier in Punjab in semi-independent capacity and later on established his independent territory in the area around Mathura, with his son Soḍasa or Sonḍāsa. A number of other Satrap families were ruling in Punjab, names of some of whose members are mentioned in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription. One of them,

5. Ep. Ind. XXIV, p. 7

6. C. I. I., II, i, p. 4

7. Do. p. 5

8. re. Raychaudhuri—Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind. Cal. 1950, p. 443

9. C. I. I., II, i, p. 48

viz., the Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusulaka and his son 'Mahādānapati' Patika,—are mentioned in a copper-plate inscription from Taxila¹⁰, as establishing the relics of the Buddha and a monastery. They might have belonged to the Ksaharāta family and ruled over the district of Chukhsa (mcd. Chach in the north-west of Taxila) as viceroy of Moga (Maues), as the record refers to the date in the reign period of the Saka ruler Moga. An inscription from Māṇikiyālā supplies the bare mention of a Satrap of Kapiśi, who was the son of the Satrap Graṇavoryaka¹¹. Another stone inscription from the Kabul Museum, dated in the year 83 of a certain era, discloses the name of a certain Satrap named Tiravhraṇa, who ruled in (Puskalāvati) Puspapura¹². A number of other inscriptions from the north-western frontier areas testify to the faith on the religion of the Buddha by a number of foreigners of unidentified personality, belonging to the pre-Kuṣāṇ period. A few of them may be mentioned here : an inscription from Mount Banj¹³ records the gift of an well in the Vajrastūpa area by the son of some Makadaka—a name which sounds foreign. An inscription from Takht-i-bahi¹⁴ records that a certain Horasada (the name sounds Iranian) made the gift of an image of the Buddha, which, unfortunately, was damaged when discovered. Another inscription from Kāladana records the gift of a tank by a certain Thaidora, son of Datia. A silver cup from Taxila¹⁵ states that it was a gift from some Theodoros, son of Thavara—the names certainly sound foreign, but their identity is unknown. A silver scroll from the same place records the establishment of the relics of the Buddha by some Bactrians. If the figure in Maues' coin (BMC. XXXII. 14) is accepted as that of the Buddha, it may signify the Buddhist leaning of the ruler, as well as the earliest representation of image of Buddha in Indian currency.

The Scytho-Parthian rule was supplanted by the Kuṣāṇas. The first Kuṣāṇa king who seems to have connection with Buddhism was the first king of the dynasty, viz., Kujula Kadphises or Kadphises I. Some of his coins bear the legend 'Dhramathitasa' and 'sacadhramathitasa'—meaning, 'steadfast in the true faith'—and another type of his coins bear the impression of something which looks like the seated figure of the Buddha—both of which combined lead some scholars to believe that he had embraced Buddhism. But there are objections to these views, also. According to those who object, the identification of the figure of Buddha is not very convincing—it might be that of the king himself,—and the term 'sacadharma (dhra)—thita' may not imply Buddhism only ; instances are available in inscriptions where 'satyadharmasthita' (same as the earlier one in meaning) implies devotion to gods other than the Buddha, e. g., Śiva (cf. Luders—Mathura in p. 138). Kadphises II, the son and successor of Kadphises I, was of course a Śaiva as is evident from his coins.

The name of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaṇiṣka I, glitters in the history of Buddhism as a zealous patron of the religion. Not only the numerous inscriptions, recording different kinds of gifts by various persons—from high ranking officers to common citizens—but huge number of stūpas, monasteries and other monuments erected during his time, bear testimony to his patronage to Buddhism as well as the flourishing state of the religion, all through his dominion during his reign, which continued for a substantial period. The stūpa supposed to have been built by him at Purusapura, i. e., Peshawar, (at present in Pakistan,) was a splendrous one and was observed by Chinese pilgrims a few centuries later, who described it as 'the most beautiful and the highest tower in Jambudvīpa'. They have left detailed descriptions from which we can have an idea of its grandure. It stood on the earth a few

10. C. I. I., II i, p. 28

11. Do. p. 150—1

12. Act. Orient, XVI 1937—1—334 f.

13. C. I. I. II, i.

14. Do.

15. Do. p. 65—6

16. Do. p. 98

centuries more and then succumbed to the ravages of time when Buddhism shifted its centre and there was one to take care of the monuments. The ruins known as Shah-ji-ki Dheri has been identified with the said Kaṇiṣka Stūpa and this, combined with the inscriptions and antiquities exhumed herefrom, amply testify to the statements of the Chinese pilgrims. The Stupa of Manikiyala and a few others are also connected with the name of Kaniska. Though the figure of Buddha in the coins of his predecessors are controversial, the figure of Buddha, in not less than four varieties of his gold and copper coins, is unmistakable, as they also carry inscriptions on them as 'Buddo' or 'Cakamano Boddo' etc. Of course, it has to be admitted that his coins bear figures of a number of other indigenous and foreign deities, like Siva, Mihira and Nana etc. This can only be explained as the eagerness of the emperor to synthesise all the religions. The most important event connected with the name of Kaṇiṣka is the convocation of the Fourth Buddhist Council under his auspices, which is a landmark in the history of Buddhism. A number of eminent Buddhist scholars like Pārśva, Aśvaghoṣa and others are said to have been flourished during his period and had enjoyed his patronage. And though the date of the first execution of the image of Buddha is still a matter of controversy, there is no denying the fact that prolific production of the plastic representation of Buddha, Bodhisattva and a few of the early Buddhist divinities began from this period onwards, both in the Gandhara and Mathura regions simultaneously. It may also be said that it was mainly due to the missionary efforts of Kaṇiṣka that vast areas to the north-west of India became flourishing centres of Buddhism. The extensive Buddhist monuments discovered under the deserts of Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein and others in the last century, might owe its existence somewhat to the proselytising efforts of the Kuṣāṇ emperor (s). though the foundation might have been laid earlier by Asoka's missionaries.

Though the Kuṣāṇas supplanted the Scytho-Parthian rule in northern India, they could not totally uproot them. Numerous Saka principalities continued to exist here and there, may be under the sovereignty of the Kuṣāṇas, mainly in western India including the lower Sindh valley and Kathiawar. A number of inscriptions testify not only the existence, but to their devotion to the religion of Śākyamuni also.

Numerous inscriptions from the innumerable Buddhist caves of western India record the gifts of many foreigners from, royal—personage to ordinary civilians. A Nasik cave inscriptions¹⁷ of Rsabhadatta (Usavadātta), son of Dinika and son-in-law of Kṣātrapa Nahapāna of the Kṣaharāta family, records the gift of a cave to the community of monks from 'four points of the horizon'. It further records the grant of a certain sum of money, which had been deposited with a guild of merchants for accrual of interest for the upkeep of the monastery. There are donatory inscriptions from the wife of Rsabhadatta, Dakṣamitrā by name, who was the daughter of Nahapāna as well as from the Prime Minister of Nahapāna, named Ayama, who, of course seems to have been an Indian, by origin. In addition to the gifts of the royal personages, in the caves of western India, like Nasik, Karla, Junnar, Kanheri, etc. we find a number of dedicatory inscriptions of private individuals among which quite a few of the donors mention themselves as 'yona' or 'yavana' but many of their names are Indianised like 'Candra', 'Indrāgnimitra', etc. and but for the word 'yavana' attached to their names, they could not be recognised as foreigners. Many of them have the word 'Dharma' attached to their names, may be out of reverence to the religion of their adoption the gift of 'yavana' Dhamma and Sihadhaya (Simhadhara?) and in Karle, of 'yavana' Canda (Chndra), Cita (Caitra?) etc. in Junnar might be cited as their Indianised names. These inscriptions belong to a period from 2nd c. B. C. to the 2nd. c. A.D. These caves of western India and their inscriptions further prove that the proselytising mission of Yavana Dharmakṣita, sent by Aśoka to Aparānta or western India, was a great success and the envoy could convert Indians and foreigners alike.

The erection of the great stupas of Sāñchi and Bharhut might have been done with royal finance but the construction of the railings and gateways were financed by collective donations of individual devotees from all walks of life, as is evidenced by the numerous inscriptions incised on them. There is no wonder that quite a few of them record the gifts of foreign devotees. Mention may be made of two devoted yavanas hailing from 'Svetedvipa'.

The activities of the foreign devotees did not come to a halt in the aforesaid period. An inscription in a Buddhist cave at Nasik mentions the Ābhīra king Sivadatta and his son Isvarasena. The Ābhīras are supposed to be of foreign origin and the record seems to be of the 3rd. century A. D. The Nāgārjunakonda inscription of the Ikṣāku king Vīrapurusadatta (c. 250-275 A.D.) mentions his wife Rudradhara Bhaṭṭārikā as the daughter of a Mahārājā of Ujjain, probably a Śaka Māhākṣatrapa Rudrasena.¹⁸ Another record of the same place gives the name of the wife of Ehuṇula Śāntamula—the son of Vīrapuruṣa,— as Varmabhaṭṭā,—the daughter of a Mahākṣatrapa of the Bṛhatphalayana Gotra. Here we find another instance of Hinduisation of a Saka. Another inscription from Nāgārjunakonda of the late 3rd. c. A. D. refers to the Yavana contry visited, among other places, by a group of Ceylonese nuns.

The above account leads us to come to the conclusion that, the foreign devotees received solace and spiritual food from the religion of the Buddha and in return they did whatever was possible for them to express their gratitude.

Buddhism as a Cultural Force

Krusna Chandra Jena

It was only in Asoka's reign that Buddhism ceased to be a simple Indian sect and began its career as a world religion¹. It is extremely doubtful whether Gotama Buddha had made any definite plan to found a religion at all, if so, it was never as Buddhism developed in course of time². In centuries of growth, Buddhism became more of a cultural force—feeding art, literature, philosophy and other creative aspirations of life. As far as the religious side was concerned, it was dormant. Even Asoka's Buddhism, though enthusiastic, was not exclusive. Asoka had dedicated caves for the Ajivikas who were rivals to the Buddhists. This would indicate that Buddhism wished to grow more as a cultural force and less as an aggressive religion. The impact of Buddhist culture on the world is much more deeper. The spreading of Buddhism in different countries, in different periods of history has led to assimilation of Buddhist influence in various cultural trends. Ideas of evolution, nature of life, society and Government, the role of moral and spiritual values, ethics, philosophy, iconography, art, literature and many other cultural forces have been deeply influenced by Buddhism. This is the greatest contribution Buddhism has made to the World Culture. In a way, no other religion or any set of faith has been so successful as Buddhism was.

Gotama Buddha was a great teacher. In course of his discourses he had elaborated his ideas on a variety of subjects. This was not possible in case of any other preacher. Most other religions had no reference to problems which were not exclusively religious in character. Buddhism was an exception.

The most original contribution of the early Buddhist canonists was their formulation of a remarkable theory of the origin of man and his social and political institutions. The Buddhist ideas of a cosmic law of periodical dissolution and reconstruction of the universe was unique. Buddhists had observed that man was playing a role of continuous moral and physical decline. It was believed that the state of nature was blissful—the beings lived in a condition of god-like perfection. This line of approach explaining the state of Nature had been accepted by the modern Contractualists like Jean Jaques Rousseau. The Buddhist idea that the state of Nature was spoiled due to the influence of the role of wealth has been echoed and reechoed in many later writings.

The modern idea that society is a result of a contract is directly traceable to the Buddhist traditions. Wealth, sex and authority are responsible factors for mutual friction. Hence, it was necessary to elect a king. The role of democracy in the Buddhist canons is significant. Democracy, which in course of time has become a part of culture, was not limited to human beings alone. The Buddhist Jataks narrated stories of election among men, animals, birds and also fish³.

The theory of kingship, as explained in the writings of many modern writers, finds excellent support in the Buddhist literature. Many modern advocates of monarchy will agree with the Buddhist idea that the king is the refuge of the people like water, earth and fire : 'just as the tree is the refuge of the birds, so is the king refuge to his people'⁴.

John Locke should have found his best support in the Buddhist idea of the role of the king towards his subjects. Locke has been a great influence in the political life of many countries on both the sides of the Atlantic. He warned the kings to be righteous. If not, he has to be dethroned⁵. This idea which is believed to be the main cause of the French Revolution had been expounded centuries before in the Buddhist literature.

It was great contribution to the field of political institutions that the Buddhists wanted that the kings must keep away from the four wrong courses of life (agatigamana—comprising of excitement, malice, delusion, and fear), they should practise the ten royal duties (Rajadharmas—alms-giving, morality, liberality, straightforwardness, refraining from anger, forbearance and refraining from opposition), they should win their subjects by the four elements of popularity (Samgahavattus; liberality, affability, beneficent rule and impartiality) and the kings should always adopt the path of mercy and benevolence⁵. This path laid in the Buddhist literature for the kings was the greatest contribution laid for a happy and considerate relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Between 600 B. C. to 300 A. D., a number of treaties were written to prescribe the role of the administrator. Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosa explained the nature of kingship, Buddhaghosa laid down the fundamental political institutions, Aryasura in his Jatakamala explained the spiritual role of the monarch and Aryadeva in his Chatuhsataka added the role of morality in the affairs of political affairs⁶. The emphasis of righteousness as a part of administration was responsible for the spread of Asokan influence—he had failed to conquer the Hellenic kings, but he had subordinated Ceylon; it was “at least one of Asoka's victories of Righteousness”⁷. The concept of righteousness had reflections in Greek and Hebrew belief and institutions⁸.

The idea of righteous living led to the practice of monasticism. Seekers for spiritual attainment had to pass from home to homelessness—and Gotama Buddha was one of them. These homeless seekers were known to other religions also. They were called Yati by the Jains, Sanayasin by the Hindus and the Buddhists named them as Bikkhu or Samana. The importance of the Buddhist samana was in the fact that they made the institution of monasticism more rigid, disciplined and basic. Mahavagga states that the Bhikkus must wander alone—no two of them coming on the same way⁹.

Coenobium which meant collective life under rules of discipline for the purpose of spiritual self-culture and self-realisation developed as an excellent institution by the Buddhists. The Avasa or Vihar where the Sramans lived was a unique place. There was no Headship commanding obedience. All members had equality and the principle of obedience was watered down to respect and reverence for the teachers and elders. There was more of man to man consideration in place of master-servant relationship¹⁰. There was perfect democracy in the Vihar and this is a great contribution to the later democratic institutions¹¹.

The Samgha was an integral part of the Buddhist culture. The work of the Samgha, known as ‘Samghakama’ was done in a corporate manner—every one playing the same important role. The members had right to vote and they exercised this franchise by ballots called ‘salaka’ meaning sticks. The great Master was accustomed to the institution of democracy and voting as a young prince. Therefore, it was quite probable that he emphasised the importance of democracy in the Samgha and the Vihar¹².

The Vihars were the earliest institutions of learning. It was encouraged that every one should clear his doubts by asking questions. This was a great difference when compared to other religions. For instance, Hindu scriptures insisted that any doubt in the gospels would undermine the importance of religion. Buddhism differed on this score. There was complete freedom of thought. In matters of doctrine, there was no authority to be bowed before. It was one of the strangest of achievements that the Buddhists admired perfect comprehension of thought and honest belief. Honest difference in conviction were allowed, though there was the risk of friction in the Samgha. The atmosphere of the Avasa was surcharged with questioning, scrutinizing, debating and adding more knowledge to that already existed. The intellectuals were honoured. This example of intellectualism could not survive in the West—Socrates had to give his life and in many other countries the strength of the muscles doomed the force of the mind and the spirit of rational thinking. In this context, great was the contribution the Buddhist made to the realm of human culture in widening the dimension of free thought and liberal adjustment with those who differed.

This attitude of academic life led to the growth of the earliest Universities of the world. The Universities at Nalanda, Odonoapura and Vikramsil where thousands of students had their enlightenment were the great contributions Buddhism extended to world history.

These universities had a social function. They imparted to the pupils the knowledge of salvation. In this context it may be pointed out that the Hinayanists wished salvation for themselves. On the other hand, the Mahayanists did not care for their own salvation—they were more anxious for the salvation of their fellow creatures¹³. In the ideas of the Mahayanists, Buddhism became a vehicle of salvation of the multitude. Bodhisattva Avalokiteswara had refused his well-earned Nirvana until all beings of the world were equally liberated.

Buddha was not sure of the way in which human misery could be completely eliminated. But, he advocated compassion which can at least do a great deal to relieve it¹⁴. In this line, he can be considered as the greatest of all humanists and his religion was the most sensitive of all paths leading to lessening of human agony of all kinds. Wherever he saw an open conflict between reason and religion, he emphasised on scientific approach. He stood for the highest form of liberty so that the individual could attain the highest limit possible. No other man had sloganised so loudly about the dignity of the individual and no other had loved the common man as dearly as he did. Therefore, Gotama Buddha became the founder of a religion which after more than 2,000 years, is still professed by a larger number of human beings than any other religion¹⁵.

As a religion, Buddhism did not stand isolated. It had great impact on other religions. There are many who believe that Christianity must have been under heavy obligation to Buddhism. Lalita Vistar has been quoted to bring out parallelism between Buddhism and Christianity on the ground that Jesus had met his first disciples under a fig-tree. The fig-tree is one of the mystic tokens of Buddhist Messiahship. On the other hand, the fig-tree in Palastine has nothing of religious importance nor do we ever hear of Jewish Rabbis sitting under trees while teaching. The symbol of the fig-tree has been extended to Islam as well—meaning that influence of Buddhism extended to Islam through Christianity¹⁶.

There is positive influence of Buddhism on Christianity. The reference to the Guide Star was Indian in nature and stars are not accepted auspicious in the West. The miracle of light appearing, blind receiving sight, the deaf hearing noise, the dumb speaking, crooked becoming straight and the lame walking are mentioned at the time of incarnation of Gotama Buddha. Surprisingly, these are all narrated in the Christian Gospels. There are some who feel that Buddhism had reached Alexandria and had filtered into Judea and had influenced the thought of the Essenes and other sects before the rise of Christianity¹⁷. It may be more striking to note that there are a few who believe that Jesus Christ might have visited India and came in contact with the Indian religions. We cannot be sure what degree weight can be given to such a statement, but there are a few who would emphasise on this¹⁸. One Oriya scholar Dr. L. N. Sahu went to the extent of arguing that Jesus Christ spent a few years at Bhubaneswar and learnt Indian religions.

The simplicity part of Christianity must have been influenced by Buddhism. A Buddhist monk might own only eight requisities—three robes, a waist-cloth, an alms-bowl, a razor, a needle, a cloth to strain his drinking-water in order to save the lives of any animalculatex it might contain. Christ advocated similar simplicity. In vows of chastity the Christian and Buddhist monks resembled each other¹⁹.

The development of Vajrayana was another interesting feature of Buddhism. It included in its purview all varieties of tenets, notions, dogmas, theories, rites and practices and added all that was best in Buddhism, Hindusim and Jainism. It satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and the sinner, the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees

Because of its universal popularity and general appeal it became a great influencing factor of the period. It was accepted in a number of foreign countries like Tibet and China. In India, it was generally accepted in a very wide area. The more important centres of Vajrayana were Dacca, Fardidpur, Sylhet, Chitagong, Tipperah and Vikrampur. Some of the Vajrayana works had been very popular and had been translated in the early period of the Christian era in Chinese²⁰.

Vajrayana Mysticism which was the basis of Tantraism had spread in a number of countries. In spite of whatever faults it contains, the Tantras are peculiarly Indian and represent India's contribution to world culture. A literature of this kind is not found in the history of civilization of any other country. Whatever was best, whatever was ennobling and whatever was beautiful in India were all included in the Tantras. Tantric literature enriched a variety of subjects such as astronomy, astrology, medicine, alchemy, chiromancy, horoscopy, vivination, Yoga, Hotoyoga and other allied subjects. The Tantras were the admixture of religion, science, superstition, dogma, mysticism and psychic exercises. In this wonderful literature was confined the rich cultural history of this sub-continent covering a period beginning from the 7th Century A. D. up to the coming of the Muslims²¹.

The growth of the Tantras was not so much thought of by Gotama Buddha himself. He did not believe in the super natural. He was opposed to all kinds of sacrifices, socery, magic and such other powers. But he was credited by some later authors for designing mudras, mandals and Tantras. By them, the lesser intellectuals would attain prosperity in this world. The influence of the Tantras could not be ignored. In later periods, Prajnaparamita became the great work on the subject and drew the attention of many authorities in several countries.

From the Vajrayana and Tantras there grew the Buddhist Pantheon. In Hinayana or primitive Buddhism there was no pantheon but in Mahayana a large number of deities were worshipped and in its more advanced form of Vajrayana a large number of deities of all descriptions were included. It was surprising that within a short time a number of icons were made. This became the starting point of a wonderful branch of iconography. Buddhist iconography is spectacular and stands second to none. Like the Hindu and Jain iconography it was not confined within the boundaries of India alone. It had travelled to far distant places like Tibet, China, Japan, Korea, Mogolia, Burma, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Indo-China, Persia and several other places.

Buddhist iconography had deep influence on other religious places. There are a number of places where the Buddhist icons are found along with Saiva, Vaisnava and Sakta icons. Khajuraho is such an example. The existence of erotic images in certain temples in North and South India is explained with relevance to Buddhism. It is said that Tantric form of Buddhism was responsible for such obscene images in the temples²².

The Buddhists were responsible to create a number of schools in art. The Gandhara School, the Mathura School, the Javanese School and that of Ceylon are worth mentioning. Towards the 13th Century, in Nepal, there was a distinct Buddhist school of art and iconography. The Muslim attack on India forced the Buddhists to leave India and take shelter in Nepal which was safely protected by the high mountains. The monasteries at Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Lalitpatan contain some of the best examples of Buddhist art.

In the field of literature, the Buddhist had made devastating contributions. From the beginning, they introduced Prakrit in place of Sanskrit. This was the greatest revolution in the academic world. Prakrit prevailed over Sanskrit and became the progenitor to many of the modern Indian languages. As a result, many millions, saw the light of knowledge, who in the Sanskrit tradition should have never got such an opportunity²³.

It will be futile to offer a list of writers from the Buddhist school—there are so many and their contributions are both matchless and priceless. In fact, the treasure of Buddhist writings will

constitute the greatest treasure of humanity. Buddhist writers in India, China, Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Indonesia and other countries have made extensive contributions. These works include almost all the branches of learning. The cultural impact of this category of literature is unchallengable.

The impact of the Buddhist literature was to create a happy atmosphere. It gave rise to optimism in place of pessimism and widened the horizon in all dimensions.

Buddhism was religion not of fear and sorrow but of hope and joy. It is a religion which turned on the dogma of the metempsychosis in its simplest form ; that goodness in the present life will ensure happiness in the next. It is a religion without elaborate rituals and without even priests in the conventional sense of term²⁴. The Buddhist worship the Great Master with reverence and devotion. The devotees spread knowledge of Nirvana without consideration of caste, creed, colour and nationality. In the real sense, Buddhism is the only humanitarian and universal religion. No wars have been ever fought to preach Buddhism anywhere in the world. Seekers of Buddhism have undertaken the hardest possible journey, as Fa-Hien did. There could be no other example to this.

From the stand-point of the world, one of the distinguishing features, as Prof. A. Toynbee pointed out that Buddhism had 'a code of altruistic ethics which teaches that every one must do good in the interest of the whole World and make over to others any merit he may acquire by his virtues'²⁵. The aim of the true Buddhist was to become a Bodhisattva who voluntarily postpones his own Nirvana for the sake of others. This ideal is extraordinary and supreme. There could be no greater contribution to the world-culture than this ideal of sacrifice for the sake of mankind. Buddha, Sangha and Dhamma are the real symbols of culture.

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TOSALI

A FAMOUS BUDDHIST CENTRE OF ORISSA

K. N. MAHAPATRA

Antiquity of Tosali

Tosali was the principal city and the capital of Kalinga before the days the Maurya Emperor Asoka (C272—232 B. C.). The earliest literary reference to Tosali is found in a Jaina work called 'Āvaśyaka sūtra' which records the traditions regarding Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras. It is stated therein that Mahāvīra first went to Tosali to preach Jainism among the people of Kaliṅga. The great Jaina author Haribhadra, in his Haribhadrīya vṛti which is a commentary on Āvaśyaka sūtra says that Mahāvīra went to Kaliṅga to preach his faith on the invitation of the king of Kaliṅga, as he and the father of Mahāvīra Svāmī were great friends.¹

The earliest epigraphic evidence regarding the antiquity and importance of Tosali is furnished by the first line of the two special Kaliṅga edicts inscribed on the 'Aśvathāmā' rock at Dhauli. The first line of the first edict runs as follows:—

"Devānaṃpiyasa vachanena tosaliyam Mahāmata nagaraviyohālakā vataviya"².

The Mahāmātras of Tosali, who are the judicial officers of the city are addressed in the following words of the Beloved of the gods "Aśoka".

In the first line of the second special Kaliṅga edict the prince (Kumāra) and the Mahāmātras are similarly addressed by the Beloved of the Gods, i.e., 'Devānaṃ piyasa vachanena Tosaliyaṃ Kumare mahāmāta cha vataviya'³.

The posting of a prince as the administrator of the city of Tosali bears ample testimony about the strategic importance of this place in the empire of Aśoka.

Identification of Tosali

It is the unanimous opinion of great historians that the city of Tosali existed near about the present Dhauli hills. This is corroborated by the existence of the beautiful figure of an elephant which has been carbed out from the rock containing the edicts of Aśoka. The prominence given to this figure clearly indicates that it was facing towards the city of Tosali which spread out on the slope to the north between the two hill ranges. The figure of elephant is found drawn in bold lines on the rock at Kalsi in the Dehra Dun district of Uttar Pradesh containing the 14 rock edicts of Aśoka. Below the figure is found the Brahmi label Gajatame (Sanskrit—'Ganjātma' which is a symbolical representation of the Buddha. On the Girnar rock near Junagada in Gujarat containing the 14 rock edicts of Aśoka, the figure of the elephant is lost. But the Brahmi label runs as follows:—

'Svetahasti sarvaloka sukahetu nāma' which means "the all white elephant is the procurer of happiness for the whole world" is still to be seen there.

1. Buddhism in Orissa by Dr. N. K. Sahu, p. 6.

2. Inscriptions of Asoka by Dr. E. Hultzsch, Ph. D. New Edition, 1925. pp. 92-93.

3. *Ibid*—pp. 97-98.

Markham Kittoe who visited the Dhauli hill in 1838 at the risk of his life saw the foundations of many buildings, and a stupa or chaitya on the rock bearing the Aśoka Edicts. His description may be quoted here.

"There are many broken caves in the rocks adjoining the Aśvathāmā and the foundations of many buildings, are in particular above the inscription, which may have been one of the Chaityas or stupas mentioned in the inscription"⁴. The account given by Mr. J. D. Beglar, the Assistant of A. Cunningham, the greatest Archaeologist of the last century gives a clear idea about the existence of two stupas on the tops of two hills i.e. These appeared to me the remains of a stupa on the flat terrace of the hill near the elephant and also one facing it on the opposite ridge, but they have been long ago dug into. A few bricks are to be found scattered about in the vicinity of both and at the foot of the hills"⁵.

The erection of two stupas, most probably by Aśoka on two ridges of the Dhauli hill, facing each other prove convincingly the existence of the city of Tosali, between the two ridges.

The light thrown by J. W. Mc. Crindle on the location of Tosali, in his learned discourse on the geography of India by Ptolemy is quite illuminating and as such it is quoted below :

"Tosali, called Metropolis, has become of great importance since recent Archaeological discoveries have led to the finding of the name in the Aśoka inscriptions on the Dhauli rock. The inscription begins thus "By the orders of Devānaṃpriya (beloved of the Gods) it is enjoined to the public officers charged with the administration of the city of Tosali". Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of this monument and there can be no doubt that the Tosali of the inscription was the capital in Aśoka's time of the province of Orissa and continued to be so till at least the time of Ptolemy. The city was situated on the margin of a pool called Kosala Gaṇḍa, which was an object of great religious veneration throughout all the country"⁶.

The discovery of a number of small punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan period, discovered at the time of clearance of the site round the present reconstructed Dhavalewara temple on the summit of the main ridge of the Dhauli hill in 1972 strengthens the location of the city of Tosali to the north of the rock bearing the Aśoka Edicts.

Ancient routes to Tosali

It is stated in the first special Kaliṅga edict that Aśoka deputed Mahāmātras from the capital (Pāṭaliputra) to Tosali in every five years for the purpose of ascertaining if the judicial officers of the city were acting according to this instructions. Similarly the Prince Viceroy at Ujjayinī used to send officers of the same class every year to Tosali to see whether his instructions were strictly being followed by the judicial officers at Tosali. In the same way and for the same purpose officers were being deputed from Takshīlā to Tosali. Thus it is clear that the city of Tosali was connected by suitable land routes with Pāṭaliputra on the Gaṇḍā, the capital of the Mauryan Empire, Ujjayinī, a metropolis in the heart of India and with far of Takshīlā, situated in the Indus. Jhelum doab, where the capital of the North-Western India was located.

Tosali and the Kalinga War

The Kalinga war which was fought and won by Aśoka eight years after his coronation or in his ninth regnal year (263 B. C.) is a memorable event in the History of India, ray the whole world, as it completely changed the mind of the great Emperor Aśoka, who not only became an ardent

4. J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. VII, 1838, p. 436.

5. Archaeological Survey of India by A. Cunningham and J. D. Beglar, Vol, XII' 1874-1875, 1875-76. pp. 95—98

6. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIII (1884) p. 352.

follower of Buddhism, but preached its gospel of non-violence throughout the length and breadth of the then world for the salvation of the human race. The last battle of this historic war was fought and won on the vast rocky plains to the west of the city now known as "Bhīma Tānīgī" where one hundred thousand soldiers were killed in action. Men differently engaged in this war numbering one hundred and fifty thousand were carried away captive and many times that number perished due to sufferings of the war.

The repentance felt by the Beloved of the Gods after this great victory over the brave and powerful people of Kalinga has been very touchingly narrated in his thirteenth rock edict⁷.

"After that, (war) now that the country of Kalingas has been conquered, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to an intense practice of the duties relating to Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the circulation of Dharma among the people. This is due to the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered the country of Kalinga."

"Verily the slaughter, death and deportation of men which take place in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods"⁸.

Elsewhere his deep repentance finds pathetic expression in the following words:—

"Therefore, the slaughter, death or deportation of even a hundred or thousandth part of all those people who were slain or who died or were carried away captive at the time in Kalinga, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods" 8-a.

Tosali as a Buddhist centre

The city of Tosali, which silently witnessed the terrible massacre of human beings in the battlefield in its neighbourhood in 263 B. C. began to experience the effects and influence of the great penance of the Beloved of the Gods, from 257 B. C. when his Edicts preaching the non-violence of Buddhism were inscribed on the Aśvathāmā rock at Dhauli. This became a haven of repose for the Buddhist 'Śrāmanas' for whose residence a large number of small caves were dug in the ridges of the Dhauli hill. These caves were small and simple like the caves dug by Aśoka for the 'Ājivakas' in the 'Nāgārjuna' and 'Gorathagiri' hills of Magadha, which bear his inscriptions.

The series of five small caves dug in the hill to the south of the Aśvathāmā rock were called 'Pancha Pāṇḍava Gumphā' or the five Pandava caves when Mr. Kittoe visited them in 1837. He also saw some other broken caves at the time of his visit. The building of two stupas on the top of the two ridges of the Dhauli hill and the digging of a large number of small caves for the residence of the Śrāmanas during the reign of Aśoka made it a chief centre of Hīnayāna Buddhism in Kalinga.

Other Associated Buddhist Antiquities of the Age

The copy of the Lumbīni pillar inscription (9) discovered from village Kapileśvara and now preserved in the Asutosh museum attached to the University of Calcutta cannot be called forged one as it bears the signature of the scribe. 'Chundriya' in Kharoshti characters. In this respect it is similar to an inscription of Asoka found in ex-Mysore State, where the signature of the scribe 'chapada' is written in Kharoshti scripts. Like the Bhabhru Edict of Asoka, it was originally engraved on a small block of stone (1' 7" X 1' X 1") set on a pillar, erected at Tosali or its neighbourhood. "The

7. The horrors of the Kalinga war are described in the Rock Edict No. XIII, which is not found at Dhauli and Jaugada in Orissa, but in other places.

8. (a+b) "Inscriptions of Asoka" by Dr. D. C. Sircar, p. 37.

9. "The Lumbini Pilgrimage Record in two Inscriptions" J. H. Q. Vol. V., 1929.

Bhabru Edict remained before its removal to the Indian Museum, Calcutta engraved on a small block of stone which stood near the block bearing the Minor Rock Edicts of Bairat " (10). So the Coph of the Lumbini pillar inscription found in Bhubaneswar near ancient Tosali may be taken as a genuine one.

The Bhaskaresvara Siva Linga —As Asokan pillar

The unusually high Bhaskaresvara Lingam (9') having a circumference of 12'2" 1' at the bottom was rightly taken as a portion of a monolithic Asokān pillar by Raja R. L. Mitra¹¹. Mrs. Debala Mitra, Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, who conducted excavation round the Lingam has concluded thus: "The pillar has no foundation and rests on a laterite pedestal deliberately carved in the shape of an Arghyapatta. A pillar with a broken top was brought from elsewhere near or far and was set here to be worshipped as a Lingam"¹². The Asokan origin of this pillar is proved by the discovery of fragments of Buddhist railing by Dr. Radhakumuda Mughherjee in 1926, by Dr. N. K. Vasu in 1938 and Dr. K. C. Panigrahi in 1948 in the neighbourhood of this Lingam. Dr. Panigrahi in his learned paper entitled 'New light on the history of Bhubaneswar'¹³ has supported the Asokan origin of this Linga as he was lucky to bring to light the upper portion of an Asokan lion while making trial excavation at a site only 40 ft., to the north of the temple. This lion was much mutilated by some bigot of the 5th century as is proved by a short inscription 'Sri Simha Vandha' of that period found on its body. In spite of the damages done to it, it is still 3'7" high having a girth of 8'7" in its broadest part. This imposing lion of the Asokan age is now prominently exhibited in the entrance hall of the Orissa State Museum.

Asokan Bell-Capital

The imposing bell-capital with a height of 5' and a circumference of 15'5" near its upper bulge which was lying uncared for on the eastern bank of the tank called 'Asoka Jhar' for centuries is now preserved near the main entrance of the compound wall of the Orissa State Museum. It has a circular socket indicating that it was the capital of a pillar circular in section. Its upper circular portion indicates that the animal figure surmounting it was made of a separate piece of stone. Only two sides of the circular portion were raised into rims to keep the animal sculpture in position.

The frieze of this bell-capital contains from left to right a goose, full-blown lotus, goose, full-blown lotus, lotus bud with stem, winged tiger, lotus bud with stem and a galloping winged horse. As most of the motifs are Asokan in design and execution it may safely be ascribed to the reign of Asoka.

The Yaksha images—The three Yaksha images discovered by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, and now preserved in the Archaeological Gallery of the Orissa State Museum may tentatively be assigned to the Asokan age. Two complete Dumuduma statues are 5'7", each having a socket over its head. The figures are strikingly similar to those of the Yakshas forming the capitals of pillars that support the architraves in the west gate-way at Sānchi. A Yaksha of the Dumuduma type is now being worshipped as a village deity in the village Baragarh near the Bhāskaresvara temples. The discovery of these Yaksha images all round Dhauli hill clearly indicates the existence of some small Buddhist stupas of the Asokan period, which have completely disappeared in course of centuries.

Tosali as a Hinayana & Mahayana centres

It is known from a Prākṛta inscription of Nagarjuna Konda in the Andhra State of Sri Vira Purisadatta' of the Ikshaku family that 'Tosali', 'Palura' and 'Puspagiri' in Orissa were the centres

10. "Asoka" part II by Dr. B. M. Barua, p. 5.

11. 'Antiquities of Orissa', Vol. II, p. 89.

12. A note on the Bhaskaresvara Linga. J. A. S. B. Vol. I, No. I, 1959, pp -2.

13. J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. XVII.

of Mahāsāṃghikas of Hīnayāna sect of Buddhism in the third century of the Christian era. It is also stated in this epigraph that 'Upāsikā Bodhiśrī' erected monuments for the well being of the Śramanas of the Mahāsāṃghika order, at different centres of which the mandapa at Puspagiri was noable¹⁴. The followers of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism also established one of their centres at Tosali, which became famous for the teaching of Yoga as is known from their scripture called 'Gaṇḍavyūha' or 'Avataṃśaka sūtra' written in the third century A. D. It is stated in that work that the great Mahāyāni teacher Āchārya Sarvagāmī lived in a vihāra at the city of Tosali or Amita Tosala situated to the south of the Surbha hill. To that vihāra was deputed a young recluse named 'Sudhana' for receiving instructions in Yoga from Āchārya Sarvagāmī by a renowned Buddhist nun named 'Achalasthirā'. After a long journey for many days Sudhana entered the city of Tosala which being a metropolis was divided into many small units by main roads, lanes and by-lanes all meeting at one junction. After a long search Sudhana was able to reach the residence of Āchārya Sarvagāmī before night fall, where he spent the night peacefully. At the break of day Sudhana was charmed to see the beautiful parks and the gardens of medicinal herbs on the Surbha hill glittering in the bright rays of the rising sun"¹⁵.

"Gaṇḍavyūha" was accepted an authority not only by the Mahāyāni Buddhists of India, but also of China, which becomes evident from its repeated translations into Chinese. Its first translation was made by "Budhabhadra" in 420 A. D. second by the 'Śikkshānanda' in 696 and the third by the 'Tripitakāchārya' Prañjā in 798 A. D. ; who was deputed by Udra king to the court of the Emperor of China in 796 A. D. with the original copy of 'Avataṃśakasūtra' (¹⁶)

From the description of Tosala given in this monumental work it is clear that this city was not only a populous and prosperous town, but a great centre of Yogic learning in the third century when this work was first composed.

Other connected Centres of Buddhism

With the rise of Tosali or Tosalathere grew up other centres of this faith at 'Bhorasaila' near Delang, Baruni hill near Khurda, Arāgaḍa hill near the Khurda road junction, and Narāja hill on the place of bifurcation of the Mahānadī and its branch, the Kāthojoḍī river. Like Tosali, 'Bhoraśaila' on the bank of the Dayā river was the centre of activities of Āchārya Dignāgā, the father of Buddhist Nyāya philosophy, who flourished in the fourth century A. D. The present town of Delanga still retains the memory of this great Buddhist philosopher (¹⁷). It is stated in the 'Madala Panji', the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple at Puri that the caves in the hills called 'Sānla parvata', 'Pānrā parvata', 'Vanivakreśvara parvata' and 'Yamunā Jhādapaḍā parvata' (near about Delanga) continued to be the resorts of the omniscient Buddhist siddhas till the reign of the Gaṇḍa king Madāna Mahadeva (¹⁸). But these rock-cut Buddhist caves have not yet been properly explored.

The extensive cave in Bāruṇi hill called Pāṇḍava gumphā, contains 14 small epigraphs called pilgrims' records four of which are engraved in characters of the Gupta period, which attest the antiquity of this rock shelter. (¹⁹) The rock-cut cave in the Arāgaḍa hill which was surveyed by me in the company of late P. Acharya in 1957 resembles the caves in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills. The caves in the Naraja hill, standing amidst beautiful natural surroundings on the highway from the North to the South, were connected with Tosali through the rivers 'Bhārgavī' and its branch Daya.

14. Prakrit inscriptions from Nagarjungkunda' by Subramanya Ayer, E. I. Vol. XX No. 1, p. 23.

15. 'Early Inscriptions of Bihar and Orissa' by A. P. Banerjee Sastri, PP. 143—146.

16. 'On Chinese translation of 'Avataṃśaka sūtra' original from Udra' by Jan Yan-hua, M. A., O. H. B. J. Vol. VII, pts. 3 & 4, pp. 125—132.

17. 'Od'sare Boudhadharma' (Oriya) by Dr. N. K. Sahu, P. 22

18. 'Madalapānji' (Oriya) Prachi edition, P. 25.

19. Archaeological Survey of India by Beglar, Vol. III, P. 99

Tosali and the Tosala or Tosali region

The entire coastal region of Orissa extending from the Mahendra mountain in the south up to the river Kansai (Kapi ā) in the north and from the sea-shore in the east up to Bauda in the west begun to be called Tosali or Tosala at least from the beginning of the Gupta period. It was divided into two parts Uttara and Dakshina due to its extensiveness in area. The earliest mention of 'Ubhaya Tosali' is found in the Naṭarāja image inscription of Mahārāja 'atrubhañja, which is assigned to the 4th century A. D. on paleographic grounds²⁰. We find from the dated copper plate grants of Maharāja Śrī 'ambhuyasaḥ that he was a very powerful king and was ruling over both the Tosalis. His Ervanga C. P. grant dated in 235 Samvat²¹ or 555 A. D. records land grant in 'Dakhina Tosali', while his Soro C. P. grant²² of 260 Samvat or 580 A. D. refers to Uttara Tosali. His vassel Chief Sivarāja's Patid killa grant²³ of 283 Samvat or 603 A. D. mentions 'Dakhiṇa Tosali'. Thus 'ambhuyasaḥ who had a long reign of nearly half a century (555—603 A. D.) was very powerful and a great patron of Brahmanism. His contemporary king in the south 'Māhāsamanta' 'rī Loka Vighraha whose Kanas C. P. grant is dated in the Gupta Era 280 or 600 A. D. was the over lord of the eighteen forest kingdom along with Tosali (Tosalyām sāshtādasāṭavīrājyaṃ) and granted land in Dakhiṇa Tosali²⁴. It is known from the Ganjam grant of Mādhavarāja of the 'ailodbhava family dated in 300 Gupta Era or 620 A. D. that 'Kongada mandala' lying between the Bhārgavī-Kuśhabhadra in the north and Rushikulyā river in the south was included in South Tosali²⁵. Both the 'Tosalas find mention in the C. P. grants of the Sovereign Bhaumakara rulers who ruled for nearly two centuries (650—850 A. D.) over coastal Orissa²⁶. It is significant to find 'Daṇḍabhuktimaṇḍala' present Midnapore district forming a part of 'Uttara Tosali' in the Bouda C. P. grant of Tribhuvana Māhadevī²⁷. Though Tosali lost its importance as a political and religious centre after the establishment of the capital at Virajā, by the Bhaumakaras in the early part of the 7th century A. D. using the names of both the Tosalas continued till the end of the twelfth century as is evident from the Antirigram C. P. grant of Jāya Bhañja which states that 'Kotarā vaṅga vishaya or present Koṭarāhāṅga near Sakhigopala was included in Dakhiṇa Tosala²⁸.

Fall of Tosali

The revival of Brāhmanism which started in full swing in the 6th century A. D. due to the propagation of the militant Anti-Buddhist Pāṣupata Āchāryas under the patronage of powerful kings like 'ambhuyasaḥ, 'ivarāja, Loka Vighraha, Mādhavarāja, caused the downfall of Tosali as a Buddhist centre. An imposing 'iva temple called Dhavaleśvara was erected on the summit of the Dhauli hill just to the west of the declining Aśoka Stupa which began to eclipse the glory of the place as a Buddhist centre. Mr. Beglar who visited this temple in 1874 writes thus: "I could not confidently venture a guess as to the age of this temple in the absence of sculpture, but judging from its bold mouldings, I would not think the fifth century of our era much too early a date for its erection²⁹. In the sixth century many 'iva temples, namely, Lakshmaṇeśvara, Bharatesvara, Śatrughneśvara, Śvarṇajāleśvara, Paraśuramesvara, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, etc., were raised in 'Ekāmra Kshetra' or Bhubanesvara, under the inspiration of the Pāsupata Āchāryas as a result of which the

20. 'Asanapat' by A. Das, I. A. S., O. H. R. J. Vol. XIII, July, 1965 No. 2, PP. 1—8

21. O. H. R. J. Vol. XII, No. 3, PP. 113—122

22. E. I., Vol. XXIII, P. 201

23. E. I., Vol. IX, PP. 285—288

24. E. I., Vol. XXVII, P. 331

25. E. I., Vol. XXIX, PP. 210—220

26. See 'Orissa under the Bhauma kings' by Pandit B. Mishra

27. E. I. Vol. X, IX, PP. 210—220

28. E. I., Vol. XIX, PP. 41—45

29. 'Archaeological Survey of India' by A. Cunningham, Vol. III, 1874-75, P. 85

glory and grandeur of the city of Tosali began to decline steadily. The establishment of the capital of the Bhauma empire at 'Guheśvarapātaka' near Viraja Kshetra or Jājapura on the sacred Vaitaraṇi river gave a death blow to the importance of Tosali as a political and cultural centre of the State. The great Buddhist Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang did not visit this place in 643 A. D. as by the time of his itinerary, Tosali had lost its importance as a Buddhist centre. At the time of his visit 'Pushpagiri' near Virajā was a great Buddhist centre of the State of which he has given vivid description in his account of Orissa³⁰.

In this period of decline of Buddhism which started from the 6th century, we find a single inscription of the reign of Bhauma Emperor 'āntikara dated in Bhauma era 93 or 707 A.D. engraved in a cave of the Dhauli hill³¹ which records the erection of a maṭha by Bīmaṭa Bhaṭṭa and his son Bhaṭṭa Loyamaka of Virajā, which was a Brāhmanical institution.

The temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara on the western slope of the Dhauli hill just on the bank of the Dayā river, and temple of Ganeśa near it may be assigned to the Somavaṃsī period, as the beautiful image of Gaṇeśa is a replica of the famous Ganeśa image, set in southern niche of the great Lingarāja temple³².

The fall of Tosali as a Buddhist centre was complete during the reign of the first Ganga Emperor Gaṅgeśvara Deva (Choḍaganga Deva) who established the 'Gaṅgeśvarapura śāsana'³³ on the bank of the river Dayā not far from Tosali (Dhauri). His queen 'Kalyaṇa Devi'^{33-b} founded another Brāhmaṇa village Kalyāṇapura to the south of Gaṅgeśvarapura. The extensive tank called 'Kosala-Gaṅga' was excavated to perpetuate the memory of queen Kosala Devi^{33-c}, and her husband Gaṅgeśvara Deva in the vicinity of the Dhauri hill. The village 'Kośalapura now called Kauśalyāpura was founded by this queen. The two 'āsanas called 'pūrvā' and 'uttarā' were founded on the east and north banks of this tank after its excavation. 'Sriyā Devī'^{33-d} another queen of Gaṅgeśvara was the founder of 'Sriyādevipura', which is now called 'Saradeīpura'. The establishment of these Brahmanical colonies to the east and south of the Dhauri hill, between 1135 to 1147 A. D. gave a death blow to the Buddhist centre Tosali which was steadily declining from the 6th century A. D.

The traditional account of extermination of the Buddhist Siddhas (sages) living in the caves at Dhauri and other hills in the Dayā valley during the reign of Madana Mahādeva as given in the Mādala pāṇji³⁴ may be taken to be based on truth. Madana Mahādeva was the second name of the Gaṅga Emperor Kajarāja II (1170—1190 A. D.). After this Buddhism, which held its sway for more than 1250 years in this city completely disappeared from this area.

30. 'Watter's Hiuen Tsang'

31. 'Orissa under the Bhauma Kings' by Pandit B. Mishra, P. 11

32. 'Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswer' by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, P. 67

33. For the name of Gangesvara and his queens, please see O. H. R. J. and 'Inscriptions of Orissa' Vol. III by Shri S. N. Rajaguru.

(a) Gangesvara, O. H. R. J., Vol. XV, Nos. 1 and 2, PP. 53—60

(b) Kalyana Devi, I. O., Vol. III, Pt. I., P. 111

(c) Kosala Devi, Vol. III, Pt. I., P. 205

(d) Sriya Devi, I. O., Vol. III., Pt. I., P. 114

34. 'Madalapanji', P. 25

THE GLORY THAT WAS RATNAGIRI

Biswarup Das

Situated in the Jajpur subdivision of the district of Cuttack, Orissa, Ratnagiri was a glorious centre of Buddhist culture in ancient times. Literary and archaeological evidence bears ample testimony to the fame it had in the past.

Tārānātha tells us that "towards the end of the reign of a king named Buddhapakṣa, a monastery called Ratnagiri was built in Orissa in the cleft of a mountain near the sea".¹ The Tibetan historian informs us further that in that vihāra were kept three copies of each of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna texts as well as other sāstraś. ² He again states that the king established there eight great centres for the Buddhist doctrines and maintained five hundred Buddhist monks. ³ The Gupta emperor Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya seems to be identical with Tārānātha's king Buddhapakṣa, a nickname given to him by the Buddhists as a patron of Buddhism and an enemy of the Hunas, who were anti-Buddhists.

Very little is known of the history of Orissa during the Gupta period. But we may well believe that it was included in the territory of the Guptas. The Allahabad pillar inscription mentions the names of the Orissan kings vanquished by Samudragupta. ⁴ The *Sumaṇḍala* ⁵ and *Kaṇās* ⁶ charters indicate that Orissa continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas even during the last days of the Gupta empire. As such, Orissa must have formed a part of the empire of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya. ⁷ It is not unlikely that in Orissa Buddhism enjoyed the patronage of the said Gupta emperor. The existing stupa at Ratnagiri appears to have been built over an earlier edifice belonging to the Gupta period, because in the midst of the debris has been discovered a stone slab inscribed with the Pratitya-samutpada-sutra in characters of the Gupta period. Therefore, the famous monastery at Ratnagiri appears to have been constructed during the reign of Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya, that is in between the later half of the fifth century A. D. and the early half of the sixth century A. D.

We will not be out of place to discuss here about a monastery at Puṣpagiri, the mentions of which are made in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription as well as in Hiuen-tsang's accounts. The said inscription states that Upāsikā Bodhiśrī constructed a śaila maṇḍapa at Puṣpagiri. ⁸ The illustrious Upāsikā is credited to have raised a number of structures for the benefits of the Buddhist monks at several places having Buddhist importance. This inscription on the grounds of palaeography can be assigned to the period of Ikṣavaku king Virapurisadatta, who belonged to the third century A. D. The above fact reveals that Puṣpagiri was a famous Buddhist establishment in ancient Orissa.

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The accounts of Hiuen-tsang also indicate that Puṣpagiri was a flourishing centre of Buddhism during his visit in the seventh century A. D. It contained one of the most wonderful monasteries of the Buddhist world. He records : "In the south-west of the country was the Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li monastery in a mountain ; the stone top of this monastery exhibited supernatural lights

and other miracles, sunshades placed by worshippers on it between the dome and the amalaka remained there like needles held by a magnet. To the north-east of this tope in ahill-monastery was another tope like the preceding in its marvels. The miraculous powers of these topes were due to the topes having been erected by supernatural beings. ⁹ Julien has restored "Pu-sie-p'o-k'i-li" as Puṣpagiri. ¹⁰ Evidently it was a great centre of Buddhism, and devotees from far and near used to throng there to offer worship for obtaining spiritual benefit.

The location of this famous Buddhist centre remains unfortunately a problem of dispute. As stated above it was situated on the south-west of Wu-ch'a (Odra) country. A. Cunningham identifies it with the famous Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri hills, situated to the south of Cuttack and west of Bhubaneswar. This view can be negated on the ground that Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri were strongholds of Jainism in ancient times. Besides, Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri were known as Kumara and Kumari hills in ancient times.

R. L. Mitra identifies Puṣpagiri with Dhauli on the supposition that the term "country" mentioned by the pilgrim is a mistake for the capital. ¹² According to him, the capital of Orissa ⁸ was then situated at Bhubaneswar, [to the south-west of which is located the Dhauli hill. ¹³ This view is based on wrong supposition, because the capital of Orissa was never situated in or around Bhubaneswar after Khāravela.

N. K. Sahu locates Puṣpagiri in the Phulbāṇi-Ghumsur region, which is situated on the "south west frontier of the far-flung Wu-ch'a country, close to the northern boundary of Kalinga. ¹⁴ It may be noted here that in A. D. 681, that is less than half a century of the visit of Hiuen-tsang, a Gaṇga king of Kalīṅga named Devendravarman registered a grant in the Puṣpagiri-Pañchāli viṣaya. ¹⁵ According to N. K. Sahu, "the viṣaya is so named because of its proximity with Puspagiri". ¹⁶

This identification seems to be doubtful to us, because not a single Buddhist image has so far come to light in this region. In case we accept the suggestion of N. K. Sahu the non-mention of a famous Buddhist centre like Ratnagiri in the accounts of Hiuen-tsang cannot be explained. We do not doubt the existence of a place named Puṣpagiri in this region. But Puṣpagiri of the Gaṇga charter appears to be different from that of Hiuen-tsang's accounts, just as from the Buddhist point of view Ratnagiri in Orissa is definitely more important than its namesake in Maharashtra. Besides, S. Beal speaks of the location of Puṣpagiri "on the south-west frontier of the country", ¹⁷ whereas T. Watters speaks of the same "on the south-west of the country". ¹⁸ R. P. Chanda ¹⁹ and R. D. Banerji ²⁰ seem to endorse the view of R. L. Mitra that the term "country" of Hiuen-tsang's accounts should be substituted by that of "Capital", and identify Puspagiri with Ratnagiri, which is situated to the south-west of Jajpur. The then capital of Orissa, according to S. Beal, was situated at Jajpur. ²¹

This view seems to be quite plausible to us. L. A. Waddel remarks : "Wu-ch'a of the pilgrim seems intended to represent Sanskrit yaja". ²² Phonetically such a view may not be acceptable. T. Watters opines that Wu-ch'a is the same as Wu-t'u and stands for Odra. ²³ There are instances when Orissa was named after its Capital. The Muslim chroniclers in the mediaeval period used to name Orissa after its capital Jājapur. ²⁴ We may not be far from the truth to suggest that the capital was sometimes named after Orissa. So it is very likely that in the accounts of Hiuen-tsang Wu-ch'a sometimes represented Jājapur.

Hiuen-tsang speaks of two important Buddhist centres in Wu-ch'a. They are Che-li-ta-lo (Puri ?) and Pu-sie-p'o-k-i-li (Puṣpagiri). The former was "a thorough fare and resting place for sea-going traders". ²⁵ It is quite likely that the latter was also situated on the sea-cost. At present

Ratnagiri is about sixty-five kilometres from the Bay of Bengal. But during the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Ratnagiri was probably an ideal town on the sea-coast. At a place named Ranlia, not very far from Ratnagiri, we can notice traces of an ancient harbour. The close resemblance between the images of Buddha at Ratnagiri on one hand and those at Anuradhāpur and Barabudur on the other suggests that Ratnagiri in its hey-day used to maintain close contact with these distant lands through the aforesaid harbour.

The extensiveness of the remains and the topographical features support the view that the two stūpas referred to by Hiuen-tsang were situated on Ratnagiri and Udayagiri. The situation of Udayagiri to the north-east of Ratnagiri confirms our suggestion, since, according to the pilgrim, to the north-east of this tope in a hill monastery was another tope like the preceding in its marvels.²⁶ We look forward with hope for the spade of archaeologists to unearth the Buddhist antiquities at Udayagiri belonging to the pre-Bhāuma age.

Thus Puṣpagiri of Hiuen-tsang's accounts may tentatively be identified with the celebrated Ratnagiri. The hill was known as Puspagiri probably because various types of flowers grew here. In this connection we may state that Hiuen-tsang noticed in Orissa "noted flowers" which he failed "to enumerate".²⁷ The hill was again known as Ratnagiri probably because of its connection with Buddhism since the Buddhists pay the utmost reverence to tri-ratna.

Ratnagiri was an important seat of Hīnayāna. Tārānātha does not speak of a single Māhāyāna deity in the monastery at Ratnagiri constructed during the Gupta period. Hiuen-tsan is silent about the images at Puṣpagiri, even though he mentions about the "very artistic images"²⁸ at Che-li-ta-lo. He further says, "The priests of Wu-ch'a all study Little Vehicles, and do not believe in the Great Vehicle".²⁹ The Hinayana monks of Orissa used to denounce the Māhāyāna doctrine as "a system of sky-flower heretics, not delivered by Buddha."³⁰ The few Māhāyāna centres in Orissa that probably came into existence during the Gupta period failed to play a significant role in disseminating the Mahāyāna faith. The most important of them was Tāmralipti, where Fa-hien spent a couple of years in drawing pictures of Buddhist images.³¹ But by the time of Hiuen-tsang's visit it had dwindled into insignificance, and Hīnayāna emerged as a force to be reckoned with. The non-mention of the few Mahāyāna scriptures that were kept along with Hīnayāna scriptures in the monastery at Ratnagiri during the reign of Bālāditya is quite significant. It indicates that the Buddhists in Orissa did not pay any regard to Māhāyāna doctrines.

Harṣa took steps to stem the tide of Hīnayāna in Orissa after his conquest of this country. On his advice Śīlabhadra, the head of the Nālanda convent, sent some reputed scholars on Mahāyāna to Orissa.³² He also requested a Mahāyāna monk named Jayasena to reside in Orissa, where he assigned him the revenue of eighty large towns.³³ Jayasena declined the offer and the Nālanda philosophers expressed their diffidence to face the Hinayana philosophers in Orissa.³⁴ Thus Hīnayāna enjoyed tremendous popularity in Orissa in the seventh century of the Christian era. Ratnagiri must have played a key role in making Orissa a stronghold of Hīnayāna faith.

The rise of the Bhāuma dynasty in Orissa, during the eighth century of the Christian era, was the most notable in the history of Māhāyāna Buddhism in Orissa. The early rulers of the dynasty, who were devout Buddhists (Paramopāsaka, Paramasaugata, Paramatathāgata) extended Patronage to Mahāyāna. As a result, Mahāyāna Buddhism reached the pinnacle of its glory in Orissa during the Bhāuma rule. The days of Ratnagiri as a glorious centre of Hīnayāna were numbered, and it was transformed into a famous centre of Māhāyāna.

The excavations at Ratnagiri have laid bare the remains of the famous Ratnagiri Mahāvihāra. Terracota sealings bearing the legend Śhrī Ratnagiri-Mahāvihāriy-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha also indicate the existence of this Mahavihara. It consisted among other things an imposing stūpa and two magnificent monasteries. The stūpa and the monasteries impress one with their grandeur and can be compared with their prototypes at Nālanda. A fairly large number of sculptures bearing the Buddhist creed indicate the Mahāyāna affiliation of this monastic establishment. Besides, the existence of ārya-bhikṣu-saṅgha reveals that a group of Mahāyāna monks used to reside in this Mahāvihar, because the monks of similar saṅgha are found as followers of Mahāyāna faith in the Jayarāmpur charter of Gopachandra.³⁵ The excavations have brought to light some earthen lamps and vessels for the use of the Buddhist monks in the aforesaid monasteries. We can assign the above Mahāvihāra to the Bhauma period on epigraphical consideration. The strong affinity that exists between the decorative arts in the aforesaid monasteries on one hand and the Vaitāla and Śīvesvara temple on the other, ascribable to the eighth century A. D., also indicates the date of the establishment of this Mahāvihāra. D. Mitra too opines that it belonged to the eighth century A. D.³⁶

A colossal image of Buddha touching earth is installed on a spacious pedestal in one of the aforesaid monasteries. The image is flanked by standing figures of Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi holding chamaras. A large head of Buddha is found on the slope of the hill and another on the top of the hill. These two heads indicate the colossal nature of their original images. The artist has wonderfully reflected the inner meditation on the face by such devices as half open eyes to show that the deity was wrapped in meditation. The above stated Buddhist images seem to possess striking resemblances with their counterparts at Barabudur (Java) and Anurādhāpur (Ceylon). The typical curls of the hair, the subtle sensitive modelling, the monumental character, the supreme spiritual favour are the marked features. We are aware of their active maritime contact of Orissa with Greater India and Ceylon in ancient and early mediaeval periods, and as such close artistic affinities.

In the later part of the eighth century A. D. an esoteric system known as Vajrayana was superimposed on Mahāyāna, which radically altered its character. According to Mahāyāna philosophy perfect wisdom is achieved by the knowledge of the nature of things as pure void. The conception of void was identified with vajra, which is as imperishable as void. This concept gave freedom of imagination, and a new 'pantheon' of Buddhist gods and goddesses gave full scope to the creative genius of artists. We come across a huge concentration of typical Buddhist images at Ratnagiri.

These images are the finest of the post-Gupta period. The Gupta art of Sārnāth school gave impetus to the development of the Buddhist art in Orissa. The Ratnagiri images remarkably preserve the Gupta sensuousness and sublimity. At the same time we notice that the artists have wonderfully succeeded in infusing an element of forceful vigour in those images. It is this rather rare combination that attaches greater importance to the images at Ratnagiri. We discuss below some of the peculiar Buddhist images at Ratnagiri.

A beautiful image of Avalokitesvara from Ratnagiri is now preserved in the Indian Museum. It sits on a lotus supported by two couchant lions. With its lalita asana and varada mudra it resembles Khasarpana Avalokitesvara.³⁷ The identification of it with Simhanada Avalokitesvara by N. K. Sahu³⁸ does not seem to be tenable, since the special characteristic of Simhanada Avalokitesvara is the absence of any ornament on his body whereas Avalokitesvara of Ratnagiri wears various types of ornaments.

The Tara images of Ratnagiri are exquisitely charming. The largest of such images is preserved in the Patna Museum. The image holds utpala in the left hand and exhibits varada mudra in the right hand. It stands gracefully in tribhanga pose and is surrounded by eight deities symbolising the syllables of the Tara mantra which is Om Tara tuttare ture svaha. On the top of the image there are the representations of five dhyani Buddhas. They are from left to right Amoghasiddhi, Akshobhya, Amitabha, Ratnasambhava and Vairocana. This Tara image is a marvellous representation of the goddess.

The image of Heruka, the most popular god of Vajrayāna, is found at Ratnagiri. His name is generally associated with Śakti, who embraces the deity and remains in yabyum. He is also worshipped singly. His worship confers Buddhahood on his worshippers. He is said to destroy the māras (wicked beings) of the world. The four Brahmanical gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Indra have been designated as maras. His images are extremely rare. The Ratnagiri image of Heruka is one of the finest representations of the deity worshipped singly. It wears a garland of human heads and dances in ardhaparyāṅka pose on a corpse. The khatvanga with flowing banner hangs from its left shoulder.

Another interesting image of a Vajryāna deity, found at Ratnagiri seems to be a representation of Vajrajvalanarka. The image has four heads, out of which three are visible and the fourth one is at the back. The image is decked in ornaments of bracelet, armlet girdle, earring, nupura etc. It is in the alidha pose signifying destruction.

An image of the Vajrayāna deity Jambhala is seen on the side wall of the porch of the bigger monastery at Ratnagiri. Jambhala is the Buddhist counterpart of Brahmanical Kuvera, the god of riches. The image sits in a lalita attitude, signifying serenity.

The image of Mahakala is found in a temple on the northern side of the hill at Ratnagiri. Mahakala images abound in Nepal, and are found in large numbers in Buddhist temples. Mahakala is a terrible god and is generally worshipped in the Tantric rite of māraṇa for the destruction of enemies. He also inspires awe in the minds of those Buddhist who are not reverential to their preceptors and do not care much for the three jewels. The Ratnagiri Mahākāla is potbellied like the Brahmanical god Ganesa. In fact, it is at present worshipped as a Brahmanical deity.

The few bronze images of Buddha and Buddhist deities that have been discovered at Ratnagiri bear close resemblances in iconographic characteristics and artistic qualities with their counterparts discovered at Banapur.

Ratnagiri was, in fact, a veritable museum of images of various deities of the Buddhist pantheon in the early medieval period. But the glory of Ratnagiri is not confined only to its Buddhist images. It was one of the greatest seats of Buddhist learning in India in the early medieval period. In fact, it was widely reputed as an important seat of Buddhist yoga. The Chinese sources reveal that a Buddhist scholar named Prajñā, an inhabitant of Kapisa, near Kabul, visited a number of centres of Buddhist learning in Northern India including the University of Nalanda, but failed to quench his thirst of knowledge on yoga³⁹. At last, he settled down in the monastery of "the king of the realm Wu-ch'a", who had a deep faith in the "Sovereign Law" and whose name was "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion".⁴⁰ This monastery appears to us as no other than the monastery of Ratnagiri, where famous institutions for the study of Buddhist yoga flourished in the Bhauma period. And the king can be identified with Sivakara Unmatta kesari, who was a devout Buddhist. The above Buddhist scholar thereafter went to China and presented the Gandavyuha, the last section of the Buddhavatamsa, dealing with the practice and promise of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, to the Chinese

emperor Te-itsong with a translation of it on behalf of the Orissan monarch.⁴¹ The fact that Prajna a great Buddhist scholar, settled down at Ratnagiri in order to study Buddhist yoga after being disgusted with his study for eighteen years at Nalanda, points out that as a famous centre of Buddhist yoga Ratnagiri was unrivalled at that time.

The Tibetan tradition recorded in the Pag Sam Jon Zang informs us that Bodhisri and Naropa practised yoga at Ratnagiri. ⁴² Taranatha mentions that Acharya Pito, who had his training at Sambhal and had acquired the siddhi of invisibility was a renowned teacher of yoga at Ratnagiri, where Abadhuti Bodhisri and Naro (probably Naropa) were his chief disciples. ⁴³ Thus eminent gurus and acharyas, were residing at Ratnagiri to teach the philosophy of Buddhist yoga to scholars who used to come there for study and research from far and wide. We may state here that preceptors were given an exalted position in Vajraayna. We will not be out of place to mention here that the Saddharma Pundarika records a prophecy in which the Buddha assures Sariputta that he would in a distant future be a Buddha under the name Padmaprabha and would attain his enlightenment at Viraja ⁴⁴ (Jajpur), situated not very far from Ratnagiri.

Ratnagiri seems to have lost the royal patronage during the rule of the later Bhauma rulers who were staunch Saivas. When the Somavansis succeeded the Bhaumas in the middle of the tenth century A. D. Saivism was elevated to the position of state religion in Orissa. As a result, Ratnagiri continued to suffer from the lack of royal favour in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. Towards the close of the ninth century A. D. Buddhism took the help of Tantrism and made its last attempt to survive. But Tantric Buddhism was nothing but Saivism and, therefore, Buddhism merged itself completely in Saivism during the Somavamsi rule in Orissa. As an evidence of this we find a Siva linga with the Buddhist dharani - ye dharmahetu prabhava etc. at Soro. ⁴⁵ The inscription can be assigned to the later phase of the Bhauma rule in Orissa. It points out that the dharani had lost its significance by that time and came to be regarded as a Saiva mantra.

The glory that was Ratnagiri began to sink as days rolled on and ultimately reached the lowest ebb during the Ganga rule in Orissa. In spite of its secluded location Ratnagiri probably could not escape the iconoclastic fury of the Muslims. After the defeat of Mukundadeva, the king of Orissa by Sulaiman, the Nawab of Bengal (Kalapahada) at a place near Jajpur in A. D. 1568 the Muslims might have destroyed and mutilated many of the Buddhist images at Ratnagiri. We believe that some of these mutilated Buddhist images now adorn the walls of the Brahmanical shrines in the village of Ratnagiri. The two factors, time and clime, whose denuding agents remained active and vigilant, also proved fatal to the Buddhist arts and sculptures at Ratnagiri. However, Ratnagiri has left its indelible foot-prints on the sandy beach of time.

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CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO WORLD CULTURE

Sumatibai Shah

I, hereby, stand to represent one of the most ancient religions of the world present and past almost the oldest of all. This Dharma has its origination, invention and elevation for the same primary purpose as the others do, viz., the self-realisation and the salvation of the soul. There are so many religions that are seeking after the exact nature of the soul and the right way to its salvation from all sorts of worldly lives by way of accomplishing the eternal state, wherein, all the constituent elements of the pure soul are revealed once for ever. Even though the same is the quest of all the religions, different philosophies, ways, extant practices and cults, have been evolved and developed in such a way that some times they are found antagonist and rival to each other. And for this reason some people waged even wars and fought against their own brethren causing pain and misery to all by which, I think, they devoured the real spirit of their own Dharma.

If Dharayati iti Dharmah, be accepted as the true nature of the Dharma, which is the worthiest in my opinion, there would not be any repugnancy among the laymen of the religions on this world. And for this we must do away with the fundamental reason that diversified the goal of the religions exertions. Many savants are of the opinion that the ultimate and eternal summit of the religious austerities is almost the same according to the different religions on the world and it is only the way of practice among different people may differ. And they do believe that all the gods of the different religions fall under one category; so all the religions aim at the same goal. Then it matters very little that they follow diverse ways to practise it. They also would reach the same goal even though undertaking the varied ways to practise it just like the persons coming over here came by different ways and vehicles. But with all my humble erudition I beg to differ from the statement. The people travelling to this city reached here in spite of their different ways and vehicles from different directions only because they aimed at one and the same concrete goal. Such is not the case with the different Faiths and Paths of the world's religions. The harmony and unanimity in austerities is not the principal thing to accomplish the same fruition as the same austerity may easily and possibly be aimed at quite different goal. So, not only the practice but the fundamental principle of the goal is the cause of the variation of the extant Religions.

It has been my firm conviction that the chief Religions in the world go repugnant or in disharmony with each other only because they failed in unanimous decision to conceive the true nature of the soul. And this unrevealed state of affairs resulted into the varied philosophies that are seeking after the pure soul. Apart from the various, so-called extant religions of the world, there have been only three different philosophies of the soul that caused the main distinction between religion & religion. By the scrutiny of the religions one may come to know that the religious philosophies are based on the realisation or conception of the soul. They could know the soul in the three fundamentally different styles: (1) Some found their souls to be the Amsas or parts of One Highest Soul. So they started worshipping the Soul in the form of the Creator or Isvara or Father or The Parabrahma or such other names. (2) According to some faiths each soul in the universe is completely independent individual and has the capacity to develop into a perfect one having annihilated its

own Karma through its own spiritual exertion without depending upon the will of either the Paramatman or any one else. (3) Even though these are the only chief Faiths, the third one evolved in the first group, while finding out the exact nature of the Paramatman and settling the correct relation between the Highest Soul and the so-called 'Amsatmak' worldly souls. And as the result Mayavada, Sunya-vada, Ksatnika-vada and the like set in and they have been remained quite repugnant to each other. But here is a Dharma by which I stand, can do away with all the inconsistencies and the disagreements, satisfying all the purposes. The just mentioned first and the last group have ever remained unable to solve all the problems of the Religious life only because the souls conceived by, are neither powerful nor independent for their own elevation towards the summit. So the Second Faith preached by the Omniscient seems to be true as it deals with all the problem of the Soul element or Jiva Dravya without any imperfectness or incorrectness, whatsoever. The treatment of Jiva by the Omniscients or Tirthakaras and Jinas known to the Jains, is most correct and scientific. And there should not be any doubt or option in any scientific knowledge of the Substance. So under this rule of the universal truth I am not in a position to be convinced by the statement that all Dharmas are of the same value and Truth is spread all over. As we saw that the fundamental quest of the exact nature of the soul and the ultimate conception of it differs in the different philosophies of the world to find out the same thing. The knowledge of the soul sought by the persons of different age and place should not contradict or differ in whatsoever point when they claim the perfection. But we see them repugnant beyond doubt. So it goes without saying that all of them disagreeing should not be accepted as the true profounders of the soul. And for this reason, I beg to differ from them in conceiving the idea of soul and its final goal. Being the lay devotee of the Jinas, following their omniscience or Kevala, I declare that the Jaina Dharma does discard the Creator of the world and His power to govern the worlds perpetuously. Moreover, Jain Dharma is not an 'ism' of any person at all just like so many philosophies preached by the non-omniscients. Only non-omniscient preachers can differ or contradict each other. And that is why the self-contradiction is possible in the case of all the Religions of the world, save Jain Dharma preached by the only Omniscients ones. So being not an ism I may hereafter call it Jinology instead of Jainism. By the by, I may state that Jinology is not the cult of any sort. In this case it is unlike Hinduisim or Brahmanism whose back-bone is the cult of the Ashramas and Varnas. This cult is so essential part to them that their Dharma is known otherwise as the Varnashram-Dharma. Further more Jinology as a part of its religious creed had never given any place to God as a Creator who not only creates the universe but dispenses favours and frowns to the worldly people with or without reference to their actions. The place of a Creator God is taken by the Religious dignitaries, Tirthakaras, etc., whom the Jains worship as the spiritual ideals. These dignitaries were the men like most of us but reached spiritual perfection by following the path of religion. Their careers are an examples for those struggling on the path of religion. As types and covering various walks of life both religious and secular Jinology has enumerated 63 Salaka persons among whom the 24 Tirthakaras are most galient profounders of the highest goal of the worldly soul that exerts to get rid of the birth-nuclei and the means and ways to it. And this type of the preaching of the Tirthakaras or the Omniscient Jinas is known to us as Jinology or the Religion of the Jains of this era.

Under the auspices of the conference as this and the like, during last seven years, inland and overseas, many lectures are delivered, papers are read, books are written, research studies are advanced and such other many steps are taken to lessen discrimination and detest among the world Religions, to enhance the universal brotherhood and generosity to introduce all sided approach and scientific research, to maintain universal love and friendship, to sustain and enhance the peace and order of the world, to meet the communal strikes and mutual disregard, to pacify rivalry and war tendency, to have mental control over the unhealthy passions, unworthy individual aspirations, to lighten social, morals and ethics etc. Many attempts are being made by wise persons of the world by which I think most of the foremost elements of Jinology are known to prominent members of the

conferences that are devoted to highten the degree of the all healthy religious sense of the extant world. So I neither feel necessary, nor the members of this assembly can afford to listen to me otherwise talking all-most for an unlimited period of time. I, therefore, discuss a very few aspects of Jinology that are quite meritorious to meet the need of the time.

Just like any other religion, Jaina Dharma even though differs from the point of Theology, it consists all the three important parts of the Dharma, namely, The Philosophical principles to deal with the soul, matter and other four substances or elements known in the church as the Six Dravyas, The chief vows under the name of Caritra; and some church cults to maintain the Tirtha and the Dharmayatanas like the shrines of the Tirthankaras etc. But as we have seen already the worldly cults have never been attached the spiritual importance nor the religious principles are dependent on the Secular cults at all. So some of the cults have been influenced in social sense by the parallel rites and cults of the neighbouring societies and religions such as Hinduism etc. So outwardly it seems to the shallow persons that Jaina Dharma may possibly be the off-shoot of the Hinduism which has his origination in Brahmanism and Vedicism. But this conception is more wrong than falsehood. The morality and ethics are more the social aspects than the religious ones. So real Dharma depends upon the true nature of the Soul. And we have seen how Jinology differs from the rest in knowing the Soul and its final goal. So it does not and cannot be in league with any other Dharma in which the soul is conceived otherwise. Then what of its being off-shoot of any of the rest ? Its principles are fundamentally quite different as regards the final goal of the soul.

On the merit of the well noticed historical scrutiny of all the old religious of the extant world and the latest research results of the cultural findings of the excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, I may state here that the native culture of the land called Bharatavarsa was highly advanced even before the two main waves of the Aryan invasion into the land of rivers afterwards became famous Aryavarta in the Hindu literature. There are sufficient evidences to show that the pre-Aryan culture was the same culture which afterwards became known as the 'Sramana-Culture'. And the native people then unanimously followed the cult that was known after the name of Risabha, the first king and the first omniscient Teacher of the world. The same person is known as Adinatha or the first Tirthankara among the 24 such ones that preached one and the same Religion that is called this date under the name of Jinology or Jainism. As this Risabha cult set in the absolute practice of Ahimsa or non-violence for its Acara-Dharma. Owing to the managnanimity and predominance of this principle of Ahimsa in the religious practice the same Risabha cult became famous afterwards as the Ahimsa Dharma as it is the Parama Acara for every soul on the path of the spiritual devotion. Now-a-days this Ahimsa is favoured and honoured as "Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah" by the Jains or the followers of the Jinas for their Acara Dharma. And it is supposed that Ahimsa is the religion of Timid Jains only. And even some of the Jains pridefully feel that Ahimsa is their sole monopoly. By the reading of the oldest literature such as the Rigveda and other Vedic and Brahmanic literature, it occurs to my mind that from the beginning of the world of course from Risabha onwards-Ahimsa was the single cult. But people used to follow almost unanimously before the Aryan invasion. It seems that the first wave of the Aryans at the beginning of the Rigvedic age did not have any obvious idea of the spiritual progress of the soul towards its final goal. They used to honour and worship outward material things that were helpful for their day-to-day secular life. As they were fairly equipped most powerful war ammunition they could defeat the natives in the battlefields but they could not rule over them victoriously till they approached the native royal sages, the custodians of the Adhyatma Vidya first preached by the great Risabha' followed or prepared to follow the cult of Ahimsa. And in the result this Ahimsa was accepted as the principle by the followers of the cult of Vedic Yajana. Thus the cult of Pujana was introduced hereof in lieu of along with the Yajana in the cult of Vedic sacrifices. Even the image-worship was copied by the vedic world and I think, Shri Ganesa or Ganapati is the first deity whose image

became the object of their worship by way of Pujana bereft of animate articles of whatsoever. This predominant influence of Ahimsa over the Vedic people can be marked here and there in the Rigveda itself. The Vedic passages that deal with the war between the Vritra and Indra and that deal with the paraphernalia and preparation of materials for the sacrifices, the chapters that deal with the Mahavratya or the—Vratyas. The Jain forefathers during the Vedic era and many a passages in the Brahmana literature wherein the Brahmanas are found quite anxious to go to the Ksatriya Kings to learn Atma-Vidya, etc., can satisfy the primary curiosity of the persons desiring to test my statements. So even the Vedic world accepted and it had to accept compelled by the natives and impelled by the necessity, the principle of Ahimsa even though they afterwards continued animal sacrifice when they modified the principle as Yajniki himsa himsa na bhavati. The very spirit of the expression displays full well that Ahimsa was accepted even by the strict followers of the animal sacrifice. That means they were made realised by the original natives that there could not be any Dharma wherein the Himsa is involved or aimed at. And it suggests one more important thing that the Vedic Aryans gave up honouring and worshipping the outward things for life and prosperity and they began to develop the sense of spiritual progress which was the beginning of their Dharma in real sense. Only the bread-earning progress cannot be called Dharma at all. So it is by the influence of the Risabha cult the sense of Religion was originated in the Vedic world. I, therefore, daresay that the underlying principle as to “where there is no Ahimsa there is no Dharma at all” is being followed from the primitive age of the world when Risabha propounded it. In accordance with this universal truth no religion western or eastern may it be the Islamism, can maintain and sustain Himsa inside the scope of Religion. So I declare that the Ahimsa preached by the Jinas has been accepted universally from the primitive age till this date beyond doubt. And I am proud enough to mention that the Jains of to-day even though very small in number, are very prominent and genuine followers of Ahimsa. The world must remain grateful to the Jains as they have maintained this great principle of Ahimsa in practising at the best and in the genuine way. In this respect all the religions of the extant world owe their all allegiance to the Jinas and they preach and follow Ahimsa in one or other form under different names such as humanity, universal brotherhood, compassion and the like.

Even outside the scope of religion this principle is very much healthy and useful in solving the political, economic, social, mental, moral problems. Even the fastprevailing ‘Pancha Sila’ is based on the principle of Ahimsa. No nation of to-day can uphold Himsa or injury. Jen or friendship is the prevalent sentiment behind Ahimsa after with the world is now hunting with hankering desire. So I need not go into the detail of it.

To meet the scholars questioning against the antiquity and historicity of the Dharma of the Jinas, I may say as follows in short :—

Jain Antiquity :—

Owing to various reasons such as the destruction caused by the various waves of invaders that came time to time ; the native political and religio-social revolutions ; the Muslim rulers who built palaces and masjids out of the Jaina temples and the puranic animosity which caused fire to the Jaina Mss. things of wood and earth naturally vanished away as time elapsed ; and lastly much of the material has been captured and converted, it is very difficult to search for genuine proofs to show exact antiquity to the religion of the Jinas. Though not in abundance there are some proofs which go to prove their antiquity, for example among the known stone idols the oldest two belong to Jain religion, viz. Neg No. 963—Arch No. 8038 and Neg No. 962—Arch No. 8038 at Patna Museum and the same can be said with the lock edicts and Mss. The Vedic literature agrees that the Vratya or sramana culture was in existence at that time. The holy places of the Jains are richly found all over

India. "An eminent archaeologist says that if we draw a circle with a radius of ten miles having any spot in India as a centre, we are sure to find some Jain remains within that circle." Vide Kannade Monthly Vivekabhydaya, 1940, p. 96. Almost all the provinces of the Northern, Western and Eastern India were inhabited by the Jainas; so the Sutra and Smriti writers warned the Brahmanas against their communication into those provinces. The Brahmanas who sought the purohitaship of the Vratyas of Magadha are blamed at Katya-yana Sutra, 8. 6. 28. and Lahyayana Sutra, 25. 4. 22 (also see Deval smriti); Mahabharath, Karnaparvan, (ch. 45) Even Rigveda expressly states that—

Prajaham tistro atyāya mīyurndhayā—
—Earkomāthito vivisre,
Vraidhām tasthan bhuyaneṣvantaḥ padamāno—
—harati āviveśati.

These lines are interpreted in the Aitareya Aranyaka (Aranyaka 2, ch. 1). That the three people lost their belief in the Vedicism, viz. the people of Vanga, Magadha and Carapada or the Vajjigana of Licchini. The Atharvaveda. 5.22. 5-14, also to be taken into consideration.

Further by the running survey of the Rigveda also it can be seen that Sindh and Panjab were inhabited by the strong people, highly cultured and staunchly following their own cult of worship and religion, prior to their advent in the Indus Valley. The Aryanas had to fight out their way with great difficulties at rivarly from the native people. The tussle between them continued for a long time. And this prolonged tussle sheds some light on the original culture of the land. Indra, the leader of the Aryans, who killed the native chiefs of the land of the rivers, distributed the land among his allies, Marutas etc., Indra's chief enemies were the Dasyus and Simus.

He also killed 30,000 Dasas (Rg. IV—30. 21) and captivated 1000 Dasyus and Sayunas (Rg. II. 13. 9) The terms like Simyu and Sayuna correspond sanskrit term "sramana". The Prithvi Sukta of Atharva Veda (12. 1. 37) specifically states that the land of the rivers was inhabited formerly by Dasyus who were the enemies of the Aryans. Further we find at Reg. X. 22; X. 23; VI—25. 2; VI. 60. 6; I—100. 18; VI—45—24; X—62—10, etc. The tussle amongst them owed more the cultural causes than the political ones. Just like the terms "Simyu and Sayuna", Dasyu also does not mean the slave or uncultured in any sense. According to Zend Avesta (Ganga, January 1932, P. 189—190) Dasyu denotes honourific sense and is derived from "Das" to shine. And so "Dakkhyma or Dakkhy-nama Suro" mans the sun amongst the luminancies. And this is for this reason the titles like Divodasa, Sudasa. Trasdasyu etc. came to be associated to the names of rulers of the Arya' land. Just like "Pakhanda" the word Dasyu came to be used in the reverse sense afterwards. The native people like Dasyus etc. were famous as Akarmana (Rg. X 22. 8) as they did not follow the Vedic ritualism; Adevas and Ayajvan as they did not worship the vedic gods; and the "Sisina devah" (Rg. X. 99.3) as they worshipped the symbols and cognizances of their Gods. Also they were named Akarmans, Amantras, Avratas, Anyavratas, etc. The meaning of the Dasyus can also be derived according to Bhaskarcharya (his Nirukta, later part, 1—23) from Das to destroy and thus one who destroys the Vedic rites. It is also the name of a country and of a clan. Dasyus were not sans culture, sans science and Arts. Sec. Rg. IV. 30—20; V. 30. 9; II 12—11; Satapatha Brahmana 1. 6. 4. 21; 4. 3. 17; Aitareya Bram 4. 22. They

were men of religion and righteousness even at Wars (Maha Bharat, Santiparvan, ch. 281—1). And the enmity was ceased when the Aryans began to adopt Ahimsa in some other form and they began to honour the Vratyas-or Sages—more than their deities. (See the whole of the 15th book of the Atharva Veda). The tenets of this sort can be seen in some of the puranas (Vayupurana, 10th Chapter). Aryan Risis also began to follow the Risabha cult of penances. But even though appraised by the Upanisads the way of knowledge or the Dharma of the Jinas was neglected only because it is very very difficult to grasp by the common populace. So it lost its command over the majority, as regards practice but generally it is honoured by their literature. Even the revivalist puranic literature of the latter Hinduism displays some direct or indirect impressions of the Jain Dharma by the reading of the Maha Bharata and Ramayana we can note the following things :—

- (1) The principle of Ahimsa is generally accepted.
- (2) It became schismed into Bhagavata or Vaisnava and Saiva sects.
- (3) The cow-killing became rejected.
- (4) They adopted the religious processions like Ratha Yatra etc.
- (5) They began to criticise the cast-system etc, and Vajrasuci has been considered amongst the Upanisads.
- (6) They accepted Sukla—Dhyana and the Mundaka sect originated amongst their monks.
- (7) They put aside the Soma-yaga completely.
- (8) As the Hindu sacred literature adopted these things time to time it became the repository of contradicting principles.
- (9) Hindu literature is unanimous in keeping the record of Risabha and his religion.

Concluding the subject, we have come to the result that the sacred literature of the Jainas has preserved motives which find their parallels in Mohenjodaro and go back to an age which may be assigned to the pre-Aryan period. The nude image with a snake-hood from Mohenjodaro like that of Lord Suparsva and Parsva is very interesting. Dr. Prannatha Vidyalkar also could read “Jinesvera” on the pedestal of a nude image seal No. 449 of Mohenjodaro. The recent study has shown that the tradition about the existence of the 24 Jains is believed in, can claim a high degree of antiquity for it. The Archaeological evidences draw certain links between designs on Mohenjodaro seals and those motifs especially occurring in earliest example of Jaina art in connection with the Is. How far we can go back cannot be answered as yet. But the links with Mohenjodaro will not allow us to stop with Parsava and to think that the History of the Tirthakaras just begins with him only, in the eighth century B. C.

In the field of this historical study the thoughts of the following people are worth notice.

- (1) A. Chakravarty : Yesterday and Today pp. 59—71
- (2) Sir Sanmukham Chetty's lecture on “Mahavira-Jayanti” at Madras-Jain Sasana, p. 291.
- (3) Sir Kumarswami, Acting Chief Justice Madras High Court, Vide Jain Law Supplement by C. R. Jain (Jain Sasana, p. 296).
- (4) Mr. Justice Rangnekar, Bombay High Court, A. I. R. 1939, Bom. 377.

All these go to state that the Jain culture originated before the Aryans reached Indus Valley.

Jainism, Science and other Arts:—

As regards the general nature of all the religions, the Jaina Dharma is most outstanding and unique. It is true to the science and eternal principles. The precept of the six Dravyas is the fine and adequate study of the Universe and its constituents and the seven Tattvas are the fundamental principles governing the actions of Jiva and Pudgala that are only active elements among the six realities. It is obviously seen by the definition of the word Dharma as *vathūsaḥāyo Dhamma*. This most scientific definition is no good in the case of the other religions and especially in the case of the Vernasrama Dharma. Like all other final tenets the Dharma preached by the Jinas cannot change or modify according to the preceptors and pupils or the leaders and laities. Unlike all other religions it is based on the merit of Omniscience. And the omniscients do not and cannot differ. Moreover it is the only Dharma that is called the "Tirtha", a place to cross over (the ocean of tirthas), and the founder of the same as "Tirthakara". The propounders and the pastors of the other religions as better known as the Sastas, Avatars, Saviours, destroyers, etc., but they are not the Tirthakaras as in Jaina Dharma. So it goes without saying that Jinology is not only the Dharma but the Tirtha as well.

Prof. A. P. Jain, B. Sc. (Eng.) states that the treatment of the "Atom" in the Jain texts is more subtle and perfect than that of the modern scientists who have classified this subtle matter into electrons, protons, neutrons and positrons, etc. (say collectively the "electric particles") which are called by one name "Pudgala" in Jain Philosophy. Further he advanced so far to state : "All motions of all bodies and planets, etc. are also due to the actions and reactions of shooting Pudgalas from each body respectively. The theory of "relativity", is amply verified by the Theory of "Emission of Pudgala" eternally and incessantly. I think "Gravitation" must also be effective due to this phenomenon only. The so-called "force of gravity" is also nothing except the results of the relative impinging rays and waves upon any body from all sides. There is nothing like earth's attraction or gravity. Certain rays impinging on certain bodies may affect those bodies in various ways and manners in accordance to the relative structure of the rays and of the bodies upon which they impinge. Heat is also a pressure like that of the Electric pressure (E. M. F. and M. M. F.) and is felt due to continuous flow "electric particles". It is energy. It is matter like electricity. It has weight as other matter or material particles have weight in our worldly sense of scientific terminology. All energies are matter or made of matter. Only Soul is non-matter as explained in the Jain philosophy." (See Voice of Ahimsa, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 23-24).

Besides this part the Jain theories and cults are also based on scientific experiences. Speaking about-Anekanta Prof. A. Chakravarti remarks "Reality according to Jain Philosophy is complex structure. It always embodies in itself various characteristics, some of which may be opposed to one another. An exact parallel to it in modern thought is the biological concept of Metabolism. Modern biology traces living organism to the fundamental biological concept of metabolism which consists of two opposite processes, Anabolism and Catabolism, the process of breaking up and of building up, held together by a synthetic process of equilibrium which wholly comes under the designation of Metabolism". So reality can be said to be a confluence of opposites. This concept of reality which is the foundation of Jain Philosophy is technically known as Anekanta-vada.

The Jain theory of animism is based on the existence of individual souls documenting for life as eternal and equal to all the other elements of being. For the observance of their cult of Ahimsa in a perfect way they have studied well the science of Jiva or life. The position of vegetable life in the Jain system of living beings is not only remarkable from a scientific point of view but from a

practical one. We know that all animal and human life needs organic substances for its subsistence coming from destroyed animal or vegetable bodies. How can a man avoid Himsa in such a situation. The elementary character of vegetable beings is a sign of their lower vitality. The Himsa involved by destroying a living being is mathematically speaking a function of the rank in the system of life. Therefore we learn that a vegetarian diet is the most non-injuring way of feeding. The distribution of plant-being—souls in a vegetable body reported by several passages in the Jain canon enables us to diminish the danger of life-injuring even of vegetarian diet. In a ripe fruit, e. g. life is only on the kernal, the flesh being practically without souls. Therefore fruit-eating is free of Himsa. The Jaina religion is based on Pre-Aryan ideas and one of these is the animism. It is the source of respect to all living beings and we can learn that Ahimsa is not only the greatest conception but also one of the most ancient in the world. We men of the 20th century have good reason to listen to the old wisdom of the Jinas.

As in the field of natural sciences the Jain Literature is prominent in the field of medicine, engineering and craft, architecture and art. The Jain contribution to this side is in no way negligible. The exquisiteness and magnanimity in the art of painting and pictures especially on the walls and on the pages of palmleaf, manuscripts, is very remarkable. In this regard I am only to point out one thing that the valuation of one of the manuscript copy of the Jinasena's mahapurna with pictures was estimated above one lakh rupees. The ancient Jains have spent thousands or millions in the field of iconography.

And last of all its importance can be noticed in the field of Ontology. Almost all the religions of the world believe in the Theory of creation. But Jinology does not. According to the modern science the world has got its own system and its every action and reaction is governed by some eternal principles of its own. And no other external (other than its material energies) principles or power can intervene its ceaseless working. So the Creator can be no where. And when any agent is accepted to interfere one cannot believe in the Autonomy of the world at the same time. This cardinal principle of the world was known to the Jainas in the days of Yore. It is shame on the part of India that it could not make sufficient progress in the material sciences even though she had grace of such an ancient guru in Jaina Dharma. It is Jainism who caused India to be advanced in logic as it had to meet the Sruti-sprit. And also it saved India which was too much strained by the Advaita-vada to the extremity.

In short Jinology is perfect scientific and logical Dharma of India. It is independent and genuine with the characteristics of the pre-Aryan religions faith and of practical cult to worship. Its importance in the religious consideration cannot be doubted. It is based on Eternal principles and omniscience. So it is without beginning and without end as well. And thus it is absurd to think of its founder. There flourished and will continue to flourish the omniscient Teachers of its principles who are better known as the Tirthankaras or the Jinas time to time. And the History of the Tirthankaras is preserved in the Jain Maha-puranic literature which shed light almost on all other aspects of the Jaina Religion.

Sometimes men become familiar with the outward thing so closely that they start to feel that it is unnatural to get rid of those things, for example the clothes. The same thing took place in case of the Jinology, even though it is so natural, scientific and deals with the bare necessities of human life. Being omniscience for its base, it is predominant in Jnyana-Marga. Naturally its principles are very subtle and almost beyond the normal capacity of the common populace. The soul being abstract substance all the principles relating to it and its highest capacity are happened to be equally subtle and difficult to grasp. Now it has become the historical fact that the great Sankaracharya even failed to understand "Anekanta" the unique principle of the Jains. The same is the case every where. Of course all the principles are useful to elevate the merits of humanity. The logical principles

like "Syadvada" etc., the universal love by way of Ahimsa or Jain. The complete freedom to every soul for elevation by the principle of the Karman which discards the intervention of any sort of Creator, and the excellent and unique science of image-carving and the advanced art of building the temples to worship and to enshrine their Tirthakaras etc. etc. are the great gifts from the Jains to the outside world. Whatever principle they deal with, always shines at the zenith for ever.

Even though it involves so lofty principles the practice of the Jinology is quite easily possible for all sorts of peoples without considering their nationality, caste, colour and such other apparent discriminations. I do not want to take time in saying how it has been practicable and being actually practised by the persons that believe in the Jinology. But as it teaches universal brotherhood, generosity towards all love for the good, pity towards the miserable, mutual co-operation and, every encouragement on the path of elevation, it is, in fact worthy to be universally practised. Outside the said things, there cannot be humanity as such. So to enhance the degree of extant humanity this Dharma carries out the chief responsibility as the back-bone. Owing to its perfectness as regards the scientific merits, it does not believe in any kind of monopoly anywhere, inside or outside the church, as it marks all the miseries of the world and does away with the very sources of miseries. I daresay, its practice would be very much useful to the modern world that is earnestly seeking after universal peace and order. It tries to cultivate in the heart of every person the feeling like friendship up to all and malice towards none.

And in fact I may advance to state that almost the world is going to follow the fundamental principles of Jinology unknowingly. Because every attempt is being made to create co-operation, to do away with all the harmful weapons once for ever, to extend help to the needy, to maintain peace and order, to protect the poor so on and so forth. And even to do all these human things most of the people are accepting with hesitation the Panch Sila preached by Pt. J. Nehru, the beloved son of India and the popular leader of many peoples of the world. The Panch Silas are of course based on the fundamental principles of the Jinology. Now-a-days Ahimsa has become so amiable to the whole world that no body dares to refuse it. Some people ignorantly object that Ahimsa comes on the way of either victory or of defence and hate it at root. But this is not at all true position of Ahimsa. This principle never intends to allow any damn thing that marks the merits. On the other hand it is useful to protect the merits of both the parties as far as possible. As true victory and self-defence etc. are the merits, Ahimsa never permits any body to mar such or any other merits in whatever condition, under its polished name. If one does so he is coward and Ahimsa being the principle of the mighty, never pertains to such persons. But at the same time it does not allow to wage unrighteous wars upon the weak who remain harmless. Ahimsa ever means the meritorious deed without the harm to the merits of others ; may they be the strong or otherwise. Thus it involves no war and no loss of merit as well. Moreover it is the fundamental and healthy principle of both social and individual conduct which teaches the obvious lesson that whatever is unfavourable to oneself should not be carried out in case of others. If you do that no desire war to be waged upon you, you yourself do not wage war if you do not derive any harm, you do not do any harm, if you want peace do not try to do away with the peace of others, if you do not desire unfavourable things, do not be unfavourable to others. This is the nearest way to be happy and gay for the weak and the strong both.

And secondly it is based on the inward virtue of the soul itself. To help the other is the natural quality of the soul. It is the natural passion of the persons but they do desire to stock the various assets for livelihood. But the sinful soul some times hankers after the huge stockings so much that the poor persons are deprived of their livelihood. Finding no other way possible for them they gather together with common interest, wage war upon the stockholders. And thus the seed of malice and hatred planted in their hearts. And I think as the result of this malice now the world is going to be split up into two hostile groups and the peace of the world is brought in danger. They are

equally strong and staunch to plead their own cases. So the world has reached at such a juncture that if not the healthy steps are taken by the wise, the whole world is on the point of complete destruction. The wise persons, therefore, are at constant attempt to bring out the proper remedy. With due regard to all the sincere attempts I may declare that the simple principle of my religion is in a position to help the world if practised in good faith. The vow according to it is to put limitations to one's own prosperity wherever force is not required at all. According to the natural justice there is no ground to question the meritorious capacity of any individual. So use of force in the case is injustice by all means. My religion, therefore, calls upon these persons in the name of Ahimsa to help the needy, otherwise they would be causing Himsa by creating such conditions wherein others are entangled even to the loss of their lives. As famine is unfavourable to them, they should not cause it in the case of others. If advice is followed everywhere of course it is being followed sometimes the awful problem would be automatically solved without using any force against any one. And thereby almost all the difficulties would be undone easily and readily. To attach much importance to this merit the Jains practise it under the name of Parigraha-Parimana, the fifth vow.

Naturally the virtues like equality, compassion generosity universal friendship, etc. would be maintained and sustained all over and the peace and order would reign without any pause giving no room for malice and hatred. For the merits like these, the Jinology has remained invincible by nature and ever victorious in reality. I am very glad to mention here that the world is becoming better in contact with Ahimsa and in that way they are becoming the followers of the Jinology more and more day by day. So I request with all earnestness to cultivate the universal merits, all the persons to exert for the Dharma by way of helping the research, publications, seat of learnings, peace-missions war-settlings and the worship equitability, humanity, etc.



P I N D E S A N A

Ram Prakah Proddar

In Jaina monastic discipline great importance is attached to Piṇḍesaṇā, i.e., begging for food. Among other things Lord Mahāvīra inherited a code of conduct also from his predecessors and there is no doubt that the discipline of begging for food formed an essential part of a monk's conduct in pre-Mahāvīra Jainism. A monk has to be free from all attachments for food—he takes food only to survive and he survives only to practise asceticism. Whenever he feels that his survival is not conducive to the practice of asceticism he has to give up taking food with a determination to end the body which no longer served any purpose. While remaining completely detached to food, the monk has also to exercise great discretion in accepting it. We find that the discretions have gradually gained dimension.

The general principle is that a monk should beg such food as has been prepared by the householders for themselves and in the action of begging or taking food he should not commit, cause or support injury to living beings. He has to be abstemious in the matters of food.

In his ascetic life Lord Mahāvīra was completely detached to food. Though in good health, he did not take his food and generally lived on rough food; for days together he did not take any food or drink at all. It did not make any difference to him if he got moist or dry food or he did not get food at all.

The Lord exercised great discretion in taking food. While still a householder he had given up the use of cold water. In his ascetic life he did not take the food which had expressly been prepared for him¹. He begged such food as was prepared by the householders for themselves. He took care that the food was free from living beings². He ate food restraining his impulses regarding its quality³. He took care that his begging for food did not involve in any way injury to living beings. Whenever there were Brāhmaṇa or śramana, a beggar or a guest or a candala or even a cat or a dog already waiting for food, he walked away lest his presence might result in their disappointment.

Āyāraṃga Bk1 lesson (8—2) contains some warnings for the monk regarding the acceptance of alms. A householder may approach him and request to partake of food prepared by injuring living beings expressly for the monk or bought, borrowed or taken away by force for him. The monk should refuse such offers. He should also refuse offers of such food as is given without due authority⁴.

A Sūyagadam Verse cautions a monk to abstain from evil food prepared for some guest—for such food also becomes food prepared for him since he happened to be the guest⁵.

1. Ahakadam

2. Viyadam

3. AAyata-jogayac

4. Kiyam, pamiccam, accchejjam, anisattham abhihadam

5. Jam kimci u puikadam saddhimagantumihiyam sabassanatriyam bhunje duppakham ceva sevai

Bhagavatī-Sūtra (267—269), enumerates the blemishes of taking food. These are gluttony, aversion and relish ⁶. It prescribed only such food for the monk as has been made free from living beings by the householders and possesses nine-fold purity i. e., it does not involve the act, order or approval of killing, cooking and buying ⁷ on the part of the monk. Carrying food through a distance of more than four miles or retaining it for more than six hours are forbidden.

Lord Mahāvira's reference in Sūtra 556 to Revati's cooking two "Kavoyasarirā" for him and his instruction to his disciple, the mendicant Siha, to beg and bring for him "Pāriāsiya majjarakadā kukkuḍamaṁsae" prima facie baffle attempts at reconciling them with strict abstinence from animal food.

The Nāyā (5) presents the scruples of a monk regarding food in a very interesting dialogue between the Parivrājaka Suka and the Śramana Śthapatyaputra. The Parivrājaka asks: 'Are Sarisavayā to be eaten by monks or not?' The Sramana replies: there are two kinds of Sarisavayā the friend Sarisavayā (of equal age) and the corn Sarisavayā (the mustard seeds). The former are not to be eaten. The latter are of two kinds—those felled by weapon and those not felled by weapon. The latter are not to be eaten. The former are of two kinds—free from living beings ⁸ and not free from living beings. The latter are not to be taken. The former are of two kinds—begged and not begged. The latter are not to be eaten. The former are of two kinds, acceptable and not acceptable. The latter are not to be eaten. The former again are of two kinds—obtained and not obtained. Those only are to be eaten which are obtained. To sum up the whole dialogue, only such corns are to be eaten by a monk as are—(1) felled by weapon, (2) free from living beings, (3) begged, (4) acceptable and (5) obtained.

As we enter into the outside Anga Canons we find that the discipline of begging food tends to be more complicated. If one calls all the passages of the Uttarajjhayana dealing with begging accepting and consuming food, one finds that the attempts are often directed towards the delineation of minute details of the subject.

A monk must live on begging. He should not depend on his kins. He should not profess and live on divination, inter-pretation of dreams, guiding people about construction of buildings or explaining for them the omens and the marks on the body. He should beg food and drink only for the following purposes: (1) to prevent an illness, (2) to serve his teacher, (3) to be able to move about, (4) to be able to practise self-control, (5) to save his life and (6) to be able to meditate on the law. He should not take delicious dishes for these may excite the passions (5). He may omit to beg food for any of the following reasons: (1) in case of illness, (2) in case of disaster, (3) to overcome his flesh, (4) out of compassion for living beings, (5) in the interest of penance and (6) to end his body which was no longer useful for ascetism.

A monk should set out on his begging tour in time. He should approach the householder preferably at a time when the inmates have presumably finished their meals. On approaching him he should keep at a reasonable distance and feel neither vanity nor humiliation. He should not overstep anybody already waiting for the householder's gift of food. He is forbidden to sit or stand in a row of many dining people. He should ask for pure food free from any living beings. He should not yield to disappointment in case of refusal. When he gets sumptuous food he should keep up his detachment and avoid such comments as 'this food is delicious and well-cooked etc.' On getting his food he should consume it in a place free from living beings and seeds, covered above and sheltered on all sides.

6. Ingala, dhuma, sanjoyana

7. Navakotiparisuddham

8. Phasuya

Such food has to be avoided as has been prepared keeping the monk in view or as has been bought for him or as he might get regularly (as by right and custom) ⁹. He should avoid in his search for food the faults occasioned either by the giver¹⁰ or by the receiver¹¹. He should also avoid the faults inherent in receiving ¹² and in the use of the food received ¹³.

The Mūlacāra enumerates 16 faults of the giver, 16 of the receiver in obtaining food, and 10 in the act of receiving. It does not mention the fault in using food by name but substitutes instead other four faults which may be regarded as elaborations of the same.

The 16 faults of the giver are :

1. performing the mean acts of injuring the six categories of living beings purposely for the monk (ādhākammuddesiya),
2. increasing the quantity of food to be cooked on seeing the monk (ajjhovajjha),
3. mixing particles of impure food with the pure one (pūdi),
4. serving the monks along with the heretics (missa),
5. reserving food for the monk (thavida),
6. offering the remains of a sacrifice (bali),
7. allowing the interval between decision to offer and actual offering (pāhuḍā),
8. shifting a curtain or cleaning a pot for offering food (pādukkāra),
9. buying food for the monk (kīda),
10. borrowing food articles for the monk (pāmicca),
11. exchanging one kind of food with another for the monk (pariyaṭṭa),
12. bringing food from a distance (abhihaḍa),
13. breaking a seal for offering food (ubbhiṇṇa),
14. scaling a ladder to bring food to offer (mālāroba),
15. offering with fear (acchijja), and
16. giving without partner's permission (anisaṭṭha)

It is necessary to point out the few cases of disagreement between this list and the one provided in the Uttarajjhayaṇa Dīpikā in course of plaining the giver's fault of the sūtra.

The Dīpikā separates the mean acts of injuring the living beings (ādhākamma or adhā karma) from preparing food with the monk in view and so does the commentary of Mūlacāra. But in this case the list exceeds the stated number of sixteen. There is nothing in the text to warrant that the said act of injuring the living beings has to be kept out of the list. Moreover injuring living beings becomes a fault only when it is committed expressly for the monk, otherwise it is not tenable since all acts of cooking food inevitably involve injury to living beings.

9. Uddesiyam, kiyagadam, niyagam

10. Uggama

11. Uppayana

12. Esana

13. Paribhoya

In place of *Miassa* of this list there is *Unmiśra* in the *Dīpikā* and the latter is explained as 'food, of which a part only had been especially prepared for the monk in question'.

For *Pāhuḍa* of this list the *Dīpikā* has *Prabhṛtaka* which is the Sanskrit form of the same word. But the *Dīpikā* explains it as 'food prepared for some festivity.' The two explanations may be some how reconciled if the food is prepared for some festivity, it is possible that the owner decides to offer at one time and actually offers at another. Here it may be noted that the literal meaning of *Pāhuḍa* is a present.

'*Pādukkāra*' of this list is explained as 'lighting a lamp' in the *Dīpikā*

The receiver's faults also are 16. These are occasioned by the monk's using some means to make a layman give him food. They are :

1. playing with the layman's children (*dhādī*),
2. playing the messenger (*dūda*),
3. astrology (*nimitta*),
4. making birth and family known to the laymen (*ājīva*),
5. playing a miserable beggar (*vaṇṇivaga*),
6. playing the doctor (*tegiṃccha*),
7. using threats (*kohī*),
8. swaggering to impress (*māṇī*),
9. using tricks (*māyī*),
10. showing greed for food (*lohī*),
11. flattering the alms-giver before receiving alms (*puvvasam̐thudi*)
12. flattering the alms-giver after receiving alms (*pacchāsam̐thudi*)
13. using one's learning to obtain food (*vijjā*),
14. teaching the layman some magic formula or giving him advice (*manta*),
15. offering toilet or medicinal powder to the layman (*cuṇṇa*), and
16. bewitching and subjugating (*mūlakamma*),

This list generally agrees with the receiver's faults enumerated in the *Uttarajjhayaṇa Dīpikā* except that in the latter the two types of flattery, before and after receiving alms, are treated under one head and one *yogapinda* has been introduced. It has been explained as obtaining food by reaching spells. So the total number in the *Dīpikā* too remains sixteen.

The following 10 are the faults in the act of receiving :

1. doubt in purity of food (*saṃkida*),
2. food being served with a laddle already besmeared with ghee or oil (*makkhida*),
3. food being placed on animate being (*nikkhida*),
4. animate food being covered with inanimate matter or vice versa (*pihida*),
5. snatching pots in haste before giving (*saṃvavaharaṇa*),

6. receiving food from an unworthy giver (dāyaga),
7. receiving pure and impure food mixed together (ummissa),
8. food being half cooked (apariṇada),
9. food being besmeared with undesirable elements such as cold water etc. (litta), and
10. food being spilt or scattered (chotida),

This list also, almost agrees with the one given in Uttarajjhayaṇa Dipikā in course of explaining the faults of receiving.

The Mūlācāra adds the following four faults :

1. Mixing food materials to relish the same (saṁjoyaṇa),
2. gluttony (adimatta),
3. greed (amgara), and
4. aversion (dhūma)

These four have been classed under the fault of using food in the Uttarajjhayana Dipikā

Besides these the Mūlācāra mentions one fault of transgressing the reasons for taking or not taking food. The 'reasons' are adapted verbatim from the Uttarajjhayana. By way of perovation the Mūlācāra defines the pure food and names the dirt that pollute and render it unacceptable for the monks.

One is struck with the systematic treatment of the subject in the Mūlācāra. The author has marshalled, explained and elaborated all the scattered data about a monk's begging food. He has taken pains to classify the faults and then to enumerate the various possible divisions and subdivisions. At places, one feels, the predilection for augmenting the subdivisions is too strong to abide by strictly logical considerations ; in some cases the subdivisions are not distinct and mutually exclusive.

In Dassaveyāliya Ch 5 we come across a wild and rampant growth of rules about begging food. Here almost all the faults regarding food, related hitherto, have been included. Besides, a considerable number of others have been added. Details regarding setting out on begging tour, food materials which ought not to be accepted, conditions under which pure food too should not be accepted have been related with punctilious minuteness.

In his begging tour a monk should avoid going out in rain or fog, and walking on a temporary bridge or cause way. He should also avoid stepping on a plank or a slab. He should not tread upon burning charcoal, heap of ashes, chaff or cowdung with dusty feet. He should in no case interfere with the privacies of the layman nor chat or rest with them. He is forbidden to make any discrimination between the rich and the poor or the high and the low. Nevertheless, he may avoid householders of bad repute and notorious places such as a brothel. It may be observed that some of these are rules of common courtesy and apply not only to a mendicant on begging tour but also to any gentleman visitor.

A monk must not accept bulbous and other roots and green fruits and vegetables. He should also avoid barley powder, jujube powder and sesamum cakes. He should not accept treacle etc. placed for sale in the market and such other articles as have been lying for long time and are soiled

with dust. He should repudiate the offer of flesh with many bones and winkless (aḡimisa—fish) with many thorns. Such drinks too as contain living water or as have become stale and fermented should be avoided. The list of food materials to be avoided is a big one in the text and most of the names have by now grown obsolete and they present difficulty in interpretation. 'Bahuaṭṭhiyaṃ poggalaṃ' and 'animisaṃ vā bahukaṇṭayaṃ' of the text presents not so much difficulty in interpretation as in its reconciliation with the rule of strict abstinence from animal food. This verse occurs in *Āyāracūlā* also with the difference that in place of 'poggalaṃ' there is 'Naṃsam' and in place of 'animisaṃ' there is 'macchaṃ.' Moreover, here the monk is explicitly advised that in case he inadvertently accepts such food, he should consume the eatable portion and deposit the remnants in a secluded place.

Food becomes unacceptable to a monk when it is given by a woman in advanced stage of pregnancy or when a woman puts down a sucking baby or when she or any other giver tramples upon living beings and hastens to offer food to the monk. Blemishes of prior and posterior activities injurious to life¹⁴ render food unacceptable. If one puts the food on the hearth or stirs the food already on the hearth or kindles, pokes or puts out the fire before giving food, the same becomes unacceptable. The food expressly prepared for a pregnant woman is unacceptable, for its acceptance may frustrate her longing for a particular food. The remnant when she has taken her fill may be accepted. In general any activity injuring or causing pain to living being performed in course of giving food or just before or after it renders the food unacceptable. For example, a monk appears before a man while he is dining. He gets up washes his hands with cold water and then serves the monk—this food is unacceptable on account of prior activity. Similarly a man is about to dine and the monk appears. He offers food, washes his hands with cold water and then sets to eating—the offer is unacceptable on account of posterior activity. In this circumstance the best way is to offer from the dish served before the person in question and then to resume or set to eating as the case may be.

Āyāracūlā contains a very exhaustive treatise on a monk's begging tour. Here the discourse proceeds in a meandering way. All rules are discussed threadbare and their scope and application are well-defined. Supplementaries are added to it and at places they are resumed after some interval.

In course of dealing with the food prepared expressly for some monk, guest, beggar, or any such individual, it has been added by way of elucidation that such food should not be taken even when the intended person has taken his fill out of it. But as an exception to the rule it has been added that the same might be taken if some other individual intervened, who took the food out for himself, took his fill out of it and offered the rest to the monk. Similarly if it is known that in a certain house they give away food daily or on some festive day, a monk should not beg such food, but the same becomes acceptable when somebody intervenes as in the former case.

A monk should not go to a convivial gathering¹⁵ for taking his meal for various reasons. There he may indulge in over eating or he may fall in bad company. Since these gatherings are also frequented by the vulgar people and are generally overcrowded, it is impossible for the monk to maintain his self respect in such places.

In *Dasaveyāliya*, Ch 5-2, certain remarks are made by way of peroration which are worthy of consideration. It has been said that a monk should not conceal the food begged by him from his teacher and fellow monks. If he does so for fear of his meal being partaken by others he commits a very heinous crime. If a monk consumes the delicious items of food begged by him, in secret and puts up only the rough ones to show that he has been undergoing rigorous self-control in taking food, he is of deceitful conduct and will not be saved. Similarly drinking secretly and

14. puvvakamma, pacchakamma

15. Samkhadi of Samaja of Asokan Inscription R. E. I.

abstaining from it in public to save one's reputation is very sinful. Such monks are sure to be exposed, moreover, they are always suspicious and restless in their mind. Āyāracūḷā also deals with such hypocritical and deceitful practices¹⁶ of a monk and condemns them.

Some of the rules in the Āyāracūḷā seem to be concessional, others are in the nature of amendment to some former rules. In the Dasaveyaliya most of the rules are prohibitory and in the nature of condemnation of some evil practice. They might be intended to check and restrain laxities growing in the order. On the whole they suggest an ebbing zeal in the matter of self-control on the part of the monks and betray stagnation and decay.

Tenacious adherence to the formalities of begging food continue up to date and here in the laymen are more conservative. Those familiar with these formalities presume to coach the unfamiliar ones before a monk's expected begging tour. One wonders if it is worthwhile to stand upon all these rigorous punctilios. The later ramifications of rules bear a contrast to the Lord's simple and straight forward approach. He accepted dry rough and stale food and at times delicious and well-dressed too ; but in all cases he kept up his detachment and reduced the emphasis on food to the minimum. Can all the above-mentioned 'do's' and 'don'ts' help one reduce the emphasis to the minimum ? The ramifications tend to overgrow and obscure the essence. So it is wise to prune them from time to time.

16- Maitthan:

BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Jinaratana Maha Nayaka Thera

“Go forth, O bhikkhus for the good of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, benefit and happiness of Gods and men, preach, O bhikkhus, the Dhamma, proclaim the holy life, altogether perfect and pure”, said the Buddha to His disciples.

Millions of men and women have followed the above advice of the Master and have worked untiringly for the happiness of humanity, without distinction of caste, creed and race

Buddhism is fundamentally one, its doctrines basically the same, though sometimes differently interpreted and that the variations are connected with either matters of ritual and ceremonial or the emphasis laid on some aspect of the Doctrine rather than on others. No religion which like Buddhism, has had such a vast expanse within space and time, could have escaped the grafting upon it of many features which did not originally belong to it.

It is a matter of grief to humanity that though the present scientific advancement has conferred immense benefits on man and has bridged the gulf of distance from one part of the world to another, it should also be directed to the manufacture of weapons to wipe out humanity, the living beings of the world.

It has to be admitted that the innate of a human being as also of all living beings is to put itself in the centre of the universe, in one word, self-centredness, which is both a necessity and at the same time a sin that entails a nemesis, every being, therefore, finds itself in quandary. Self-centredness is an intellectual error. A complete renunciation of self-centredness is the motto of Buddhism, which teaches that craving is the cause of a human being's suffering (Dukkha), from craving (Tanha) arises grasping (Upadana).

In Upadana-Sutta (Samyutta, ii. 84) is stated “tanhapaccaya upadham”. Upadanapaccaya bhavapaccaya jati, jatipaccaya jaramaranam sokapar idevadukkhad omanassupayasa sambhavanti” (from desires arises grasping; from grasping arises desire for rebirth; from birth appears old age, sorrow, remorse, dissappointments and all other kinds of suffering).

Ahiṃsa (non-enmity) is another motto of Buddhism. It has been developed in Mahayana into maitri (love, friendly feeling) and compassion (Karunā) towards all beings, Buddha in his very first Discourse, “Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta” teaches that there are four Noble Truths (Ariyasacca); Suffering, origin of suffering, end of suffering and the Eight Fold Path leading to the end of suffering. Mundane existence is suffering, and if that be so, the only way is to ascertain the cause of suffering. The cause of suffering is nothing but attachment to the world, and a desire to live a life of happiness. But in man's life that is not possible as a man is subject to disease, old age and ultimately death, and so what is needed is the extinction of desire and that is described in Buddhism as Nirvana, blowing out of attachment, hatred and delusion (raga, dvesa, moha), blowing out the veil (maya) which covers the Truth or Reality. Hence in one word, Buddha and Buddhism taught selflessness as against

self-centredness, the potent cause for jealousy, unrest and ultimately warfare. It has already been mentioned that collective egoism or self-centredness is the root-cause of war. Nationalism is also a collective egoism, every nationalist is self-centred, and they go to war just to assert the superiority of their nation.

In order to lay more emphasis on selflessness or self effacement, Buddhism rejected the conception of a pure, immutable soul (atman), which is believed by the Hindus to be the carrier of the effects of deeds (Karma) from one existence to another. There are beliefs in many other religions that these soul is eternal; it ultimately reaches the Kingdom of God and merges with the God almighty or according to the Vedantins, in the universal self (paramatman-Brahman-Tattvam asi). Such conception of soul is also the basis of I-ness (aham-karam), which is the main root of our sorrow. Buddhism teaches the total uprooting of the notion of I-ness and upholds the doctrine of Anatam just a conglomeration of some elements which again are ever dynamic, monetary and never static even for a moment. The identical bone, flesh and blood of a baby are not to be found identically the same when it is grown up into a young man or an old man. Hence a man is just a flux, has a mere fleeting existing. In this way Buddhism teaches self-effacement or selflessness or self-extinction and that is our Nirvana.

The revival of Buddhism in India is in many ways one of the most remarkable phenomenon of this country. As the years pass the Dharma preached by the Lord Buddha occupies a place of increasing importance in the religion, cultural and intellectual life of the nations. More and more people are becoming convinced that the revival of Buddhist and the revival of Buddhism alone, can lift India to the heights of prosperity and preach which were hers during the reign of the illustrious Asoka. This is practically true after the whole of India celebrated the 2517th Anniversary of the Mahaparinirvana of the Enlightened one. The celebration aroused worldwide interest and India paid her homage to the memory of India's greatest son most fittingly. Repairs have been carried out, wells sunk, roads built and electricity installed in all the chief Buddhist holy places of North-Eastern India. Souvenirs and other publications on the life and teachings of the Buddha and the history of Buddhism have been brought out, films of Buddhist interest produced and special commemorative stamps issued. Processions, mass meetings, art Exhibitions and theatrical performance have been organised in cities, towns and villages. In these, and a hundred other ways, expression, has been given to the conviction that through Buddhism lies the salvation of India and the world.

Not the least important of the many momentous events of the 2517th Anniversary year has been the conversion of the great Scheduled Caste Leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to Buddhism together with lakhs of his followers. It is estimated that at the mass conversion ceremony held at Nagpur on October 14th, 1955 half a million formal "untouchables" took the Three Refuges and Five Precepts along with their great leader and his wife. In a bold speech Dr. Ambedkar declared that he wanted to make the whole of India Buddhist. Unfortunately, the hand of death, which spares no man, was ready to strike him down even as he uttered those memorable words. The lionhearted leader is now no more. But the great work to which he gave so powerful an impetus has not slackened but rather progressed with increased momentum since his death. Every week brings fresh reports of mass conversions to Buddhism. The revival of the Dharma in the land of its origin, far from being the cherished dream of a few idealists, has become the living hope of millions.

The Maha Bodhi Society of India, an association open without distinction of religion, sex or nationality to all who sympathise with and desire to assist in the furtherance of its aims and objects is today one of the oldest and certainly the most widely known international Buddhist organisation in the world.

The Society derives its name from the celebrated temples of Maha Bodhi at Buddha Gaya, which stands on the very spot where, 25 centuries ago, the Lord Buddha attained Supreme Enlightenment. After flourishing as a centre of Buddhist religion and culture for nearly two thousand years the great temple fell into disrepair in the wake of the Muslim invasion of India. In such a ruined and neglected condition it remained till the Anagarika Dharmapala, a young Sinhalese of aristocratic family who had resolved to dedicate his life to the revival of Buddhism, visited the place in 1891. With anguish in his heart the devoted young disciple of the Master saw the appalling condition into which ignorance and indifference had allowed the sacred shrine to fall. He vowed never to rest until it had been restored to the Buddhists. Vested interests, however stood in his way and these sought by all means, fair and foul, to prevent the accomplishment of his noble resolve. To fight these vested interests, to rescue the temple from sacrilegious hands, and to spread the teachings of the Lord Buddha throughout the length and breadth of land the Maha Bodhi Society was founded on May 31st 1891.

Seventy-nine years have passed since that historic day, for the Society, these years have been years of great difficulties, great struggles and great achievements. Success was slow to come ; but gradually as the scope of its activities widened, its work progressed with increasing momentum and in the end become, as Dr. Kailash Nath Katju has declared, an integral part of that great movement of national renaissance which developed during the last fifty years. The Maha Bodhi Society has made an invaluable contribution to this movement by reminding the people of India of the long forgotten treasures of Buddhist thought and culture. At this juncture, when the aims and objects, which for more than seventy-nine years the Maha Bodhi Society set before itself are showing signs of fulfilment, we need the full support and active co-operation of Buddhists and friends of Buddhism not only in India but also from all over the world. May you and others help us to the complete fulfilment of our noble objectives.

A Critique of the Contents of the First Sermon of Buddha

Dipak Kumar Barua

Traditionally the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta is considered to be the very First Sermon ever delivered by Gotama Buddha to his first five converts, namely, Kondaṇṇa, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahanama and Assaji on the full moon day of Āsāḍha. This first public statement of Buddha as a teacher has been collected in the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka¹ and in the Sacca Saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka² of the Theravāda tradition. Its Buddhist Sanskrit versions which may be traced in the Lalitavistara³ and the Mahāvastu⁴ agree in essentials. The discourse is so entitled because by means of it Buddha sets the wheel of Dhamma or Righteousness in motion⁵.

The Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta may be divided into two portions. The first portion begins with the suggestion of avoiding the two extremes, namely, devotion to the pleasures of sense which is a low practice of the villagers, and devotion to self-mortification that is painful and unprofitable. By the first extreme Buddha alludes to the life led by rich brāhmanas and khattiyas who indulge in luxuries and seek a peaceful state through sacrifices, while by the second one he refers to the non-Brahmanical aśetics who undergo numerous hardships to control their body and mind. Therefore, rejecting the two extreme modes of life, Buddha suggests that an individual who has gone forth as a wanderer should have minimum food, clothing and shelter to maintain physical strength and follow the Middle path which assures vision, knowledge and Nibbāna and which is otherwise called the Noble Eightfold path. The second portion of the discourse deals with the exposition of the Four Noble Truths. The first truth is the dukkha or suffering : birth, decay, disease, death, sorrow, grief, woe, lamentation, despair, association with unpleasant objects, separation from pleasant ones and not getting the desired things are all full of suffering. In short, the five khandhas or aggregates, viz., rūpa or matter, vedanā or feeling, saññā or perception, saṅkhāra or tendencies, and viññāṇa or consciousness, which are objects of grasping are painful. The second truth is the dukkhasamudaya or the origin of suffering : it is the tanhā or craving which leads back to birth, along with the lure and the lust which finds pleasure now here, now there, viz., the craving for sexual pleasures, the craving to be born again and the craving for existence to end. The third truth is the dukkhanirodha for the cessation of suffering : indeed it is the utter cessation of longing for that craving. The fourth truth is the dukkhanirodhagāminīpaṭipadā or the path that leads to the ceasing of suffering : it is the Noble Eightfold path consisting of right view, right resolve, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. At the end of the discourse Buddha declares that when his knowledge and insight of these Four Noble Truths, under their three aspects and twelve modes, in their essential nature become purified, then only does he profess in this world among the gods, among the hosts of recluses and brāhmaṇas, that he has gained the incomparable supreme enlightenment and he becomes sure of the release of his heart⁶.

Having examined the above contents of the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta we find that this discourse, as we get it today, cannot be regarded as the very first utterance of Buddha as an incomparable guide of the human beings. It appears that the topic of the Fourfold Noble Truth is, in this Sutta, introduced rather irrelevantly and abruptly. Undoubtedly, the Fourfold Truth represents a definite procedure or scheme of thought, which is equally followed in other branches of knowledge, e. g., the Sāṅkhya System of Philosophy, Science of Medicine, and Science of Wealth. It is not difficult to see", says H. Kern, "that these four satyas are nothing else but the four cardinal articles of Indian Medical Science, applied to the spiritual healing of mankind, exactly as in the Yoga doctrine." So the promulgation of the Four Truths may not be considered to be a pioneer work of Lord Buddha whose contributions lie definitely on other matters. Again the inclusion of the discussion, in the Sutta, on the Four Noble Truths as a separate topic cannot be justified, except to show how the Middle Path forms just an item in the agenda of the Fourfold Truth. Actually the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta in its different versions is primarily concerned with the formulation of the Middle Path which should be followed by an individual who desires to attain the summum bonum of life. The Middle Path should thus consistently constitute the primary subject-matter of the First Sermon of Buddha. Hence the present discourse without least reference to the Fourfold Noble Truth may appear to be quite complete. Again the Middle Path would have been rather tenfold than eightfold as mentioned in the above, in order to contain an independent and complete process of thought. The Dīgha Nikāya itself refers to the Tenfold Path instead the Eightfold Path, viz., Sammādiṭṭhi or Right View, Sammāsaṅkappa or Right Resolution, Sammāvācā or Right Speech, Sammākammanta or Right Action, Sammājīva or Right Livelihood, Sammāvāyāma or Right Exertion, Sammāsati or Right Mindfulness, Sammāsamādhi or Right Concentration, Sammāñāṇa or Right knowledge and Sammāvimutti or Right Emancipation⁷. We may further point out that in other Buddhist canonical texts the two extremes (dve antā) are mentioned as not the only pair of extremes which are to be avoided by the followers of Buddha who, instead, speaks of three other pairs of extremes which are to be met by the majjima or madhya or golden mean discussed alongwith the doctrine of Patīcasamuppāda, while the Eightfold or Tenfold Noble Path supplies the golden mean to bridge up the gulf between the pair of extremes discussed in the present Sutta. We also wonder how Buddha speaks, rather in a popular manner, only of the Middle Path and the Fourfold Noble Truth in this present First Sermon, the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, when he in other context, says: "I have attained his Dhamma which is profound, difficult to understand and comprehend, peaceful, exalted beyond the reach of logic, subtle, conceivable only by the wise. These worldlings, however, take delight in the resting places of the mind; they are given up to them and rejoice in them. This doctrine, the conditioned origination, is also difficult to be understood by the worldlings who take delight in the resting places of the mind, who are given up to them and rejoice in them. This doctrine, the cessation of the formative tendencies, relinquishment of all the bases of attachment, wearing out of craving, absence of passion, cessation of all sufferings, and Nibbāna, is also difficult to understand. And, moreover, were I to preach the Dhamma and if others would not understand it, it would be weariness and trouble for me". As Buddha was pondering thus, his mind tended towards absence of eagerness and not for preaching the Doctrine. The Brahmā Sahampati entreated him thus: "May the Exalted One preach the Doctrine, may the Happy One preach the Doctrine. There is a class of beings with little dust in their eyes who, not hearing the Doctrine, are degenerating, but if they are learners of the Doctrine they will grow". Then Buddha, having known the entreaty of this god and out of compassion for beings, surveyed the world with the eye of an Awakened one and decided to preach his Doctrine. And Brahmā Sahampati, thinking: "The Exalted one has agreed to my entreaty to preach the Doctrine", bowed low to him and keeping his right side toward him as a mark of respect, vanished then and

there. From such hesitation on the part of Buddha and consequent Brahmā's repeated request to preach the Doctrine it becomes evident that while speaking of his own realisation the Blessed one must have referred to his Doctrinal topics, among which should be found the mention of the Idappaccayatā Paticcasamuppādo or the Doctrine of the Dependent Origination and Nirodho Nibbānam or complete annihilation of the possibilities of rebirth. But unfortunately, the present First Sermon of Buddha does not deal with these topics directly. So T. W. Rhys Davids has observed: "It would be difficult to estimate too highly the historical value of this Sutta"⁸. The same scholar, for convenience, has further shown the relative positions of the Saṃyutta Nikāya and the Khandhaka [of the Vinaya Pitaka, which include the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, in the fourth and sixth periods respectively in the "Chronological table of Buddhist literature from the Buddha's time to the time of Asoka"⁹. Evidently he thus assigns a late date of compilation to this Sutta, though it is generally accepted as the earliest sermon of Lord Buddha. Even the very title 'Dhammacakka' of the Sutta presents opportunity for critical examination. About it M. Senart refers to a fact which may well indicate how the earlier word 'Dhammatakkā' or 'Dharmatarka' is changed into 'Dhammacakka' or 'Dharmacakra' to make the idea fit in with the poetical imagery representing Buddhism as a well-equipped and spacious vehicle to carry men and women, individuals, householders, and recluses, towards the final emancipation. He also supposes that the First Sermon in which Buddha is to have fully described his position as a thinker and teacher should be known as the "Dhammatakkā" rather than 'Dhammacakka' and in which the Exalted one should first of all discuss the topics of Nibbāna and Paṭiccasamuppāda before telling his first five disciples about the subject-matter of the eightfold or tenfold path.

Turning to the external evidences also, we find that while recording Buddha's significant achievement at the Deer Park [of Isipatana or Sarnath] the Ariyapariyesana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya¹⁰ neither introduces the famous discourse on the Middle Path and the Fourfold Noble Truth nor explains the two extremes formally. This Sutta notes that Buddha expounds his tenets to the five bhikkhus as follows: "Monks, there are five kinds of sense-desire. Objects which are alluring, pleasant, charming, lovely, connected with desire and attractive and which are to be perceived by the eye, sounds which are alluring.....by the ear; smells which are alluring.....by the nose; tastes which are alluring.....by the tongue; touch which is alluring, pleasant, charming, lovely, connected with desire and attractive and which is to be perceived by the body. Whichever monks or brahmins who are enslaved, stupefied by, immersed in these five sense-desires, without seeing the danger in them and not aware of the escape from them, enjoy them, they should be regarded as having fallen into misery and calamity and having become victims of the whims of the Evil One. But some monks and brahmins are not enslaved, stupefied by, immersed in these five sense-desires; seeing the danger in them and aware of the escape from them, they enjoy them, and should be regarded as not having fallen into misery and calamity and not having become the victims of the whims of the Evil One"¹¹.

The above discourse of Buddha, as found in the Ariyapariyesana Sutta, does not evidently contain any discussion on either the Middle Path or the Fourfold Truth. It is even one-sided and incomplete, as it does not explain the doctrine of Dependent Origination, which is accepted by all Buddhists as a universal creed. Also in the Vinaya of the Mahāvagga Pitaka it is recorded that Venerable Assaji, one of the first five mendicant disciples of Buddha, when asked to point out the central theme in the Blessed One's doctrine, holds out nothing but the Paticcasamuppāda. The Ariyapariyesana Sutta definitely points out that the Ariyapariyesana or the noble quest on the part of the Bodhisuttva leads ultimately to the discovery of the Paticcasamuppāda and the blissful experience of Nibbāna. Similar other texts also refer more or less, to the same. Hence it seems that Buddha in the very first statement of his

capacity as a teacher should have introduced and dealt with the topics of the Patīccasamuppāda and Nibbāna, alongwith the idea of the way which leads to the ultimate destination and he is required not only to uphold his own doctrine, but also to contrast it with those of others. It should also be noted, in the Ariyapariyesana Sutta, that as the band of five recluses at first are not sure about Gotama's attainment of the perfect enlightenment, Buddha addresses them and says: "A Tathāgata does not live in abundance, is not distracted from the practice of austerity and does not revert to a life of ease. I shall instruct, I shall teach you the Doctrine and by practising as you are instructed you will before long realize by your own insight and abide in, after having acquired it in this life, that unexcelled consummation of the holy life for the sake of which noble youths rightly leave the household life for the homeless state". In this passage also we notice that before delivering the Sermon formally to the band of five recluses Buddha has already talked to them about the doctrine of the Majjhimā Patipada or Middle Path. So we find no reason for its remention in the First Sermon. Also it should be pointed, on the basis of the Ariyapariyesana Sutta, that Buddha does not preach his group of five disciples at a single occasion, as he himself admits: "And I was able to convince the band of five recluser. I used to exhort the two while the other three would go about for alms, and what food the three used to bring from their alms round, we, the group of six, lived on that, Monks, I used to exhort the three while the other two would go about for alms, and what food the two used to bring from their alms round, we, the group of six, lived on that. Then, monks, the band of five being exhorted and instructed by me thus, themselves being subject birth, sought for Nibbāna which is not characterized by birth and is incomparable safety from bondage. Then knowledge and insight arose in them: Our emancipation is assured, this is the final birth, there is no further becoming for us now". But the Tibetan record which is evidently of later date, preserves the statement about the instruction of the monks two and three at a time, and inserts the sermon before it. Hence doubt may arise as to the actual number of monks who attend the First Sermon. On this point E. J. Thomas has remarked: "The Vinaya tells us that he thereupon preached a discourse to the monks. The earlier account not only omits it, but says that Buddha instructed two of them while three went for alms, and then three while two went for alms, until they attained Nirvāṇa. In other words, the legend of the first sermon had not yet originated. It is, of course, possible to believe that in the story of the first sermon we have an old tradition independent of the Canon, but in the canonical account there is nothing to show that the compiler knew any thing of it. It is this canonical account which is adopted by the commentators, and the story of the sermon inserted in it. The commentators knew that Buddha must have preached a sermon, and in the Scriptures they found, just as they found his first enlightened utterance, the sermon which certainly contains the fundamental principles of Buddhism" 12.

The Patakapadesa also makes the following statement: "And whatever Thread, Song, Prose-Exposition, Verse, Exclamation, Saying, Birth-story, Marvellous-Idea, or Question-and-Answer, was uttered by the Blessed One between the night of his finding full enlightenment and the night of his attaining complete extinction is all the wheel (Blessing) of the True Idea set rolling (made to occur) (by him) (sabbam tam dhammacakkam pavattitam). Nor is there anything whatever of the teaching of the Enlightened Ones; the Blessed Ones, that is outside the Wheel (Blessing) of the True Idea. The whole of that Thread must be sought among the Noble Ideas" 13. Thus this passage evidently reveals that all which Buddha had taught or promulgated from his attainment of Buddhahood till his demise were all epitomized in the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, and nothing fell outside its scope. Vasumitra, the great Buddhist philosopher, also points out that such was precisely the view of the Sarvāstivāda School of Buddhism 14. But turning to the present First Sermon of Buddha we find that in

some contributions of this great Master in the field of human knowledge are still left unmentioned. Hence its authenticity may be questioned at the present stage of our knowledge.

In the *Milindapañha*, a text of the 1st Century A. C., also no explicit mention of the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* as the First Sermon of Buddha is made. Herein in one context it is said that *Vārāṇasiyaṃ Isipatane migadāye pathame dhammadesene*⁶ i. e., 'in the First Preaching at the Isipatana Deergrove of Vārāṇasi, and in other two occasions only the *Dhammacakkānuppravattakā*⁰ i. e., the followers of the Wheel of Law, and *Tathāgata anuttaraṃ Dhammacakkaṃ pavettitaṃ*¹⁷ i. e., by Tathāgata is set in motion the incomparable Wheel of Law. Thus it becomes obvious that even during the time of composition of the *Milindapañha* no clear statement could be made about the First Sermon of Buddha.

Besides, we do not find any reason for not including the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* the so called First Sermon of Buddha, by the early collectors of Buddha's utterances in the two important collections of Buddha's sayings, viz., the *Digha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*, particularly in the latter. B. M. Barua also holds that the discourse which is considered to be the most important one by the rehearsers of the *Majjhima Nikāya* is the '*Mulapariyāyā*' and not the *Dhammacakkapavattana*. Incidentally we may cite here a parallel incidence about the First Buddhist Council which was held at Rajagaha immediately after the great demise of Lord Buddha¹⁸. The question of the historicity and nature of this Council has also been the subject of discussions among the scholars¹⁹. H. Oldenberg believes the First Council to have been a pure fiction, mainly on the ground that the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* supplies the motive but not a word about the session of the Council. The irreverent remark of Subhadda is also found in the above mentioned *Sutta*, but there is not the slightest allusion to the holding of the Council. Franke also expresses the same opinion arguing that the 11th and 12th Chapters of the *Cullavagga* constitute the only independent source of the tradition and are themselves no better than concoctions based on the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. Jacobi has already answered Oldenberg reasonably by stating that it is not really necessary for the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* to go out of its way to describe the Council. Further, it has been suggested by Finot and Obermiller that the 11th and 12th Chapters of the *Cullavagga* originally formed portion of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. That these chapters of the *Cullavagga* formed a kind of appendix to that work itself and could not have originally belonged to it, is very probable. Also, the 11th Chapter of the *Cullavagga* begins abruptly unlike any other chapter of that text. It begins in the same manner as the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* and is closely allied to it in contents. Again, a work called *Samyuktavastu* (No. 1121 of Nanjio's Catalogue), the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School of Buddhism, contains the account of both Parinirvana and the Councils. Hence it is not improbable that this 11th Chapter of the *Cullavagga* and the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* formed originally a continuous narrative. But although it may no longer be plausible to regard the First Council as pure fiction, its nature and work remain uncertain. Similarly, we consider that the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* is not, as it is found today, the First Sermon of Buddha. It may be rather a portion of larger *sutta* which cannot be definitely identified now. Like the account of the First Council, the First Sermon in its complete form may in future be found out in some Chinese or Tibetan translations of the Buddhist texts.

Thus in the above discussion we have noted that due to the reasons cited in the foregoing pages the present form of the Pali *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* cannot be the very First Sermon delivered by Buddha to his earliest disciples. The contents of the First Sermon of Buddha may be sought for in other *suttas* also. About the *Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta* C. A. F. Rhys Davids also says that "there has been editing, but not regrouping of materials from other utterances". Because she thinks that there has been undoubtedly "a reduction of

a discourse, remembered in these words by one listener, in those words by another, to a fixed wording", particularly of those sayings which appeal most forcibly to the monk: suffering and cessation of suffering. Mrs. Rhys Davids may be right. But so much it is certain that the discourse cannot be regarded very early because: (i) the section on the Four Truths appears, as already pointed out, suddenly upon the preceding one, and in fact contains a second, more comprehensive, summary of the doctrine with the result that the Eightfold Path is unnecessarily repeated; (ii) the version of the Four Truths mentions the five Khandhas although it speaks of *taṇhā* or craving alone instead of the full formula of the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*; (iii) *Kondoṇṇa* who is not spoken of in the beginning turns out to be the one who gets enlightenment at the end—this is surprising and suggests a defect in the text of the Sutta; (iv) the Sutta calls itself a *veyyākaraṇa* and describes mythologically the jubilation of various classes of gods over it. We conclude our discussion with an apt quotation from the writings of B. C. Law who holds: "The Traditional First Discourse, as we now have it, would seem to be a later go-up thing with some romantic appendages. We get it in that form in which it might be treated, and, as a matter of fact, was used in the Buddhist community as a *Paritta* or *Samāgama*, i. e., as a sacred text fit to be chanted in the presence of a concourse of the gods invoked for the well-being of the audience. The very title of the Discourse, *Dharmacakrapravartana* variously rendered in English—'Turning of the Wheel of the Law,' 'Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness,' resulted from a poetical imagery which the early Buddhist so often borrowed from the previous poets of vedic literature"¹⁸.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE

U. Dhammaratana

According to the Archaeologists the first Buddha image dates back to the first-century A. D. There is no historical evidence to show that the Buddha image existed before this period. They also hold the view that it came into existence as an object of veneration. While this may be said to have been one of the purposes, it was not the sole purpose. It had a nobler purpose, and that was to serve as an object of meditation (Buddhānussati). In fact the origin of the Buddha image itself may be said to have been the result of this meditation.

The tradition has it that in the beginning the sculptor had to lead a strictly religious life at least for the period of his work. His task was to give expression to the marks of a Great Man (Mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni) of the Blessed one as best as he could. These marks represented the noble virtues cultivated by the Tathāgata in course of so many births¹. So, in the first place the sculptor had to sit in meditation, concentrate on the virtues and acquire the necessary frame of mind for his work. When he had developed a mental image accomplished with the significant marks he would translate it in the form of an image in stone or metal or wood or clay.

Here we may refer to the words of Ch'iang to show the significance of the meditation of an artist on his work. Ch'iang, the chief carpenter, was carving wood into a stand for musical instruments. When finished, the work appeared to those who saw it as though of supernatural execution; and the prince of Lu asked him, saying, 'What mystery is there in your art' ?

'No mystery your Highness, replied Chi'ang. 'And yet there is something. When I am about to make such a stand, I guard against any diminution of my vital power. I first reduce my mind to absolute quiescence. Three days in this condition, and I become oblivious of any reward to be gained. Five days, and I become oblivious of any fame to be acquired. Seven days, and I become unconscious of my four limbs and my physical frame. Then, with no thought of the Court present in my mind, my skill becomes concentrated, and all disturbing elements from without are gone. I enter some mountain forest, I search for a suitable tree. It contains the form required which is afterwards elaborated. I see the stand in my mind's eye, and then set to work. Beyond that there is nothing. I bring my own native capacity into relation with that of the wood. What was suspected to be of supernatural execution in my work was due solely to this'. (Chuang Tsu)². These words of Ch'iang are applicable to the good sculptor of the Buddha image.

In this connection we have to bear in mind how the 'living image' of the Buddha became an object of such meditation. After enlightenment when the Tathāgata was going from Buddhagayā to Vārāṇasī, on the way he met the naked ascetic Upaka. Being impressed by the serene appearance

1. Dighanikāya, Lakkhaṇasutta

2. The Perennial Philosophy (Aldous Huxley), pp. 194-195

of the Buddha, Upaka gave expression to his feelings and asked, "Your reverence, your sense-organs are quite pure, your complexion very bright, very clear. On account of whom have, your reverence, gone forth, or who is your teacher, or whose Dhamma do you profess ³?"

In answer Lord Buddha said, 'I am the Victorious One, the Omniscient One; I have attained self-illumination, I have no teacher, I am the Incomparable One; I have attained Supreme Deliverance from craving; having destroyed cankers and other evils I have realised Nibbāna; I am the Supreme Teacher and I am going to Kāsi to set the Wheel of law in motion, to beat the drum of Deathlessness.⁴'

Upaka received this answer with satisfaction and went his way. While going through the story, at first sight, it appears as if Upaka did not take any more interest in the Buddha. But really speaking it was not so. His blessed appearance and the inspiring words left a tremendous impression on him. The memory of the great incident kept on working in his mind. When he had a full dose of worldly experience he returned to Lord Buddha, led the holy life and attained the Supreme Deliverance. Before leaving home he told his wife about his meeting with the Enlightened One, and later on she also followed suit ⁵. So the great change that took place in Upaka was the result of Buddhānussati.

The impression of the first five disciples is also illustrative of this point. It is said that when Gautama gave up self-mortification and took to the Middle Path his five companions lost all faith in him and went to Isipatana to lead their own way of life. So, when they saw the Buddha, after Enlightenment, coming at a distance, they thought that he was coming to them having failed in his spiritual efforts; they decided to give him a seat as a matter of courtesy and not to show him any respect. But as the Blessed One drew near with his face beaming with his spiritual light, they were simply charmed; they changed their decision, went forward and received him with all respect. After exchange of greetings the Lord assured them that he had got Enlightenment and attained immortality (Amata-madhigataṃ).⁶ With this psychological change they were able to respond to the immortal message. On listening to the first and second sermons delivered by the Tathagata, their whole being underwent spiritual transformation and they attained arahatta. Again it was the 'living mage' of the Master and his inspiring words that led them on the Noble Path.

Here we may refer to another incident bearing on this point. One day the Blessed One was sitting in meditation under a tree. His face was shining with spiritual lustre. Brahmin Dona, who happened to pass that way, saw him from a distance. He was simply overwhelmed by the glorious sight. He had never seen a human being with such appearance. He thought that he might be one of the superbeings he had heard so much about. So, with great awe he approached the Tathāgata and enquired wheather he was a Brahma or a Deva or a Gandhabba or a Yakkha. The Tathāgata told him that he was none of them, and then introduced himself as Buddha, the Enlightened One.⁷

In all the three cases mentioned above, in the first instance, it was the spiritual lustre illuminating the 'living image' of the Buddha that inspired them.

3. Mahavaggapali, Chapter I

4. Ibid

5. Therīgāthā, Cāpāterī I; Dhammapad-atthakathā, Upakājjivakavāṭṭhu

6. Mahāvaggapāli, Chapter I

7. Anguttaranikaya, Dona-sutta

Here one could cite the example of Vakkali to show that the 'image' of the Lord was not helpful in the spiritual development. Well, it is clear from the context that Vakkali was interested in the physical beauty of the Master. As the story goes day after day he used to sit before him and appreciate his physical appearance. It did not serve him as an index to the Dhamma. He did not have even a glimpse of his spiritual life. Therefore, Lord Buddha had to ask Vakkali not to appreciate his physical body but his Dhamma, and gave him the instruction—Vakkali ! Whoever sees Dhamma sees me (Buddha) and vice versa (Yo kho, Vakkali, Dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati; yo dhammaṃ passati , so maṃ passati)⁸.

The above statement has a special significance. The two sentences have equal value. We could transpose them and bring out the meaning to clarify the main point. When so arranged it would read : whoever sees Buddha also sees Dhamma and vice versa. It has a deeper meaning than what appears to be on the surface. Here Buddha does not refer to rūpakāya or the physical body but to his Dhammakāya or spiritual body. It is with spiritual eye (Dhammacakkhu) that one could see the spiritual body of the Buddha. Then again it is the practice of Dhamma taught by the Buddha that opens the spiritual eye. Therefore one who could see the Buddha in this sense alone could see Dhamma and vice versa.

There are utterances of the disciples of the Buddha which refer to the fact of having seen the Dhammakāya of the Buddha after the realisation of Dhamma. By way of illustration reference may be made to the Udānas of two Theris—Jenā and Mahāpajapatigotami. After attaining Arahatta both of them gave utterance to their joy in the following words: 'I have seen the Blessed One. This is my last birth. Round of birth has come to an end, and no more shall I be again'⁹

Now Vakkali saw only the physical body of the Buddha with his physical eye (Māṃsasacakkhu). On the contrary in the case of the persons of the three instances cited above a spiritual sense was awakened at the sight of the 'image' of the Buddha, and that led to the opening of their Dhammacakkhu with which they were able to see the Dhammakāya of the Buddha.

Another point to be noted in this connection is the physical changes that take place as a result of the psychological and spiritual changes. The relation between psychological and physical changes has now become a matter of common knowledge. The modern researches in psychology have also borne it out. The spiritual changes take place at a higher level. Therefore, their impression is all the more deeper. When the Buddha attained enlightenment a radical change took place in his personality. It was reflected in his countenance very prominently. It was this spiritual reflection that caught the sight of Upaka and others who were spiritually disposed.

Now, to come to the Buddha image again, it has been mentioned in the beginning that it came into existence both as a result of and as an object of Buddhānussati. Buddhānussati was one of the earliest topics of meditation (Kammaṭṭhāna). When the Master, whose noble personality accomplished with all the virtues was there for this meditation. After his Mahāparinibbāna that living touch was no more. The stupas built over his relics became the objects of devotion. Besides them, there were other symbols such as the Bodhi Tree, the wheel of law (Dhammacakka), foot print, etc., which represented various events in the life of the Enlightened One. While all these objects had their importance, all the time the devotees felt the need of an image of the Enlightened One to concentrate their mind. If we are to believe the historians, nearly four centuries rolled by before this need was fulfilled. That person must have been a master mind with a creative imagination who made the first Buddha image. Indeed thereby he also made a unique contribution to enrich the world of arts. Since then the image of the Buddha has been the most inspiring object for the devotees down through the ages.

8. Dhammapadattakāṭha; Vakkali Theravāṭṭhu; Samyuttanikaya, Vakkali Sutta,

9. Therīgāthā, Jenā and Mahāpajapatigotami

Buddha is the embodiment of Dhamma. Hence, his image became the centre of Saddha or faith of the devotees. This faith differs from individual to individual according to their spiritual awakening. It varies from the simple faith of an average person (Puthujjana) to the enlightened faith of a noble one (Ariya) who has entered on the path. In all cases it is this Saddha that maintains the spiritual effort.

When we say that Gautama became Buddha, the Enlightened one, it does not mean that he received light from outside, just as a room is illuminated by a lamp brought in from outside. It was the awakening of the light of Dhamma within. It was self-illumination. The following words that the Buddha addressed to Vāseṭṭha bear testimony to this fact—"thir, vāseṭṭha, is a synonym for the Tathāgata: Dhamma-body and Brahma-body, and again Dhamma-become and Brahma-become (Tathāgatassa hetam, Vāseṭṭha, adhivacanaṃ dhammakāyo iti pi brahmakāyo iti pi brahmabhūto iti pi)"¹⁰.

In this connection it has to be borne in mind that Dhamma is within all of us. We have only to create congenial conditions in terms of fulfilling the factors of Enlightenment (Bohhi-pakkhiyanhammas) for its awakening. Therefore to have faith in the Buddha is to have faith in the spiritual potentialities within our own selves. Here again the words of the Buddha also addressed to Vāseṭṭha are quite significant: "he, Vāseṭṭha, whose faith in the Tathāgata is settled, established, firm, a faith not to be shaken by a recluse or brahmin or Deva or by māra or Brahmā or by any one in the world he may say, 'I am the lord's own son born of his mouth, born of Dhamma, formed by Dhamma, heir to Dhamma'"¹¹.

When we go before the image of the lord, we have to be mindful of the common spiritual link existing between him and us. The spiritual peace and bliss reflected on his face are within our reach. We have only to be aware of this fact and make earnest efforts for its realisation. When practised in this spirit, image worship becomes meaningful and Buddhānussati fruitful.

When Shri Nehru stood before the Buddha image at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka it was this spiritual reflection that touched him. Referring to his experience Nehruji says, "The Buddha statue at Anuradhapura in Ceylon moved me greatly and a picture of it has been my companion for many years"¹².

The German philosopher Count German Keyserling gives full expression to the significance of the Buddha image thus: 'The East has succeeded in what has never yet been reached in the West: the visible representation of the divin. As such I know nothing more grand in this world than the figure of the Buddha: it is an absolutely perfect embodiment of spirituality in the visible domain'¹³.

10. Dighanikaya, Agganna-Sutta

11. *Ibid*

12. The Discovery of India, p. 220 :

13. The Traveling Diary of a Philosopher, p. 89

LITTLE KNOWN BUDDHIST SITES AND MONUMENTS IN WESTERN ORISSA

Mahesh Prasad Dash

The ancient sites and monuments numbering more than one thousand have not been properly surveyed throughout the State of Orissa. Only few important sites and monuments of places like Jajpur, Ratnagiri, Lalitgiri and Udayagiri, Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark have been surveyed and reported by eminent scholars like Markham Kittoe, Prinsep, Raja R. L. Mitra, M. M. Chakravarti, N. N. Vasu, M. M. Ganguli, R. P. Chanda, R. D. Banerjee, Pandit B. Misra, late P. Acharya, Dr. K. C. Panigrahi, Shri K. N. Mohapatra and a few others. Due to the existence of a few princely States the progress in the Archaeological survey in the Western Orissa could not make satisfactory progress. The District of Sambalpur, though a British District could not receive as much attention as deserves due to its existence among those princely States. It was only during the long British rule over Orissa only two eminent archaeologists namely Alexander Cunningham and J. D. Beglar surveyed a few important places like Ranipur Jharial, Titilagarh, Rajpadar (Belkhandi) and Amatghat, etc. during 1874-75.

Within a century many sites and monuments have been located in western Orissa. Here is given a brief note on those Buddhist finds.

Titilagarh

Titilagarh which is now an important centre of trade on the Raipur and Vijayanagaram track of the S. E. Railways was a Buddhist centre in ancient time. Its name is derived from the word Titilagada or three storeyed fortress which was actually a Buddhist monastery. Large quantity of bricks measuring 16"×8"×3" are found near a mound under the foot of a hill called Kumuda (of the shape of a Pumpkin) which was a Buddhist stupa. It has now disappeared due to constant digging during the century. Fragments of stone images are found scattered here. In the subsequent period this Buddhist Vihara was converted into a Hindu monument.

Amatghat

Amatghat is situated on the south bank of river Tel on the old road leading from Kalahandi to Sambalpur. Extensive ruins of brick structures are found in the dense Sal and Teak forest which has now grown over the whole area, but a glance at the scattered ruins will still indicate the existence of a Buddhist monastery at this strategic place, but nothing definite can be said unless a systematic exploration and excavation of the site is made.

Po-lo-mo-lo-kili

The credit of identifying Po-lo-mo-lo-kili of Hiun Tsang's account with the Gandhamardan range standing on the border of Balangir and Sambalpur district goes to Shri K. N. Mohapatra who wrote an article on it in a now defunct English Magazine called the *Vaitarani* in 1936.¹ This paper was subsequently re-edited in 1971 and published in another Magazine called

1. *Vaitarani*: Vol. X. No. 5 (July 1936)

New Aspects of History of Orissa. In this paper he has proved convincingly that the Capital of Kosala country was somewhere near Ranipur Jharial and Knsil of the present Balangir district.¹ The remains of the famous monastery where Nāgārjuna Bodhisattava was living can still be seen on the slope of the Gandhamārdan Hill. Subsequently the importance of this Buddhist centre was eclipsed due to building of Brāhmarical temples on both sides of the Hill. The present Narsinghanāth temple on the Sambalpur side was built by Baijala Deva-II of the Chauhan family of Patna. The exact date of construction of the temple is 17th March, 1413 as calculated by Shri Mohapatra² on the basis of an Oriya inscription found there. The temple of Harisankara on the other side of the Hill belongs to the same period. Charles Luis Fabri who thoroughly surveyed the surrounding of the Narsinghanath temple has been able to find out some Buddhist structures in this localities.³ This Gandhamārdan Hill gained prominence in Orissa due to its elaborate description given in the Mahābharata by Sārala Das (1460 A. D.) and Daṇḍī Rāmāyana by Balarām Das, Nrusingha Purāna by Kandha Joga Das of the 18th century A. D. The glory and greatness of Po-lo-mo-lo--kili or Parimalagiri which are now lost into oblivion can be brought into light by systematic exploration and Excavation at important selected sites.

Patnagarh

The town of Patnagarh which forms the Capital of the Chauhan territory from the 14th century A. D. was a Buddhist centre. Charles Fabri, who thoroughly surveyed the place, remarks that many fragments and pieces of many old Buddhist building are incorporated in the Kosaleśvara temple which is a work of the early Somavamsi King ruling at Sripur in the 7th century A. D. He has given two plates No. LV and LVI in his work to help further investigation.

Ganiapali

The credit of discovering two old Buddhist images called 'Siddhartha Muni' and 'Naga Muni' (Plat-XV) in a tiny village of Ganiapali in the Melchamunda Police-station of Sambalpur District goes to Mr. Charles Fabri. Fabri says thus—"the image of Buddha in the pose of first Sermon at Sarnath is probably the one so far known in Orissa". The other image called Naga Muni has been satisfactorily identified by Mr. Fabri with Muchalinda Buddha' and soils of the benevolence and worshipful serpent king are genuine though clumsily smoothened by the cement layer at the top⁴. In his opinion the images of the 'Muchalinda Buddha are rare and occurrence of one in north-west Orissa is a matter of wonder. He has argued that name of Melchamunda is a distortion of Muchalinda which seems quite reasonable⁵. He has also been able to find a stone Maṇḍapa with two early and simple broken pillars of the extreme classical simplicity and many signs of ancient bricks work in the neighbourhood. His opinion on the importance of this site may be profitably quoted here: "And as the bricks and fragments of the bricks spread almost continuously from the Muchalinda shrine to this Pile of stone ruins, it is justifiable to conclude that we have a very large ancient establishment underground, with a considerable life, perhaps from the early centuries of this era to about the 5th and 6th century A. D."⁶

1. New aspects of the History of Orissa (Sambalpur University) 1971, pp. 64- 71.

2. Orissa Historical Research Journal. Vol. III, No. 3 (1954) pp. 137- 45.

3. Fabri, History of the Art of Orissa. pp. 37-40,70,103,109.

4. Fabri *History of the art of Orissa* p. 34.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 34-35.

6. Fabri, *History of the art of Orissa* pp. 35-36

Mahadev Pali

The little temple called 'Sivaji Mandir' and situated in a small village called Mahadev Pali about 4 Kms. beyond Laida Police-station in the District of Sambalpur is built on the ruins of an early Buddhist shrine, material of which have been utilised in the construction of the present temple¹.

Buddhism in Western Orissa under the early Soma Vamsi Kings

Uptil now we have come across two Buddhist records which are very significant regarding the spread of Buddhism in Western Orissa. One is the Bhandak Buddhist Inscription² and other is Senakapat inscription of the time of Siva Gupta Balarjuna³. The inscription found at Bhandak is purely a Buddhist record and the first four verses of this record glorified and invoked the protection of Lord Buddha under the name of Jina. It gives an account of the patronage shown to Buddhism by the early Soma Vamsi King of Sripur. From the concluding portion we get the name of Nanna raja who was a very powerful king as is known from his Adhabhara plates⁴. In this inscriptions he claims overlordship over the entire Kosala and Utkal countries for his father Tibara Deva of the 7th century A. D. (Svabhūja Parākama Upārjitā Sakala Kosala Utkaladi Maṇḍalādhipatya). Therefore it may be accepted that Buddhism flourished at least in the western parts of Orissa as early as 7th century A. D.

Mahasivagupta Balārjuna who was a very powerful king of the Soma dynasty and ruled for more than 50 years also showed patronage to Buddhism though he was a Saiva as is known from his Sripur stone inscription⁵. This inscription opening with a praise of Lord Buddha records the construction of a Vihāra or Buddhist Monastery by a famous Vikshu named Ānanda Prava during the reign of Balarjuna. Balarjuna was the master of the entire western Orissa and occupied as far as the boarder of Puri District which is known from the fragmentary Govindapur inscription of his younger brother Raja Keshari dated 1811 V. S.⁶ The exact date of the inscription has been calculated by Shri K. N. Mahapatra as 9th January 1754⁷.

Buddhism in Western Orissa during the early Bhauma Kings

The Bhauma kings had extended their empire up to Sonpur. The earlier kings of this family were *Parama Saugata* or great Buddhist. It is due to their patronage that we come to notice some colossal Buddha images in the Vihārs at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitgiri. One colossal image of Buddha in sitting posture which still requires wide publicity is found at a place called Paschimmesvara just on the bank of the Brāhmaṇī river only three miles from town of Talcher. It is not a monolithic image but made of several blocks of stones joined together. This was definitely a site of Buddhist Monastery now no more in existence and near which a Hindu temple has been built.

Near the coal-field of Talcher there is a place called Jagatri wherefrom three copper-plate grants of Bhauma Kings Subhakara and Sivakara were discovered and have been edited by Pandit Binaynk Mishra⁸. According to Pandit Mishra this was the site of the Buddhist Monastery called Jayasrama Vihara which is no more in existence. The name of this Vihara finds mention in these copper-plate grants.

1. *Ibid.* p. 36

2. S. N. Rajaguru, *Inscription of Orissa*, Vol. IV. pp. 287—95

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 47—54

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 39—42

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 43—46

6. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* p. 74.

7. *Manuscripts on History of Orissa*

8. B. Mishra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 32—52.

The colossal image in the heart of the town of Boud resembles in all respects the image of Buddha found at Paschimēvara. The position of Buddha at Boud clearly indicates that it was being worshipped in a small Buddhist monastery the foundation of the walls of which were found over the ground up to 1966. It is also worth writing that two copper plate grants of the powerful Bhauma queen Tribhuban Mahadevi were discovered from a site near this Buddhist Vihara.¹ According to the calculation of Pandit Mishra Tribhuban Mahadevi is assigned to 764 A. D. Thus it is clear that Buddhism flourished in the Western Orissa under the patronage of the early Soma Vamsi kings like Mahanamraja and Mahasiva Gupta Balarjuna and early kings of the Bhaum dynasty like Khemekera who was Parama-upasaka. Sivakara-I, who was Paramaththagata and Subhanca Dev-I, who was a Param Saugata.

Besides the colossal image of Buddha two exquisite Bronze images of Maitreya and Lokēvara have been found from Boud, which have been described by Dr. N. K. Sahoo² in his monumental work with the plates (No. 52 and 53). It is further known from the same work that "Buddhist figures both Mahayanic and Tantric are found in large number within the compound of the Ramevara Temple but many of these either broken or covered with thick layers of vermillion.

Tantric Buddhism in Western Orissa—

Indrabhuti who is recognised as the founder of the vajrayana form of Buddhism laying stress on the worship of five Dhyanī Buddhas called himself Uddyana Vimiragata or hailing from Uddyana. This Uddyana which was cradle of Tantric Buddhism has been satisfactorily identified with Orissa by Dr. N. K. Sahoo. Two other significant territories one called Sambhala over which Indrabhati ruled and the other known as Lankapara which was under Jalendra whose son married the famous Princess Lakshmikara, the sister of Indrabhuti are associated with Uddyana. Sambhala and Lankapara have been identified with Sambalpur and Sonepur respectively by Dr. N. K. Sahoo in his work.³ The goddess Lankesvari who is referred to in some of the Tantric Sadhanas of the famous works "Sadhana Mala" is even now regarded as the presiding deity of Sonepur area and she is daily worshiped in the bed of the Mahanadi on a low rock called Lankesvari on which a short inscription inscribed in the character of the 9th and 10th century is still to be seen. One of the famous Tantric Sidhas called Jayadratha who translated Chakra Sambara Tantra into Tibetan is said to have been a man of Lanka which is identical with Sonepur. Thus the Tantric Buddhism gained great popularity in western Orissa.

We find an old temple of Lankesvari at Junagarh on the bank of the river Tel, 21 Kms. to the west of the town of Bhawanipatna, the headquarters of the present Kalahandi district. Junagarh was the Capital of the Kalahandi kingdom ruled by the Naga kings till the Headquarters was shifted to Bhawanipatna in 1949. The deity of Lankesvari is held in high estimation by people of this region as she was the tutelary deity of the Naga Royal family of Kalahandi State. Every year in the Mahastami day a great festival is held here in which thousands of goats, cocks, pigeons, buffaloes are killed for perpetuation before the deity. This Lankesvari worship spread from Sonepur to this place as both the town of Sonepur and Junagarh are situated on the bank of the river Tel.

1. They have been edited by Shri S. C. Das, Ex-Superintendent of Archives in E. I. Vol. XXX.

2. Dr. N. K. Sahoo, Buddhism in Orissa, pp. 203-204

3. *Ibid*, p. 142.

The preachings of Lakshmikara the celebrated founder of the Sahajjana form of Buddhism made deep influence in Western Orissa. Among the followers of Lakshmikara the following seven females tantrikas, namely Gyana Dei, Maluni, Netei Dhobani, Lahukuti Lahuruni, Sukuti Chamaruni, Sua Teluni, Gangi Gauduni, Patarapindhi Sauruni, became famous in this area for their miraculous activities. It is said that their place of activities was Kuanrai Patna or Kumari Patna which was situated somewhere near Patnagarh. This region was called Kuanri Patna even up to the time of Poet Chaitanya Das of Khariar who flourished in the second part of the 17th century A. D.¹ According to tradition monarch Chodaganga Deva the builder of the Ganga Empire received help from Netei Dhobani. Many Mantras written by these Sadhikas (female Tantrikas) are still recited for curing diseases and for giving relief from snake bites in this area.

Buddhism which began to decline in the 9th and 10th century was completely amalgamated into the fold of Hinduism during the rule of the Somavamsi rule over Kosala and Utkala (C. 900 to 1112 A. D.) and consequently many ancient Buddhist sites and monuments were converted to Hindu one in such a manner that it is very difficult to distinguish them at present.

Now that a separate University has been established at Sambalpur. Schemes for through Archaeological Exploration of ancient Buddhist sites and monuments of this region may be implemented without any further delay by its History Department. The means of communication have tremendously improved during the last decade which facilities such survey by devoted scholars. The History of Orissa will remain incomplete until and unless light is thrown on this ancient relics; because river Mahanadi the Ganga of Kali age served as the link for the spread of culture from Western Orissa to Coastal Orissa through centuries.

1. (a) Dr. N. K. Sahoo, *Odisara Buddha Dharma*, p. 48

(b) Refer also *Sankshipta Kosala Itihasa* by R. C. Mallick.

BUDDHISM AND ORISSA

D. C. AHIR

The association of the land of Oriyas, ancient Kalinga, with Buddhism can be traced to the Buddha Himself. When in the seventh week, after His Enlightenment, the Buddha was resting at the foot of the Rajayatana tree (at Bodh Gaya) enjoying the bliss of emnicipation, two merchants, Tapassu and Bhalika, offered some flour and honey to the Blessed One. According to some historians, these merchants hailed from Orissa.

Asoka, one of the greatest Emperors of India, nay, of the world, is said to have been very furious in nature initially. So much so that he was sometimes called 'Chandasoka' (Asoka, the terrible). Though he had inherited a vast Mauryan Empire, yet he desired to expand it by subduing the Kalinga. He ordered his army to march and annex Kalinga at the earliest. He own the war but the suffering of the people of Orissa deeply influenced his mind and brought revolution in his character under dramatic circumstances.

It happened in about 262 B. C. on the day of Ashvina Shudi Dashmi, popularly known as Vijaya Dashmi. Since early morning the men, women and children had started gathering in large numbers in the open maidan outside Pataliputra, modern Patna. They were in a hilarious mood and their spirits were high as this was their first opportunity to welcome the Emperor Asoka after his victory in the Kalinga war. The entire city of Pataliputra were a festive look.

At last Asoka arrived on the scene and the vast mass of humanity burst into cries of joy. When he rose to address them, the people thought that they were now going to get a pat from the royalty for their deeds of gallantry and supreme sacrifices. But they were disillusioned when the king started speaking in an entirely different tone. He said, "Brothers and Sisters After the victory in the Kalinga war, we have assembled here today for the first time. Perhaps you have come here to celebrate the success in the battle-field with high expectations. But I.....I am unable to celebrate this occasion in the way you might have liked. I am fully conscious of the hardships faced and the sacrifices made by all of you in turning the scales in our favour in the Kalinga war. I am, however sorry to say that I am ashamed of the large scale destruction brought about by the Kalinga war. Ven, Moggaliputta Tissa has removed darkness from my eyes and illuminated my mind. I have now fully realised that for the sake of self-glory, for the sake of territorial expansion and for the sake of humiliating others, it is a crime, a great crime indeed, to massacre thousands of men, women and children; to destroy and desolate the property of others and to uproot a large number of people from their hearths and homes. It is such a crime which can never be pardoned. Just think of those mothers who have lost their dear sons; wives who have lost their husbands; and children who have lost their parents in the bloody struggle for Kalinga. Will they be happy today? No, certainly not. The horrible results of this mass ruination and untold misery have served as an eye-opener to me. I am grateful to venerable Moggaliputta Tissa due to whose kind guidance I have found solace in the Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha".

After this change of heart, Asoka decided to dedicate all his power and self to the cause of Dhamma and the service of humanity. Verily, the Kalinga war not only transformed 'Chandasoka' into 'Dharmasoka' (Asoka, the righteous) but also opened a new vista of tolerance, peace and prosperity for the humanity. It paved way for the 'Dharma-Vijaya' as after this historic event, Buddha-Dhamma became the Key-note of Asoka's policy. He followed the maxim of 'Bahujan Hitai, Bahujan Sukhai', got the tenets of Buddhism engraved on the rocks and pillars throughout his kingdom; discontinued the traditional pleasure-trips for hunting etc. and devoted more attention to the public welfare measures; sent missionaries to various parts of his kingdom and neighbouring countries to preach and propagate the sublime teachings of the Buddha.

Asoka honoured the brave people of Kalinga by issuing in about 256 B. C. two special rock edicts XXVI which are found only at Dhauigiri and Jaugada in Orissa. In Edict No. XV, Asoka addressed his officers-in-charge of Tosali, the capital of Kalinga which was located near the village Dhauli (about 15 KM from Bhubaneswar), and asked them to exert for the welfare and happiness of the people of Kalinga.

As a result of the keen interest taken by Asoka the Great in the development and welfare of the strife-torn and war-scarred land of the Oriyas, Buddhism soon caught the imagination of the local people. The great Buddhist saint and scholar, Nagarjuna is said to have paid a visit to Orissa in the 2nd century A. D. and converted to Buddhism the King of Orissa, Munja. By 638 A. D. when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang passed through Orissa, majority of the Oriyas were Buddhists.

Among the Buddhist rulers of Orissa, the Bhauma dynasty outshines all others. They ruled up to the end of the 8th century. Their capital, Guhadevapalaka (modern Jajpur) was a famous seat of learning and had a magnificent Vihara. Finest remains of the Buddhist art and architecture of the Bhauma period can be seen at Khiching in Mayurbhanj at Baudh, at Choudwar near Cuttack, at Udyagiri and Ratnagiri. The Bhaumas were followed by two more Buddhist dynasties, the Tunga and the Bhanja. The period of this trio Buddhist rulers was by all standards a glorious age in the history of Orissa and the present Oriya society owes much to it. The Jagannatha temples which have influenced most the culture and civilization of Orissa also belong to this period. Till the 9th century Jagannatha was a flourishing Buddhist institution and when Buddhism declined, it was converted, like many other Buddhist temples and shrines, into a Hindu institution. It has since been proved beyond doubt that the three images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Sudhadra were originally the Buddhist images symbolizing Tri-Ratna, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. Even the festivals like the Snana yatra (Bathing Festival), and Ratha-Yatra (Car Festival) are not only an imitation of the Buddhist practices but are celebrated exactly in the same manner they were celebrated by the Buddhists prior to the transformation of the Jagannatha as a Hindu shrine.

The Buddhists of Orissa have been cherishing for long that sooner or later 'the hidden state of Jagannatha as Buddha would again be brought to light'. In fact, towards the middle of the 19th century, Bhima Bhoi a Buddhist savant, converged on Puri with a large number of followers fully armed with a view to forcibly take over the Jagannath and restore it as a Buddhist shrine. After a furious battle with the men of Raja Divyasinha Deva of Puri, Bhima Bhoi realised the futility of fighting and asked his disciples to stop fighting as it was a sin to do harm to others.

In conclusion, our thoughts go back to the brave people of Kalinga whose bravery and sacrifices prompted Asoka to mend his ways and launch the campaign of 'Dhamma

Vijaya' instead of 'Rajya Vijaya'. Not only that, the missionary activities were launched by Asoka from the soil of Orissa itself as a tribute to its people. Another significant service done by the Oriyas to the cause of the Dhamma was preserving safely the left-eye tooth of the Buddha for quite sometime, and then handing it over to the Buddhist king of Cylone (Sri Lanka) in 311 A. D. The Tooth Relic was in the possession of King Guhasiva of Kalinga. It is said that when he was about to be defeated in battle he entrusted it to his daughter Hemamala. Hemamala with her husband Dantakumara took the sacred Tooth to Sri Lanka and handed it over to king Srimaghavarma at Anuradhapura. Today, this sacred relic is enshrined in the temple of the Tooth Relic (Dalada Maligawa) in Kandy and is venerated by the whole Buddhist world.

Verily, Buddhism owes a great debt to Orissa. Realizing this, [Ven. Fajii Gurauji of Japan has in modern times honoured the land of Oriyas by building the 2nd world Peace Pagoda in India atop the historic Dhauligiri nearly the Kalinga Rock Edicts in which Asoka the Great proclaimed:

"All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness, in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regard to all men."

BUDDHISM IN KURUDESA



Dr. H. A. Phadke

Kuru or Kururattha frequently referred to in the Pali Canon as one of the Sixteen Mahājanapadas¹, was three hundred leagues in extent and its capital Indapatta seven leagues in circumference². And Kurudeśa another name for the land of the Kurus, denoted the entire territory of their expansion from the Sarasvati to the Gaṅgā and included Kurukshetra which had already come to prominence as the chief centre of Aryan religion and culture.

The Kuru realm seems to have very little political influence in Buddha's time for the centre of political gravity had already shifted to the east, to Magadha and its capital Rajagriha. The Kuru kings however, do find mention in Buddhist literature. The dynasty which ruled at Indapatta is mentioned as belonging to the Yuchiṭṭhilaḡotta³, and reference is also made several times to Dhanañjaya Koravya⁴ who was none else than Arjuna of the epic tradition. Bodhisatta Sutasoma who belonged to the Kuru tribe made large gifts, but he got no pleasure in making such gifts as there was none among the recipients possessing five moral qualities. During Buddha's time, the King of Kurus was called Koravya, and his discussion with the elder Raṭṭapāla, also a scion of the noble family of the Kurus, is recorded in the Raṭṭapāla Sūta⁵. From the Somanassa Jātaka it appears that at one time the Kuru kingdom extended as far as Uttarapañchāla which is mentioned as a town in the Kururaṭṭha with Reṇu as its king⁷.

The people of the Kuru kingdom were reputed for deep wisdom, good health and liberality. They gave gifts and performed good work following their kings⁸. A kuru king together with the members of his family and his chief officials obeyed the Kurudhamma which consisted in observance of the five rules of moral conduct and possessed the mystic virtue of bringing prosperity to the country⁹. Buddha is said to have delivered some of his most-profound discourses to the Kurus and a large number of people embraced Buddhism¹⁰. This tradition was current even at the time of the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the second quarter of the 7th century A. D. In his account of Srughna (Sugh in Ambala Dist.), the pilgrim speaks of an Aśoka Stupa towards the west of Yamunā containing hair and nail relics of Tathāgata (Buddha) at a spot where in the world in former days the Tathāgata preached the law to convert men. To its right and left were stupas containing mortal remains of Buddha's famous disciples Sāriputta and Maugalyāyana and other great arhats.¹¹ This evidence of an eyewitness and the existence of a similar stupa at Thānesar undoubtedly shows that even the Buddhists acknowledged the importance of Kurukshetra region for religious propagation and for the establishment of religious complexes there.

According to Dīpavaṃśa Buddha went to a city of the Kuru realm and ate up what he received as alms on the bank of Anotatta lake.¹² Udena's queen Magandiya came from the land of the Kurus,¹³ and Aggidatta, chaplain to the Kosala King, lived on the boundary between Kuru and Ariḡa and Magadha, honoured by the inhabitants of all three kingdoms¹⁴.

In the Jātakas particular mention is made of Kurudhamma or the moral code of conduct of the Kurus¹⁵ irrespective of any caste, creed or colour. It was the model of an householder's

ideal life, a simple and moral code unconnected with traditional ideas of heaven and hell or salvation which prevailed long before the birth of Buddha. The Jātakas tell us that even from distant Kaliṅga Brāhmaṇas used to go to the Kuruland to learn about their dhamma and to bring it inscribed on golden plates for presenting to their King.¹⁶ The Papañcasūdhani of Majjima Nikāya refers to this code of moral conduct as Kuruvattadhamma¹⁷, and the Aṭṭhakathā of the Paṭiṭṭhasūta speaks of the spiritual discussion of the Kurus in respect of Samādhi¹⁸. It is stated that even the servants and slaves, as also the women folks gathered at the village wells used to talk about Smṛiti Prasthāna.¹⁹ Pāṇini also refers to Kurugārhapatam²⁰ which indicated a characteristic feature of the social and cultural life of the Kurus, possibly representing their moral and spiritual outlook on the life similar to that explained in the Kurudhamma Jātaka. Thus, it would appear that although the realm of the Kurus had shrunk to the position of an ordinary janapada during the Buddhist period it continued to be the model for others in moral and spiritual matters.

It was on its very roads that the envoys and missionaries of Asoka carried the message of peace and friendship to the world. He himself passed at the head of a huge army to Taxilā to pacify its people who revolted against the wicked officials who insulted them. The impact of Buddhism over this region under Aśoka's administrative system is confirmed by his Toprā edict, his pillars at Hissar and the stupas at Thānesar and Chaneti built during that period.²¹ The first, originally erected at Toprā, a small village on the Yamuna in the Ambala district, was brought by Firoz Shah in the year 1356 and is presently standing on the roof of the three storied citadel (Kotlā) of Firoz Shah outside the Delhi Gate to the south-east of modern Delhi.²² Shams-i-Siraj, a historian of Firoz Shah gives a graphic description of its transportation and ultimate translocation at the present site.²⁴ It bears several edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere.²⁴

Aśoka's stress on the cultivation of the moral virtues of compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and goodness reveals his deep anxiety for the moral advancement of the people of this region²⁵ and reminds one of the services rendered by the great king Kuru of the remote past. The Mauryan Emperor who was also not unmindful of the material well-being of his people, initiated various activities of public welfare such as planting of banyan trees for affording shade to cattle and men, and the mango groves, the construction of wells and the establishment of numerous drinking places. It tells us about the king's setting up pillars of morality (Dhammathāmbhāni) and the appointment of special officers (Mahāmātras) and the issue of proclamations for the material and spiritual happiness of the people.²⁶

The other pillar at Fatehābād (Hissār) was most probably brought from near by place of antiquity like Agrohā or Hanṣī for Firoz Shah had a craze for taking away such columns and transplanting them among his favourite complexes. The Aśokan epigraph has been removed for writing Tughlaq inscription recording the geneology of Firoz Shah.²⁷

Aśoka's other religious activities in this region include construction of stupas at Thānesar and Chaneti. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang describes the location and importance of Aśokan stupa at Thānesar in the following words;²⁸

“ To the North-West of the city (Sthāneśvara) 4 or 5 li is a stupa about 300 feet high which was built up by Aśokarājā. The bricks are all of a yellowish red colour, very bright and shining, within is a peck measure of the relics of Buddha. From the stupa is frequently emitted a brilliant light, and many spiritual prodigies exhibit themselves. ”

In the position indicated above, the stupa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang should be located towards the Aujasghat near the bed of the Sawasvati where there are still a few mounds, thickly covered with large broken bricks and of a reddish or yellowish-red colour and tally with the description of the pilgrim. In the absence of archaeological excavation it would not be possible to say anything more in this matter, but as stated by Cunningham,²⁴ the great archaeologist 'it' is probable that the smaller mound may be the remains of the Stupa from which the larger, pieces of bricks have been carried away and the larger mound may be ruins of an extensive monastery.

After the death of Aśoka till the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, for near by nine hundred years, except for a broken figure of a standing Buddha recovered by Rodgers near the tank at Kurukshetra, we have practically no information about the condition of Buddhism in this part of the country. This may possibly be due to the revival of Brahmanical religion under the Śuṅgas, Yaudheyas, Nagas and the Guptas who established their hold also over this region.

The partial recovery of Buddhist influence in this region may be attributed to the Buddhist leanings of some of the Pushyabhūti rulers notably Rajyāvardhana and Harshavardhana. Sivuki or Buddhist Records of the Western World of Hiuen Tsiang who visited Thanesar in 634 A. D. provides us valuable information about the condition of Buddhist monasteries, and also the scholarship and spiritual dispositions of the monks residing there.³¹ In Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo or Thanesar the pilgrim witnessed only three Samghārāmas with about 700 priests—all Hinayanists³² showing thereby that Buddhism was on its decline in that city. These monasteries have been located by Cunningham³³ in the direction given by the Chinese pilgrim in the village Bāharī about half a mile from the fort, where there are still a few mounds containing old large bricks. And south of the city about 100 li was the convent called Gokantha full of towers with overlapping storeys with intervals between them for walking (pacing) and the priests there were 'virtuous, well mannered and possessed quite dignity.'³⁴ The pilgrim pays special tribute to the Buddhist community of Shrugna for their learning and religious wisdom. He relates :³⁵

"There are five samghārāmas with about 1,000 priests; and the greater number study the Little Vehicle, a few exercise themselves in other (exceptional) schools. They deliberate and discuss in appropriate language (choice words), and their clear discourses embody profound truth. Men of different regions of eminent skill discuss with them to satisfy their doubts".

This brief study of the impact of Buddhism on Kurudesā from the 6th century B. C. to the 7th century A. D. would suggest that :

- (a) It was considered in the Buddhist tradition as a centre of religion and culture. Its people maintained high standard in respect of character, learning and spiritual wisdom;
- (b) It was associated with Buddha and his religious propagation; formed part of the administrative system of the Buddhist emperor Asoka and was connected with his various missionary and religious activities.
- (c) The Buddhist influence which declined in this region was partially revived under Rejyavardhana and Harshavardhana an account of which is preserved in the Chinese tradition.

REFERENCES

1. *Digha Nikāya*, II, 200 ; *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 213 etc. Pali Text Series.
2. *Jātaka*, V, 57, 484 ; VI. 255. In *Jataka* VI. 291 it is given as five *yojanas* while *Jataka V* mentions it as having a circumference of 2000 miles (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 227).
3. *Jataka*, III, 400 ; IV. 361.
4. *Ibid*, II. 366 ; III. 400 ; IV. 450 ; VI. 260 etc.
5. *Ibid*, IV. 361 ff.
6. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II. 65 ff.
7. *Jātaka*, IV. 444.
8. *Ibid*, II. 329
9. *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, II. 366 ff.
10. *Anguttara*, V, 29-32; *Samyutta*, II, 92-23; 107 ff; *Majjhima*, I, 55 ff, 501 ff; II, 54 ff; 261 ff; *Diṅgha*, II. 55 ff; *Theragāthā*, 769-793; and also *Mahanidana*, *Mahasatipattana*, *Magandiva*, *Ananjasappaya*, *Sammosa* and *Ariyavāsa Sūttas*; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Sisters*, pp. 51-58.
11. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Trans, Samuel Beal, p. 187.
12. *Dīpavamsa*, I, vv 43-44. May it be the same mentioned in *Satapatha Brahmana* as *Anyatahplaksha* associated with the story of *Pururavas* and *Urvashi* ?
13. *Dhammapāda-Atthakathā*, I. 199 (P. T. S.)
14. *Ibid*. III. 242.
15. *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (No. 276); G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, I, p. 643; V. S. Agrawal, .
16. According to this *Jātaka* *Kurudhamma* consisted in the observance of *Panchasila* or five rules of moral conduct viz. (a) abstaining from taking of life; (b) the precept not to take that which is not given; (c) abstaining from misconduct in sensual actions; (d) abstaining from false speech; (e) abstaining from liquor that causes intoxication and indolence.
17. *Majjhima—Nikāya Commentary* I, 125
18. V. S. Agrawal, *Pāṇini Kālina Bhārat*, p. 113
19. *Ibid*
20. VI. 2. 42 'Kurubrije Mahipate also see *Kātyayana's Vārtika* on the *Sutra*
21. E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pp. 119 ff, Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report* XIV, pp. 78 ff. Devendra Handa, 'A Mauryan Stupa at Chaneti' Panjab, *Visvesvarananda Indological Journal*, IV, Pt. I. pp. 75-79.
22. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, III. pp. 350-51.
24. E. Hultzsch, *Introduction*, p. XVI—XVII.
25. *Ibid*. pp. 119—137.

26. Ibid.

27. *Mārg. Bombay*, XXVII, September, 1974, p. 4.

28. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 186.

29. *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, 1863-64*, p. 221.

30. *Journal of Haryana Studies*, III, No. I, p. 10.

31. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 183–84.

Sthāneśvara also finds mention in the *Mahāvagga* as Sthūna or Thūna, a Brahmin village in the west (*Pacchimāya diśāya*) while the *Divyāvadāna* adds Upasthūna and describes both as Brahmin villages (*paschimenaṁ Sthūnopa sthūnakau brahmanagrāmakau*) (B. C. Law 'Kurukshetra in Ancient India, 'S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, p. 250).

32. Ibid.

33. *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, 1863-64*, p. 221.

34. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 186.

35. Ibid. p. 187.

BHAGAWAN MAHAVIRA AND JAINISM IN KALINGA

SATYANARAYAN RAJAGURU

After Pārśvanātha, Bhagawan Mahāvīra held the banner of Jainism as the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkar. He was born at Kṣatriyakunḍa, a village of Vaiśālī in 599 B.C., and his Mahānirvāṇa took place in 527 B. C. at Pāvā. From that year onward the Jains have started a new reckoning called 'Mahānirvāṇa-samvat' or 'Vira nirvāṇa-samvat' or 'Jīna-kāla'. Merutunga (C. 1310 A. D.) writes in the Vicāraśreṇī that this era was started before the Vikramāvda (1) 470 years. Mahavira attained kevalatva or freedom from worldly bondage in his forty-second year (2). Thereafter, he was entitled as Jīna or Arhata. Since then, he wandered in several countries for propagation of Jainism and Ahimsā.

From the Jain literature we learn that he visited Vaiśālī, Vaṇija-grāma, Mithilā, Bhadrīkā, Ālabhikā, etc., places. At last he expired in one dark fortnight of the pious month of Kārtika (3) at Pāvā in the kingdom of Rājā Hastipāla. During his sacred tour, he used to spend chāturmasyā (four months of the rainy season) in different years in different places, such as Champā, Pustigrāma, Hasti-grāma, Vaiśālī, Vaṇija-grāma, Rājagruha and Nālandā, Mithilā, Ālabhikā Paṇitabhūmi, Śrāvastī and Pāvā, as is described in the Kalpa-sūtra. According to some scholars Paṇitabhūmi is a synonym of Paṇiya-bhūmi as per Ardha-Māgadhī language. Most probably, it is the same as Phaṇiya-bhūmi or Nāgaloka, the present Nagapura. In some old records it is called Bhogapura, identified with the modern Bastar of Madhya Pradesh and Kalahandi of Orissa.

According to the Bhagavati sūtra, Bhagawan Mahāvīra started his earliest preaching of Dharma at Nālandā, Rājagruha, Paṇiniya-bhūmi, Kurma-grāma and Siddhārtha-grāma when eleven of his disciples called Guṇadharas (teachers) have controlled the seven religious centres of the Nirgranthas.

Unfortunately, the identification of Paṇiya-bhūmi, Kurma-grāma and Siddhārtha-grāma is still hidden under obscurity. We have stated above that Paṇiniya-bhūmi may be referred to Nāga-loka or Bhogapura of Bastar and Kalahandi where the kings of Nāga dynasty ruled in the medieval age. According to the Bhagavati-sūtra, Bhagawan Mahāvīra halted at Paṇiya-bhūmi (or Phaṇiniya-bhūmi) for six years being associated with Acārya Gośāla.

(1) Vikramarajjā rambha parau siri vīra nibbuḷ bhanīṇā
Sunna muni veajuto vikramakalo jīnakalo

(2) In Cambridge History of India (Vol. I., P. 669), the probable period of Mahavira is given as between 540 and 568 B. C.

(3) Jaina-Sutras, Part i. p., 264

From there they both started for Kurma-grāma and Siddhārtha-grāma where they met a yogī named Vesayana who was then practising yoga by looking at the hot rays of the sun and raising both arms upward. It is curious to note that similar type of practising yoga was popular in this land (Orissa). In this context we may cite the following verse from a copper-plate inscription of Madhyamarāja (C. 7th century A. D.) of Sailodbhava dynasty of Koṅgada that extended from the Mahānadī up to the Mahendra Hill :—

Kecid van'dhamrgena sārḍha vicaran stamtām sthīrtilayā

Kecid dagdha mukhā sahasra kiraṇa jvalavali premkhiṇah,

Kecid valkalinastathajinadharah kecijjatā dhāriṇah

Nānārūpadharā stapantimunayoh divyāspadā kankhiṇah

From the second line of this verse it is understood that some yogis or munis used to practise yoga (Penance) by looking at the hot rays of the sun. Evidently this type of penance was popular in this region of Kongada and Kalinga. Thus, Bhagawan Mahāvīra met the yogi Vesayana in Siddhārtha-grāma at the moment when he was in the yogic pose by staring at the sun, as is described in the Bhagavati-sūtra. Probably, Mahāvīra's object of visiting Siddhārtha-grāma was to learn that yoga-system which Vesayana used to practise. It is said that Bhagawan Mahāvīra used to perform yoga sādhanā by standing upon heated rocks under the burning mid-day-sun during the month of Jyeṣṭha (May).

At Siddhārtha-grāma, it is said that Acārya Gośāla violated some rules, adopted by Mahāvīra and started a new creed under the name Ājīvaka. Some Buddhist works claim that the religion of Gośāla was different from Jainism. But, actually the Ājīvaka and Niragranthas embraced the same religion although we notice a slight difference in their cult. According to the latter, Bhagawan Mahāvīra is the real successor of Pārśvanātha, after 300 years (4).

Now, we have to identify the Siddhartha-grama where the Ājīvaka sect of the Jainas was formed. From Allahabad Inscription of Samudra Gupta (4th century A. D.) we know that his southern expedition was started from Uttarāpatha through Kośala (Dakṣhiṇa-Kośala) and Mahākāntāra or the modern Kalahandi (5), to arrive at the Mahendragiri in Ganjam district which was then the centre of Kalinga rāṣṭra. In this region he subjugated some petty kings of Devarāṣṭra, Kusthālapura, Ereḍapalli, Piṣṭapura, etc. The ancient track through which Bhagawan Mahāvīra travelled from Paṇiniya-bhūmi (Nāga-loka or Bhogapura) to Kurma-grāma and Siddhārtha-grāma is most probably the same road on which Samudra Gupta marched to Kalinga. Fortunately, we get the name of Siddhārtaka-grāma in some copper-plate inscriptions of the early Gaṅga Kings of Kalinga. In Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman (6) (C. 580 A. D.), it is stated that in Siddarthaka-grama of Varaha-Varttini (district) one Hala measure of land was donated by Maharaja Indravarman to a Brahmana named Durgasvamin. Indravarman issued this grant in Ganga-era 87 (A. D. 585). 108 years after this, Devendravarman donated another Hala of land in the same village of Siddhārtaka-grāma of Varāha-Varttini to learned

(4)—Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthāṅkar is considered as a historical person whose birth took place in 817 B. C. (vide Sinclair, Stevenson, The Heart of Jainism, P. 48) According to Chimanlal J. Shah, Pārśvanātha lived in c800 B. C. (Jainism In North India),

(5)—Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 15.

(6)—Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 127-30ff; Ins. Or., Vol. II, pp. 24-88 ff.

Brāhmaṇa named Tamparasarma Dīkṣita who resided Eraṇḍapalli. It is recorded in Siddhantam plates of Ganga-era 196 (A. D. 694) (?). The plates were discovered from a village called Siddhantam near a mile or two from Srikurmam in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. G. Ramadas, while editing that inscription, has correctly identified the village of Siddhārthaka with the modern village of Siddhantam; and that of Erandapalli with Aindamvalasa, situated at the railway station of Srikakulam. The writer of the grant is the son of Mātrucandra of Apurvanatā-vaṁśa who also belonged to Eraṇḍapalli (8).

In the Ganga-era 87 and 196 the ancient name of Siddhārtha-grāma was slightly changed to Siddhārthaka-grāma while in Masunika grant of Devendra varman of Ganga-era 306 (9) and in Bangalore plates of Devendravarman (10), the same village of the district of Varāhavarttin is called by the name Sidhata. At present, it is called Sidhantam. So in course of about fourteen hundred years the name of Siddharthaka-grama was converted into Siddhantam and there is little doubt that the same village in the time of Mahāvīra was called Siddhartha-grama. Probably it was named in honour of Mahāvīra's father, Siddhārtha, as in commemoration of Mahāvīra-Vardhamana one of the cities of Kalinga was named Vardhamanapura in the time of the Māṭhara Kings of Kalinga. That Siddhārtha-grama, near Srikurma or the ancient Kurma-grāma, was a centre of religious culture where the yogīs like Vesayana of the time of Mahāvīra resided. But, in the early medieval age when the revival of Brahmanism took place in the Ganga regime the same locality was converted to a centre of Vedic culture.

The spread of Jainism in Kalinga in the 6th century B. C. must have been advanced by the support of the kings of that country. The images of Kalinga Jīnāsana was worshipped by those kings till 400 B. C. (11) when it was taken away by Mahāpadma Nanda to Magadha. After 300 years, Māhārāja Khāravēla recovered that sacred relic as is mentioned in the 13th line of Hātigumpha cave inscription which is read as follows :—

... vāra same ca base (—) sata sahasehivitasayati uparāpa (dha)
rājāno magadhānam ca vipulabhayam janeto ithisam gamgaya
pāyayati māgadham ca rājānam Bahasatimitam pāde vandapayati

(1) Nandarājanītam Kalimgajināsanam

(Amga Magadhato Kalimgam ānetihayagaja sena vāhana

Sahasehi amga magadha vāsinam ca pāde vandāpayati

This passage of inscription tells us that Mahārāja Khāravēla in the 12th year of his reign started an expedition to Uttarāpatha. On his way he attacked Anga and Magadha, and made Vrihaspatimitra, the king of Magadha, bow down at his feet. After this, he brought back the

(7) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 212-216 ff. Ins. Or. Vol. II, pp. 81-85. I should note here that the starting point of Ganga-era according to V. V. Mirashi is A. D. 498. But, I have calculated it to begin from A. D. 626. The correct calculation awaits further scrutiny and discovery.

(8) Erandapalli (of Kalinga) is mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta of the 4th century A. D. (vide EII, Vol. III, p. 7 ff.).

(9) JAHS, Vol. XVIII, p. 115; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, pp. 23-28, Ins. Or. Vol. II, pp. 109-112.

(10) Ins. Or., Vol. II, pp. 113-117 ff.

(11) According to the Matsya Purāṇa (273-36), Mahāpadma Nanda's accession took place 500 years after the puranic king Parikṣita.

Mahāpadmā bhiṣekottu yābajjanma parīkṣitah.

Evam varṣa sahasramtu jneyam pañcāsa duttaram.

The image of Jīnāsana is not known whether it was built by wood or stone or metal. From the Jain literature however we know that an image of Bhagawan Mahāvīra made of Sandal wood was installed in Sindh Sauvira. Afterwards the same image was placed in Ujjayini and other places. Probably that type of wooden image was worshipped in Kalinga before Khāravēla. It should be noted that the image of Jagannātha is made of Nim wood.

sacred 'Jināsana' to Kalinga which was previously taken away to Magadha by Rāja Nanda for Mahāpadma Nanda). While proceeding to Kalinga with that sacred relic a grand procession was organised followed by horses, elephants, thousands of troops and chariots. By doing so he compelled the people of Anga and Magadha to bow down at his feet.

In the thirteenth regnal year of the celebrated king Khāravēla, he and his queens, sons and ministers built one hundred and thirteen cave-dwellings for sages who assembled at Kumārī pāhāḍ, the great jain-inscription of Kalinga.

From the above account it is clear that in C. 400 B. C. the celebrated Kalinga Jinā-sana was removed to Magadha and the said relic was restored again at the Kumārī pāhāḍ in the 1st century B. C. by Khāravēla. The relic was presumably installed after or during Bhagawan Mahāvīra's visit to Kumāra-grāma and Siddhārtha-grāma of Kalinga. About two hundred years after his arrival to Kalingadeśa, the great Kalinga-war of Aśoka has not only demolished that prosperous kingdom but also changed the religious concept of her people. Aśoka tried to popularize Buddhism by appointing Dharma Mahāmātras at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa where his two inscriptions have been incised on rocks.

After Aśoka, when the Mauryan sovereignty lost its importance, the Cedi kings of Kalinga gained power. Again the Jain religion revived when the great Emperor Khāravēla came to the throne and restored the 'Jināsana'.

After the Cedi dynasty, Kalinga passed to the hands of some foreign rulers like Kushan who used the title of "Devaputra." We get little account about them although a large number of their coins have been discovered from Orissa, starting from Mayurabhanja to Ganjam. Some of their coins contained a word with two Brahmi letter 'tanka' which may be assigned to the 3rd century A. D. on palaeographical ground. This type of coin is not found anywhere except in Orissa. So it leads us to surmise that a branch of the Kushan kings lived in Orissa and that they must have been related to the main branch of the Kushan kings of Northern India who used the same title of 'Devaputra.' From epigraphical source it is known that Kaniska's family used this title ⁽¹²⁾. The Asanpata stone inscription discovered from Keonjhar district containing a figure of dancing Śiva, gives some important data relating to the existence of 'Devaputra' in this locality ⁽¹³⁾. It is stated in that inscription that Mahārāja Śatrubhanja who belonged to the Nāga dynasty and the king of Vindhyatavi, defeated the "Devaputras" in several battles. He also donated a large amount of wealth to some Maṭhas (religious institutions) and to Bhikṣus, carakas, Parivrajakas, Nirgranthas, etc. Although he was a great scholar and learned Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purānas and Upanishads of the Brahmanical faith he did not stop encouraging the Boudha Bhikṣus and Jain Nirgranthas of his kingdom. From palaeographical consideration, the above inscription is attributed to the 3rd century A. D. and that is the precise period when the Kushanas have extended their sway in various parts of India. But, in the 4th century A. D. the Gupta kings have become powerful when the Kushana rule ended. In this context we may cite the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta of the 4th century A.D. which indicates that the "Devaputras" were expelled and subjugated by the Gupta monarch. Hence, after the 3rd century, there lived no 'Devaputra' (Kushan) king in India with whom Mahārāja Śatrubhanja of the above-mentioned inscription of the Keonjhar district could have fought in several battles.

(12) D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 135, 144, 149, etc. According to Chimanlal J. Shah, "from the days of Parsva or 800 B. C. down to the conversion of the great Vokrama by Siddhasena Divakara to the beginning of the Christian era and to some extent even through out the Kushana and Gupta periods Jainism was the most powerful religion in the north (Vide Jainism in North India).

(13) *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, 1970

We have already stated that the Nirgranthas and others were donated sumptuously by Ātrubhanja in spite of that he himself embraced Brahmanism. As a matter of fact, we get several ancient Jain images and relics from Keonjhar and the neighbouring tracts. According to Pandit Banambara Acharya, a large number of Jain monuments are lying scattered at the Baula mountain-range of Keonjhar, where an ancient Jain temple, called Jogī-chhatā stands⁽¹⁵⁾ up to the present time. Pandit Acharya refers to Brāhmi inscription of that temple which awaits decipherment.

When the 'Devaputras' were ruling in the northern part of Kalinga, the southern part was under the 'Pitribhaktas' or Mātharas who seem to have embraced Jainism at the beginning of their rule. That is the reason why they named one of their headquarters as Vardhamānapura in honour of Bhagawān Mahāvīra *alias* Varddhamāna. Mahārāja Umāvarman and Mahārāja Nandaprabhānjana varman of the said dynasty of Kalinga have issued their charters from the city of Vardhamānapura⁽¹⁶⁾.

The Matharas of Kalinga were succeeded by the Early Gangas. According to a family tradition of the Gangas, referred to in Sravanabelgola inscription of Mysore, once upon a time two royal princes of the Ganga dynasty, named Daddiga and Madhava, have started from Ayodhya in search of shelters in the south. On their way, they met a Jain monk named Simhanandi who advised them to establish two kingdoms; one at Kalinga and another at Gangavadi of Mysore. Accordingly, Daddiga proceeded to the far south while Madhava halted in Kalinga⁽¹⁷⁾. They accepted Jainism and used the sacred emblem of elephant indicating their respect to that religion. Since then the Mysore Gangas followed Jainism and used the elephant emblem in their seal. But the Gangas of Kalinga changed their faith from Jainism to Saivism during the early medieval age, although in one instance a king named Devendravarman used the elephant emblem in the seal of his Bangalore copper plate grant⁽¹⁸⁾. In that inscription it is recorded that Devendra-varman donated some lands in Sidhata-gram (the ancient Siddhārtha-grāma) in the district of Varāhavarttim, to a guru who lived at Rī Parvata for Vali and Puja of the God Paramesvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka. Even after the Gangas of Kalinga have adopted Saivism, a parallel establishment of the Jain faith began to function at the Ramtirtha Hill where a large number of Jain images and monuments are seen up to the present day. This type of Jain temples were built at the same time when the Yogi-chhatā temple at Baula mountain of Keonjhar district in north-Orissa was constructed. In the Chalukyan territory similar type of Jain temples were built in the 7th century A. D. The Aihol inscription relating to a Jain temple was incised in Kaliyugāvda 3735 or Sakāvda 556, corresponding to A. D. 634.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is interesting to note here that in the same time Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, arrived at Kalinga where he noticed "various sects of which majority is the Nirgranthas. According to Beal the great Buddhist monk, Dharmakīrti, defeated Kumarilabhatta of Kanci and converted the Jain scholars of Kalinga in the 7th century A. D.⁽²⁰⁾ to bring it to Buddhist fold. From an inscription of

(15)—Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. III, Part 1, 2 and 3, pp. 225—227.

(16)—Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 298—302; Ins. Or., Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 78—80.

(17)—B. Lewis Rice, Ep. Carn, Vol. VII, Introduction, p. 16 ff.

(18)—Ins. Or. Vol. II, pp. 113—117 ff. For some detailed accounts relating to the origin of the Gangassee Ins. Cr Vol. II, pp. 344—45 ff.

(19)—D. C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, p. 19.

(20)—Waters', Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 198 (1905 ed.)

Nilakantheswar temple on a hill near Padnapur of Gunapur Subdivision of Koraput District we trace that Dharmakirti's Asrama was located there. Thus, the struggle between the Jain scholars and Buddhist monks in Kalinga continued for some time. But, the Jain establishments retained importance in Kalinga for many centuries to come. In this connection we will state that in 1100 Saka year or in the 11th regnal year of Anatavarma Rājarāja (II) of the Imperial Gṅga dynasty one Kannama Nayaka, a devout worshipper of Jina and a subordinate of Utkala king installed a sacred image of Jina at Remaraniagiri (the modern Rama-tirtham) in a temple called 'Rājarāja-Jinālaya' for which temple some merchants of Bhogapura have granted lands to burn a perpetual lamp. It is recorded in an inscription of Bhogapuram ⁽²¹⁾ in Bhiliptam taluk of Visakhapatna District, which runs as follows :—

śakābde nabhakhenducandra ganite śrībhaga puryāmprabhuh
 śrīman kannaya nāyakssumatimāṅkṛtvā jina sthāṇanām
 Tasyā gāramacīkarassu vilasat saile (su) dhā bhāsuram
 Rāmā Rama giraulyathājīnapadābājsakta citta svayam "

In the same inscription, at lines 18 and 19, we find that Ambikādevi's image was also installed in that temple. Ambikā is the Sasanadevi or the Yaakshini of Neminatha ⁽²²⁾.

According to the Sammohani-tantra, the following dhyana refers to Ambikādevi :—

Udyad bhāsvat samabhyāṁ vidita navayuvā mīndu khāṇḍāvanabdhā
 Dyotanmīla trīnetram vīvidhamaniganai bhusitamamgaragam
 Haragraibeya Kancīgunamanibālayāddevi citrāmbārādhyam
 "Ambāpāsāṁ kuśesāmbhayavarada karam ambikāmtam namāmi"

Several Buddhist and Jain images have been subsequently merged into the Brahmanical pantheonism while some of the Jain temples were converted into Hindu temples although the Hindu kings of Orissa patronised Jainas and tolerated the continuance of their faith. For example the Jain establishment at the Khandagiri Hill known as Kumari-pahada was not only protected by a Somavamsi king of Orissa named Udyotakesari of the circa 11th century A. D., but also in the 5th year of his reign he renovated some Jain temples of Tīrthankaras and repaired the ruined walls at Kumaragiri as recorded in an inscription of the Lalatendus Kesari cave at Khandagiri ⁽²³⁾ In Kalinga, a measuring rod is introduced by the Jain priests and it is called 'Jina-Kola' ⁽²⁴⁾ It is used for measurement of temples and fields under religious concept. Thus neither the Hindu kings of Kalinga nor the Buddhist Bhama-karas of Toshali did any harm to suppress the Jain religion in their respective kingdoms. On the other hand many Jain scholars were employed as astronomers and administrators of the courts of various south Indian royal families as observed by Dr. D. C. Sircar ⁽²⁵⁾ These Jain astronomers seem to have introduced the Saka-era in this country. The earliest known 'śakāvda' is used by the Jain author, Simhasuri in his Lokavibhaga which was written at Kanchi in śakāvda 388

(21) Ins. Or. Vol. III, Part-ii, pp. 316-317 ff; SII, Vol. X, No. 710.

(22)

(23)—Ed. Ind Vol XIII, p. 166, Ins. Or Vol. IV, p. 236 ff.

(24)—Ins. Or. Vol. III, part-i, p. 51—foot note-3, *Ibid.* pp. 71, 185; *Ibid.* Part-ii, pp. 270—297, etc.

(25)—Indian Epigraphy, p. 2-3 ff.

(A. D. 466). In Orissa, several writers and engravers of copper-plate Inscriptions seem to have belonged to the Jain sect which is evident from their names such as Sarvacandra, Khandicandra Bhanu candra, Vinayacandra²⁶ etc. The gold-smiths of South Orissa are generally called 'Sarabh', a derivation of 'Sravaka'. A class of Astronomers of Orissa are known as Brahmanas of Saka-dvipa. Originally these people belonged to the Jain sect, although in the latter age their ethnic character was changed when the brahmanical culture developed in this country.

The revival of Jainism in Orissa actually took place in the 11th and 12th centuries during the reigning period of Udyotakesari and the Ganga king Rajaraja (II), son of Anantavarma Chodaganga, who constructed the great Jagannātha temple at Puri. Some scholars believe that the cult of Jagannatha is based on Jainism. According to Pandit Nilakantha Das, the images of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Purushottama-Jagannatha are the three symbolic representations of Samyak-driṣṭi, Samyak jñāna and Samyak caritra which are the three main principles of the Jain religion. Although we notice some similarity of ritualism adopted in the temple of Jagannātha with that of Jainism, it is quite evident that the great Jagannātha-cult is merely a synthesis of the incorporated principles of Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism, while each played its role in the religious history of this land from age to age.

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(26)—*Ins. Or.* Vol. II, pp. 2, 11, 16, 21, 26, 31, 36, 45, 55, 60, 65, 71, 78, etc., and for their sur-names see *ibid.*, 362,

JAINISM IN ANCIENT ORISSA

A. K. Rath

The sixth century B. C. constitutes a very interesting chapter in the history of India for its remarkable intellectual ferment. It witnessed the emergence of two highly developed forms of religions, viz. Jainism and Buddhism, propounded by Vardhamana Mahavira and Gautama Buddha respectively. While Buddhism spread far and wide beyond India, Jainism has had to be satisfied with setting the minds in motion in India only. When we think of the interest which the Upanishadas, Buddhism and Hinduism have raised and still raise in the West, one might indeed believe that Jainism was more pronouncedly Indian than the other religions, since it has not had a similar international influence of capital importance. That is, however, scarcely the case; the thing is that the others have only acquired their position outside India through becoming the object of an often almost unnoticeable assimilation of thoughts, which has made it acceptable to non-Indians. To such an adaptation Jainism has never been tempted, not because it is more truly Indian, but because it is remarkably devoid of emotional sides that are capable of captivating receptive minds. Both Mahavira and Buddha utilised the Hindu inheritance to correct some of its expressions. They came to fulfil, not to destroy. For us in this country, they are an outstanding representative of our religious traditions and cultural heritage. They left their foot prints on the soil of India and their mark on the soul of the country with its habits and convictions. Buddha followed the middle course and Mahavira was an extremist. While their teaching, assumed distinctive forms in the other countries of the World in conformity with their own traditions, here in the home of Mahavira and Buddha, it has entered into and become an integral part of our culture. In a sense they are the makers of modern Hinduism. (1)

It has been rightly said by Shri J. L. Jaini that "Jainism more than any other creed gives absolute religious independence and freedom to man. Nothing can intervene between the actions which we do and the fruits thereof. Once done, they become our masters and must fructify. As my independence is great, so my responsibility is co-extensive with it. I can live as I like; but my choice is irrevocable, and I cannot escape the consequences of it. This principle distinguishes Jainism from other religions, e. g., Christianity, Muhammadanism, Hinduism. No God or His Prophet or Deputy, or Beloved can interfere with human life. The soul, and it alone, is directly and necessarily responsible for all that it does". (2) It is this religion which exercised a profound influence on the people of Orissa in the past.

The history of Jainism in Orissa may be broadly divided into three periods, viz., the Pre-Mauryan Period, the Period of Kharavela and the Post-Kharavela Period. In the first two periods Jainism was the national religion of Orissa which is corroborated by literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidences.

In the Pre-Mauryan Period there was a great Jaina monarch in Orissa named Karakandu who was a disciple of Parsvanatha (3). He had visited the Terapura Caves (Dharasiva) and built Jaina shrines there in which he installed old as well as newly constructed images of Jinendras (4). The earliest reference to the country of Kalinga (ancient Orissa) in the Jaina

literature is in connection with Lord Aranatha, the 18th Jaina Tirthankara, who received his first alms in the city of Rayapura (Rajapura) (5), which is said to be the capital of that country. However, Parsvanatha was the first to preach Jainism in Kalinga. It is said "Naravarman was the king of Kusasthalapura who was succeeded by his son Prasenjit. Prasenjit had a very beautiful daughter known as Prabhavati for whom he failed to obtain a suitable groom. One day, however, when the princess was moving in her garden she heard some *Kinnar*es singing a song in praise of Parsvanatha, a very handsome and virtuous son of King Asvasena of Varanasi. They said that Parsvanatha would be a suitable match for Prabhavati. That song created a longing for Parsva in the heart of Prabhavati. When the matter was reported to king Prasenjit, he decided at once to get her married to Parsva. In the meantime, this was known to the king of Kalinga, who was known as 'Yavana'. He got enraged at this news and declared in his Parishat—"Who is Parsva and how can any one else marry Prabhavati when I am alive? Who is Prasenjit to give away Prabhavati to Parsva?". He then proceeded to Kusasthalapura with a huge army. Consequently Prasenjit requested Asvasena for help, who, in turn, sent Parsva to check the invader and save Prasenjit. Having known the presence of Parsva in the city the Kalinga Yavana decided not to fight and finally withdrew to his kingdom⁶. Thus there is an intimate connection between the name of Parsvanatha and the ancient culture of Kalinga. The depiction of his images and stories relating to the events of his life in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves throws ample light on his intimate association with Kalinga.

Mahavira had also visited Kalinga to preach his religion⁷. The Jaina work *Haribhadriya Vritti* says that Mahavira went to Kalinga as the king of that country was a friend of his father. This text is named after Haribhadra, the commentator of *Avashyaka Sutra*, a Jaina work wherein it is written that after preaching his religion at Toshali Mahavira from here went to the King of Moshala; '*Tato Bagavam Toshalin Gao...Tattha Sumagaho Namaratti O Bhagabao So Moqe, Tato Sima Moshalin Gao*⁸. Mahavira is also said to have been put to troubles at Toshali and was on the point of being hanged as he was taken to be a robber. But he was rescued through the timely intervention of the Toshali Kshatriyas⁹.

Kalinga is mentioned in the list of 25½ Aryan Countries suitable for wandering (on preaching tours) of Jaina monks¹⁰. The capital of Kalinga has been mentioned here as Kanchanapura¹¹. But elsewhere in the Jaina literature another city named Dantapura has been mentioned which appears very frequently in the Buddhist literature¹². With Dantavakka as its king¹³.

The Uttaradhyana Sutra (page 21) refers to Kalinga as a centre of Jainism with Pihunda, a famous port as an important seat of Jaina culture. It is said that a Jaina merchant came from Champa and marrying a local girl settled here. Evangelisers also used to visit this port to propagate Jainism.

Jainism achieved further reputation as a wide spread religion during the rule of the Nanda dynasty. In the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela¹⁴ it is said that Kharavela brought back the Kalinga Jina that had been carried away by the Nandaraja. This Nandaraja has been identified with Mahapadmananda. He is accused to have taken away the image of a Jaina Tirthankara from Kalinga to Pataliputra where from it was brought back to Kalinga by Kharavela. The Jaina Tirthankara has been identified with Lord Sitalanatha, who was born at Bahadalapura which is probably identified with Bhadrachalam or Bhadrapura in the Kalinga country now in Andhra Pradesh¹⁵. During the Nanda rule in Kalinga Jainism was a flourishing religion. The image of Kalinga Jina not only gives us an insight into the ancient religion and culture but also to the sculptural activities of the Orissans in the 5th/4th century B. C. The very look at it must have brought the greatest and proudest down

upon his knees, and bow before it in reverence. That is why it was valued most and taken away by Nandaraja. This was a great loss to the people of Kalinga who were under the rule of the Nandas then. But when they could assert their independence and found themselves strong enough under the astute and able leadership of Kharavela, they invaded Magadha, defeated its king and brought back their lovely and dear image. After the Nandas Kalinga was ruled by Asoka who was a Buddhist and hence the condition of Jainism in Kalinga was not as before. But with the downfall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Chedi dynasty under Kharavela Jainism once again became the state religion.

The reign of Kharavela is a significant landmark in the history of Jainism in Orissa which is proved by the monuments of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills and the Hathigumpha Inscription (of Kharavela). Among the followers of Mahavira, Kharavela's is the most ancient name of a ruling potentate that can be found in an inscription. Considering the chronology of Post-Mauryan times and the ancient glory of Jainism his is the most important and the only inscription yet discovered in the country, but unquestionable is its importance from even the stand point of political history of India. The invocation formula of the Hathigumpha inscription—'Namo Arihamtanam Namo Sava-Sidhnam' clearly brings out that Jainism was the religious faith of Kharavela.

The 10th line of the Hathigumpha inscription refers to the building activities of Kharavela, i. e., caves for the Jaina monks. The 12th year's record (line 12) of this inscription says that (1) when king had invaded Kalinga and conquered the same, he carried off the image of Jina belonging to Kalinga as the highest trophy, (2) king Kharavela signalled his conquest of Anga-Magadha by bringing back that image of Kalinga Jina in a triumphal procession and (3) that he professed Jainism in common with his queens, Kumaras and Officials. Thus, it is clear that, somehow or other the affection and the honour of the royal family as well as the people of Kalinga was bound up with the image of Kalinga Jina. Similarly the 13th year's record of Kharavela's reign (line 14 of the inscription) says that he devoted himself entirely to religious practices on the Kumari Hill (the present Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills) where Mahavira had preached his religion. Kharavela offered maintenances and white garments to the monks. He excavated 117 caves to serve as resting places of the Arhats or Jaina saints (16). From lines 14 to the end of the inscription it is revealed that many illustrious Sramanas, Yatis and Jaina saints had assembled at Kumari Hills from all over India for whom Kharavela, on the desire of his queen Sindhula of Simhapatha, constructed a magnificent abode close to and in front of the dwellings of the Arhats at a cost of 1,05,000 coins. Kharavela has been eulogised as a Jaina who had given the religion a proper place in his daily life.

The Hathigumpha inscription further reveals that Kharavela spent liberally on the pious sites of the Kumari Hills and incised the inscription full of glory. The state maintenance was to be given to the Yapa Professors who had ended their course of birth by austerities at the depository of the remains of the body on the sacred Kumari Hills, where the 'wheel of the conquerer' (17) was fully established. What better proof than this is required of Kharavela's firm and rigid devotion to this faith? Another inscription in the Svargapuri Cave (18) of the Udayagiri Hill records that a temple of Arhats and a cave for the Sramanas of Kalinga had been made by the chief queen of Kharavela. After Kharavela ended the golden age in the history of Jainism in Orissa.

Kamdapa-Siri or Kudepasiri who has styled himself as Aira Maharaja Kalingadhipati in the Manchapuri Cave Inscription (19) was most probably the immediate successor of Kharavela. A scene found on the facade of the Varandah of this cave appears to represent Kharavela, prince Kudepasiri and the queen as paying homage to the sacred image of Kalinga Jina

recovered from Magadha by Kharavela. This scene was caused to be carved by the king (Kudepasiri who according to the inscription was the excavator of the cave. Nothing else can be told about Kudapasiri except that like his predecessor he was also a Jaina (20).

Hiuen-T'sang, the famous Chinese Pilgrim, who visited Orissa sometime between A. D. 629—45 describes that the Jaina population in Orissa numbered nearly 10,000 and there were 'very many unbelievers of different sorts, the most numerous being the Nigranthas (Ni-kiu Followers)' (21).

Kharavela's reign is characterised by cave architecture found in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Hills, the 'Sun Rising Hill' and the 'Broken Hill' respectively. The native legend about the origin of these hills is that 'they formerly constituted a part of the Himalaya, at which time they were inhabited by the numerus Risis, who dug the caves now found in them. They were taken up bodily, ascetics and all, by Mahavira Hanumana, with other masses of rock, to build the bridge of Rama, but by some accident, were allowed to drop in their passage through the air, when they alighted in their present position' (22). There are altogether 44 and 19 caves in the Udayagiri and the Khandagiri Hills respectively. The sculptured friezes of these caves have a distinct place of their own in early Indian art. The poses of the figures are easy and natural, their movements vivacious and elastic, and emotions like agony, pleasure, fear, determination, mental tension, etc., tolerably well expressed. The composition fairly coherent and effective, the different figures bear relationship with one another. The reliefs have matured into depth, displaying a considerable plasticity of form and naturalism of modelling. Slender figures of men and women are marked by a suavity of outline. Figures of the Tirthankaras with their cognizance marks or Lanchanas, Dwarapalas (male and female), the colossal elephants, horses, monkeys, birds, etc. are specifically noteworthy.

The caves have usually been excavated with a gentle slope away from the main rock and provided with deep holes there by ensuring effective drainage. Some of the caves, especially at Khandagiri, are very small like the den of wild beasts; ordinary caves are characterised by a chamber shaded by a pillared verandah in front. There are some more elaborate caves as well, such as the two storeyed, the upper storey in some cases receding back from the lower one. The chamber at the rear is often divided into 5 or 6 cells, and there is a long stretch of Verandah in front supported by columns. The peculiarity with almost all the caves is that a bench of stone runs round three sides of the front verandah. The two walls of the verandah, are so hollowed out at the top as to present the appearance of cup-boards. These were meant to hold the scanty necessities of lives of the Jaina monks.

The Ranigumpha or the Queen's Cave is the largest, most spacious and elaborately carved of the entire group. It belongs to the Udayagiri Hill. Dr. Grun Wedel remarks "Amongst the oldest sculptures of India are, perhaps, those of the caves of Udayagiri in the Puri district of Orissa. The most interesting are in the two storeyed Rajarani or Ranika-nur cave. These remarkable reliefs show an uncommonly animated, little influenced by foreign elements. They form so to speak, the primitive basis from which issued the purified and refined forms of later times" (23).

Among the Khandagiri caves the Satbakhara and Navamuni caves are most important. The Satbakhara cave is noted for the figures of the Jaina Tirthankaras with their characteristic Lanchanas. The Navamuni cave is noted for an inscription and in this cave a disciple of Kulachandra, a Jaina Sramana, is supposed to have lived. (24). In the Udayagiri caves many of the walls must have been adorned with frescoes as is evident from the remains of the obliterated frescoes in the caves.

With such a historical tradition at its back it would not be wrong to say that Orissa was the garden of Jainism for some time in the past with Udayagiri and Kandagiri as its Jerusalem. Jainism held ground in Orissa right from the 6th century B. C. down to the beginning of the christian era as a popular religion. As a distinct religion it appears to have ceased to exist in Orissa after the 10th century A. D. for after Kharavela it lacked royal support and patronage, and hence disappeared. But again whether this disappearance was due to the persistent persecution by the people of other religions or rulers of the land or due to the slow and steady adoption or absorption of the best and the noblest elements of Jainism into the monotheistic Brahmanism which had always strong leanings towards Mahesvara worship it cannot be said. Probably the Jaina tenets were absorbed sometimes into the Saiva cult or the worship of Linga as the emblem of Siva or Mahesvara and sometimes into the vaishnava pantheon. So dominant and aggressive was the worship of Siva in the form of Phallic emblem in Orissa that Orissa became renowned all over India as a Siva Kshetra in the early mediaeval period. The reaction towards Sive worship and the phallic emblem became so dominant that Jainism like Buddhism quickly disappeared by about the 11th century A. D. The Jaina religious Siddhanta and monastic orders became part of the Saiva Siddhantas and Saiva monastic orders like the pasupatas and others; Sarvesvara, the first Gandhara of the Jainas, who is, however,, very much unlike Isvara of Barhmanism, became identical with Mahesvara of the worshippers of Siva, who looked to the Vedas and the Vedangas for spiritual guidance and wisdom.

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17. This suggests that among the Jainas chakra also symbolised the spread of conquest of religion. This is confirmed by the representation of the wheel found at Mathura Jaina Stupa.
18. E. I., Vol. III, P. 159ff.
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RECENT DISCOVERIES OF BUDDHIST MONUMENTS IN BENGAL

S. R. Das

It is not known for certain when Buddhism was introduced into Bengal. According to the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited Bengal in the fourth decade of the seventh century A. D. Lord Buddha himself sojourned in different parts of Bengal for the propagation of his religion, and that the emperor Asoka built stupas in those places which were sanctified by the dust of his feet. Besides, the Chinese pilgrim witnessed also many other stūpas and monasteries belonging to different Buddhist Schools flourishing side by side with the Jaina and Brahmanical temples.¹ He has also recorded two illustrious monasteries by name, one in Karnasuvarna and the other in Pundravardhana. Other Chinese pilgrims have also noted a few monasteries by name. Ta-cheng-teng stayed in a vihāra called Po-lo-ho (Varāha) in Tāmralipti which was also visited by I-Tsing. The number of Buddhist stūpas and vihāras increased considerably in the subsequent periods during the rule of the Pālas, Devas, Chandras, etc. In fact, both literary and archaeological records mention many Buddhist monasteries even by name. Some of the more important monasteries which were all great seats of learning and resorts of many reputed Buddhist scholars may be noted here : Āsrama-vihāra and Rāja-vihāra, Pattikera-vihāra, Phullahari-vihāra, Sannagaro-vihāra, Śālivarddaka-vihāra, Traikutaka-vihāra, Vikramapuri-vihāra, Pandita-vihāra, Devikot-vihāra, Kanakastūpa-vihāra, Jagaddala-vihāra, Suvarna-vihāra, Bālāndā-mahāvihāra, Somapuri-vihāra, etc.

Most surprisingly enough, not a single Asokan stupa has yet been discovered in Bengal. Even the very existence of many Buddhist monasteries recorded by Hiuen Tsang and others could not be traced for a long time past. We have also little knowledge about the locations of many of the monasteries mentioned above. It may be possible, however, to refer to their present locale in a very broad way. As to Traikutaka-vihāra a reference has been made to Traikutaka-devālaya in Rādhā country and as such, this may be located somewhere in West Bengal.² Devikot-vihāra might be located near Devikot, the headquarter of Kotivarsha-vishaya. The ruins of the city of Devikot were discovered during excavations at Bāngarh (Dinājpur district) and perhaps on its neighbourhood stood Devikot-vihāra. Pandita-vihāra may be located in the district of Chittagang Bangladesh. Phullahari might be placed near Monghyr. Sannagara may be equated with Sonārgāon (Dacca, Bāṅgalādes̄h). Pattikera-vihāra's existence is attested by a copper plate inscription (1) from Maināmatī³ which records grants of land by Raṇavaṅkaamalla Śrī Harikāladeva in 1220 A. D. to the monastery in Pattikera. But its exact location is uncertain. It may, however, be noted that even today

(1) Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II. pp. 184-93

(2) Bagchi, *Lecano Buddhique en Chine*, p. 539; HB. VII. p. 414

(3) HB., Vol. I., p. 417

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) IHQ., IX. p. 282ff.

there is a parganā of the same name which includes also the Maināmatī hills¹. Again, we have a reference to another monastery named Kanakastūpa-vihāra in Paṭṭikera. Thus there might have been two separate monasteries in Paṭṭikera or the same monastery might have been known under two different names. Vikramapurī-vihāra is to be located in Vikramapur (Dacca, Bangladesh), but its exact location is not definitely known. Jagadda'a-mahāvihāra in Varendra (North Bengal) is mentioned in the Rāmacharita (III. 7.). But it has not yet been possible to locate the monastery. As to Bālandā-mahāvihāra it has been suggested that Chandraketurah which yielded seals bearing Buddhist formulae, Buddha images, etc., might be taken as the site of the monastery. But this identification is yet to be firmly established.

Regarding a very old stūpa in Bengal particular reference may be made to Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no sanctuary. The Chinese pilgrim I. Tsing (673—35) recorded: 'Mahārāja Śrīgupta built a temple for the Chinese priests and granted 24 villages for its maintainance'. This Chinese temple stood close to the sanctuary which lay at a distance of 40 yojanas to the east of Nālandā following the course of the Bhāgīrathī². From the direction and distance of location of the sanctuary given in the record of the Chinese pilgrim it appears that the temple in question may be placed in Bengal. Further, an illustrated Cambridge manuscript dated 1015 bears a painted stūpa with the inscription below: 'Mṛigasthāpana-stūpa' of Varendra. This Mṛigasthāpana may be the sanskrit rendering of the Chinese name of the sanctuary. Accordingly, the shrine may be located at a place on the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī (Rāḍha) in the district of Murshidābād or in Verendra (North Bengal). Mahārāja-Śrīgupta appeared about 500 years before I. Tsing, i. e., second century A. D. This does not, however, agree with the date of Śrīgupta the father of Chandragupta I. It may be suggested that the shrine in question might have stood on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī in the district of Murshidābād. Ruins of many Buddhist monasteries and stūpas have been discovered from certain places along the course of the Bhāgīrathī in the district of Murshidābād. It is not quite unlikely that some of these ruins might be identified with the Mṛigasthāpana-stūpa. Another early Buddhist Vihāra may be located at Bihārālī (Rajshahi district, Bangladesh) where trial excavations at a mound called Rajbadi exposed structural remains representing an ancient plan of a row of cells round a central courtyard. This has been attributed to the Gupta period³.

In recent years only two illustrious monasteries mentioned by Hiuen Tsang have been brought to light by the archaeological spade. These two well-known monasteries are : Lo-to-wei (mo)-ch (Raktamrita, pali form being Rattamattikā, i. e., red clay/Rangamati) in the neighbourhood of Kie (ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (Kamasuvarna) and Po-shih-po (or Po-kih-po/Po-kih-sha—Bhāsu-vihāra) ying at a distance of 20 li to the west of the capital city of Pu-na-fa-tan-na (Pundravardhana)⁴. In the case of the first one, the present geographical location of neither the capital city nor its monastery was known for long. As to the second one, the capital city has been identified with Mahasthangarh in the district of Bogra, but not the monastery.

The identification of Karṇasuvarṇa, the capital city of 'asāṅka, has been a matter of disputes due to two principal reasons : (1) discrepancies relating to distances and directions given in the life and Travel accounts of Hiuen Tsang and (2) absence of any unimpeachable archaeological record testifying to the present location of the city. The capital city of Pundravardhana has been, however, identified firmly with Mahāsthāngarh on the basis of an epigraphic record in Mauryan Brāhmī script and also some other finds including punch-marked coins, Northern Black Polished Pottery⁵ etc. But the identity of its monastery is as yet uncertain.

(1) HB., Vol. I. p. 258

(2) Ibid. p. 69-70

(3) ASI, 1927-28, p. 107

(4) Watters. Vol. II. pp. 184—85, 191—93

(5) E. I. Vol. II. p. 108

The illustrious Raktamrittika-mahavihara recorded by Hiuen Tsang is not mentioned in any early literary texts. But the name of the capital city of Karnasuvarna occurs in both literary and epigraphic records. Yet, the identification of Karnasuvarna remained uncertain for a long time past. To solve this problem of the identification of Karnasuvarna and its illustrious monastery the Archaeological Survey of India conducted excavations at a mound called Rakshasidanga in the district of Mursidabad in 1928-29, but unfortunately, no clues regarding their identity could be discovered.¹ The report of the said excavations published in 1933 records that no definite information was available regarding the identification of Karnasuvarna and its illustrious monastery.² The unearthed building remains have been, however, supposed to be that of a Buddhist monastery. After a lapse of 32 years another attempt was made to determine the location of Karnasuvarna and its monastery Raktamrittika by the University of Calcutta, for which an extensive nearby mound locally called Rajbadidanga in the village Jadupur in the district of Mursidabad was selected for excavation in 1962³. The excavation at the site for the last few years yielded a wealth of materials, of which the most significant assemblage is a number of inscribed terracotta seals and sealings bearing Dharmachakra-deer motif and two lines of inscription below in the characters of the seventh/eighth century A. D. The legend on these sealings runs as " :⁴

1. Shri—Raktamrittika—mahavihara—

2. rik—arya—bhikshu—(sangha)s (y) a.

(This is the seal of the community of the noble monks of the great monastery at the illustrious Raktamrittika.

In nature and character these sealings are analogous with those discovered from Ratnagiri, Vaisali, Nalanda, Somapuri, and other places. On the strength of this seal inscription it may be now strongly affirmed that the present mound of Rajbadidanga under excavation for the last several years was indeed the site par excellence of the famous Raktamrittika-mahavihara recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. That Rajbadidanga was the illustrious site of many Buddhist establishments is also attested to by other seal inscriptions, many of which contain personal name, Buddhist formulae, etc., which may be recognised as votive offerings testifying to the existence of Buddhist shrines and other monuments at the place.⁵ Further confirmatory records have been furnished by the buildings remains which bespeak of several temple complexes and a big monastery. Other archaeological assemblages retrieved from the site comprise bronze images of the Buddha, Tara, Dharmachakra, stucco heads of the Buddha⁶ terracotta votive stupas etc. All archaeological repertoire from the site testify to the flourishing existence of a number of Buddhist establishment including the Raktamrittika-mahavihara. On the basis of the identification of the Raktamrittika-mahavihara the capital city of Karnasuvarna may now be firmly located in the neighbourhood of Rajbadidanga. But tangible records in favour of the exact location of Karnasuvarna near Rajbadidanga are yet to be discovered.⁷

In this context, a particular reference may be made to the discovery of an inscription from Malay Peninsula attributed to the 5th century A. D., which speaks of the Mahanavika, Buddhagupta who was a native of Raktamrittika (Raktamrittika-vasa)⁸. This Raktamrittika

(1) ARASI, 1928-29

(2) Ibid.

(3) Das, Rajbadidanga, p. 21

(4) Ibid., p. 56

(5) Ibid., pp. 52—66

(6) Das, Archaeological Discoveries from Mursidabad District, pp.

(7) Das, Rajbadidanga, p. 66

(8) Ibid., pp. 57

may be now firmly identified with the Rājābādīdāṅgā site under excavation. It is very interesting to note here that the ancient name of Raktamṛttikā is still retained by the nearby village Rāṅgāmāṭi (Chāṇḍpārā).

Besides this discovery of Raktamṛttikā-mahāvihāra another monastery described by Hiuen Tsang has been very recently unearthed by the Archaeology Department of the Bangladesh Government during 1974-75.¹ Hiuen Tsang visited Puṇḍravardhana and its illustrious monastery Po-shi-po (Po-chi-po) i. e., Vāsabha-saṅghārāmā, and also the stūpa built by Asoka near it, the spot where Buddha preached for three months and near that were traces of the four Buddhas having sat and walked up and down.² Not far off from this place was a temple containing the statue of Kuan-tzu-tsab-pu-sa (Avalokiteśvara). The city of Puṇḍra-varḍhna has been firmly identified with Mahāsthāngarh in the district of Bogra (Bangladesh) on the basis of an epigraphic record bearing the name of Puṇḍāṅga.³ But the exact location of Po-shi-po monastery and other temples is as yet uncertain.

As early as 1882 Cunningham identified these three important Buddhist monuments mentioned by Hiuen Tsang : (a) Po-shi-po with the scattered mounds in two villages of Bihār and Bhāsu-Bihār; (b) Aśoka's stūpa with a solid brick mound nearby; (c) the shrine of Avalokiteśvara with the ruined temple called Sanyāśr-bāri.⁴ But concrete archaeological records in respect of all these identifications are yet unknown. With a view to ascertain the validity of Cunningham's identification of Po-shi-po monastery with the ruins of Bhāsu-Bihār excavations were undertaken at its three large mounds.

The excavations at these three sites unearthed building remains of two Buddhist monasteries, a semi-cruciform shrine and a rich treasure of antiquities. No less than forty bronze images of the Buddha and Buddhist devities (Dhyānī Buddha, Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvar, Tārā and Manju'rī), some of which are also inscribed bearing the Buddhist formulae. Other bronze objects consist of statues of female devotees, Dharmachakra, Chatras, etc. These bronze images are not unlike those retrieved from Rājābādīdāṅgā. Even the bronze head of Tārā from Rājābādīdāṅgā bears resemblance with the bronze image of Tara from Bhāsu-Bihār. Further similarities may be noticed in the case of the bronze Dharmachakra.⁵ Though no representation of the Bronze chakra has been made in the interim report, its account as presented indicates a striking affinity with the Rājābādīdāṅgā bronze Dharmachakra.⁶

Still more significant finds comprised an assemblage of inscribed terrakotta seals and sealing in proto-Bengali script.⁷ Some of these seals bear Dharmachakra-deer motif and below inscriptions in two lines⁸. But the contents of these seal inscriptions have not been communicated in the report. Even the representations of the seals have not been given. It, however, appears from the account given that these clay seals are perhaps similar to those discovered from Nālandā, Ratnagiri, Pāhārpur, Rājābādīdāṅgā⁹, etc. It may be accordingly presumed that these seals might have been

(1) Ahmed, Bangladesh Lalitkala, Vol. No. I. pp. 1—18

(2) Watters, Ibid., pp. 184-85

(3) F. I. Vol. II. p. 108

(4) A S I R. Vol. XV, p. 104

(5) Das, Archaeological Discoveries from Mursidabad District, pp.

(6) Ibid. p.

(7) Ibid. p.

(8) Ibid. p.

(9) Ahmed, Bangladesh Lalitkala, Vol. I, No. I. p. 18

(10) Ibid. p. 18

(11) Das, Rajbadidanga, pp.

also issued by the Bhikshu-Sangha of the Po-shi-po monastery of Puṇḍravardhana. Another ground of interesting finds comprised several terracotta plaques (some found in situ) decorating the shrine, the nature and contents of which vary in details from those discovered from Pāhārpur and Maināmatī¹. These terracotta plaques are indeed wonderful representations of the rural art of Bengal.

All structural remains and other finds from Bhāsu-Bihār have been attributed to 10th/11th century² A.D. As the readings of the seal inscriptions are not yet known it is not possible just at present to verify firmly the identification of Cunningham. This made the excavator to report : '.... it is still premature to accept or repudiate the identification of Cunningham. Existence of Aśoka stūpa in Bengal is as yet a pious myth, exaggerated by the over enthusiastic Chinese pilgrim ; while the splendor and majesty of the monastery and the temple he witnessed at Bhāsu-Bihār may still lie buried deep under the late buildings so far exposed or under the ground still unexposed³. But on the basis of the analogous nature of building remains and other finds, more particularly bronze images and inscribed terracotta seals, it may be most rightly presumed that the Bhāsu-Bihār site under excavation might be identified with the Po-shi-po monastery witnessed by the Chinese pilgrim. In this connection, it is also interesting to note that the old name of Po-shi-po is still retained in the present village names of Bihār and Bhāsu-Bihār just like Raktamṛittkā in the modern village name of Rāṅgāmāṭi.

Besides the discovery of these two monasteries in Karṇasuverṇ and Puṇḍrayardhana, ruins of some other Buddhist monuments 'were' also brought to light some years back. Of all these discoveries the one that deserves special mention here is the unravelling of Buddhist monuments at Maināmatī (Comilla, Bangladesh). Of the four kingdoms recorded by Hiuen Tsang Samatāṭa is one where the pilgrim witnessed 30 monasteries Aśoka stūpa, etc. But unfortunately the exact location of Samatāṭa is as yet uncertain, not to speak of its many monasteries. On the basis of the identity of Rajabhaṭa mentioned by Seng-chi with Rājarājabhaṭa of the Āsrāpur plates, it may be contended that the royal residence was at Karmānta which may be equated with Bāḍkāmtā, a police-station at a distance of 12 miles west of Comilla⁴. But this equation may not be taken as certain. There is, however, little doubt that the kingdom of Samatāṭa included Comilla, Tripurā and adjoining regions. But no distinct clues regarding the monasteries and stupas in Samatāṭa as recorded by Hiuen Tsang could be traced. Here, it would be profitable to refer to archaeological discoveries made at Maināmatī.

Four miles west of Comilla there runs a long ridge of 11 miles comprising many low hills, flat tops and slopes of which are littered with ruins of Buddhist establishments brought to light during the last world war. Subsequently, in 1955—57 the Archaeology Department of the Pakistan Government conducted excavations at three promising sites, namely, Sālvana-Vihāra, Koṭīla-mura and Charpatra-mura, all of which revealed remains of Buddhist establishments and a rich assemblage of antiquities⁵.

The excavation at Sālvana-Vihāra uncovered a large monastery building with no less than 115 cells, entrance hall, gateways, etc. Altogether four building phases were determined, the oldest one may be attributed to the 8th century A. D. on the basis of the copper plate inscriptions, inscribed terracotta sealings and coins. The cruciform shrine was built by the Deva ruler

1. Ahmed, Ibid. pp. 15 ; Pakistan Archaeology, No. I, p. 47

2. Ahmed, Ibid., p. 18

3. Ibid.

4. Beal, Life, XL-XLI ; JASB, XIX, p. 378 ; E. I. XVIII. p.351 ; JASB, X p. 8 ; HB. Vol. I. p. 17, 86-87

5. Pakistan Archaeology, No. I., pp. 44—47

Bhavadeva. In the subsequent phases, the cruciform plan was transformed into an oblong one and this continued in the third and perhaps also in the fourth phases. Outside the monastery was exposed a square shrine with terraces. Most remarkable discovery from this site comprised 3 hoards of gold and silver coins, two inscribed copper plates, one bronze relic casket and a number of bronze images¹.

Similarly, the excavations at Kotilamura unravelled a group of three stupas, the middle one containing cells as well. It is very significant to note that stone sculptures of the Buddha and Bodhisattavas (Tara, Manjusri, lay worshippers, etc.), many miniature stupas, inscribed terracotta sealings were all retrieved from these cells. These three stupas have been supposed to represent the Buddha, Dharma and Sangh. Besides, a row of nine votive stupas was also exposed. At Charapatra site was exposed a rectangular shrine with its hall and gateway. From this area were also recovered four inscribed copper plates and a bronze relic casket.

On the whole, the excavations at the Mainamati hills proved to be most fruitful in respect of both building remains and antiquities. The copper plates recovered during excavations were issued by the Deva and Chandra rulers of East Bengal and three hoards of coins numbering 350, the majority of which are of silver and gold coins are few. Two gold coins belong to Samudragupta and Chandragupta II and others to the local Deva rulers and Abasid Calips². Silver coins were perhaps issued by the local rulers. Bronze images of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and Tārā are excellent in their execution. Another interesting group of finds consist of terracotta plaques representing a variety of subjects which decorated the buildings. They are in certain respects superior to those discovered from Pāhārpur.

It is thus evident from the short report on the excavations at Maināmati that there were several Buddhist temple complexes, monasteries, stupas, etc. Hiuen Tsang visited Samatata and witnessed 30 monasteries where lived 2,000 monks. The Chinese pilgrim has not, however, named any Buddhist monastery as he did in the case of Raktamṛttikā in Karnasuvarna and Po-shi-po in Pundravardhana. If Samatata kingdom included Comilla Tipperah and adjoining regions it may be reasonably presumed that the Chinese pilgrim plausibly referred to these monasteries discovered during excavations at Maināmati. This contention is strengthened by the very fact that no Site of Eastern and Southern Bengal has as yet yielded such complexes of Buddhist establishments.

Besides, here a particular reference may be made to Kanakastupa-vihāra in Pattikera (Pattikereka) or Pattikereka-vihara. It is very significant to note that Comilla in Pattikera finds mention as a town in the songs of Gopichandra. Again in Maināmati songs we find the mention of Kāmilāka-nagar (Kamālaka or Kumilla—Kānikanagar and Meharkulsahār). It may be suggested that Kanakastupa mentioned above might be located in Kanikanagar. Further, it is learnt from Maināmati copper plates that Harikadeva Rānavakamalla made a grant of lands in favour of a vihāra named Durgottara near the village Vejakhandā in Pattikera³. This vihāra might be made identical with the Kanakastupa-vihāra. All these monasteries or vihāras might be located in the Mainamati hills near modern Comilla (Bangladesh).

While discussing the discovery of Buddhist monuments in Bengal there is no escape from referring to the unearthing of the gigantic Buddhist monastery at Pāhārpur (Rajshahi district, Bangladesh). This is Somapuri-vihāra built by Dharmapāla the

1. Pakistan Archaeology, No. 1, p. 45—47

2. Ahmad, Bangladesh Lalitakala, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 41—58 ; Pakistan Archaeology, No. I, pp. 44—47

3. VRSM, No. 5., pp. 14-15 ; H. B. Vol. I, p. 258

second Pāla ruler of Bengal¹. Somapuri-vihāra is also mentioned in the inscriptions from Bodhgaya and Nālandā² and also in certain Buddhist texts. The site was excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India³. The excavation at the site continued from 1926 to 1934 yielded a wealth of materials comprising structural remains of a stupendous monastery and many other finds. On the basis of the seal inscription, the monastery has been identified with the Somapuri-mahāvihāra⁴. The monastery flourished at least up to the Muhamadan conquest.

These are a few Buddhist monasteries or vihāras unravelled by the archaeological spade in recent years. As to many other monasteries mentioned in both literary and archaeological records nothing definite is known regarding their present geographical locations nor anything about their nature and contents. Only two illustrious monasteries mentioned by Hiuen Tsang have been unearthed recently and those in the hills of Comilla were uncovered some years back. About other Buddhist monasteries in Bengal we are absolutely in the dark. Extensive archaeological operations at all plausible sites for these monasteries would alone throw light on their respective indentifications, nature and contents. On the results of such fruitful archaeological excavations at a number of sites it would be possible to reconstruct the history of the origins and development of Buddhism in Bengal.

1. ASI, 1927-28; HB. Vol. I. pp. 489—93

2. E. I. Vol. XXI. p. 101 ; ASI., 1927-28. p. 105

3. Dikshit, Excavations at Paharpur, MASI, No. 55

4. Sri—Soanapure Sri—Dharmapaladeva —mahavihaay—aryya—bhikshu—sangha—sya , ASI., 1927-28' p. 105

The Buddhavatara of Jagannatha

G. Mohapatra

Its Development

In the twelfth century Jayadeva in his work *Gītagovinda* first conceived Jagannātha as the incarnation of Budha (1). Therefore, we see the image of Jagannātha placed on the wall of Nāṭa-Manḍapa as Buddhāvatāra in the series of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The ten incarnations on the wall are as follows : viz., Matsya, Kacchapa, Varāha, Nṛsingha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Śrīrāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki. The Kalki Avatāra is yet to be assumed by Viṣṇu and now he is in the Buddha incarnation in the form of Jagannāth.

The Development of the Avatāras

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is no mention of the exact number of viṣṇu's Avatāras (2). There is also no reference to Buddhāvatāra. Kṛṣṇa as one of the incarnation also is found in the interpolated passages. Afterwards, Balarāma was taken to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa was replaced by the time of *Puruṣottama Mahatmya* by Lord Jagannatha himself who was later on called as Buddha Avatāra when Buddha was accepted as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu.

With the coming of the Vedic period Indra was assuming different forms for which he was called 'Bahu Māya' in *Mahābhārata* (3). This may be considered as the origin of the Avatāras. Gradually by the development of the importance of Viṣṇu the different Avatāras were connected with Viṣṇu. Therefore, probably Vāmana Avatāra is the most ancient one; When Viṣṇu in the vedas is called 'Urugāya' or 'Urukrama' (4).

By the time of *Mahābhārata*, we get the reference to the ten Avatāras viz., Haṁsa, Kurmas, Matsya, Varāha, Narasingha, Vāmana, Rāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki (5). But there is no mention of Buddhāvatāra. Here Kṛṣṇa stands in the place of Buddha. Although there is no mention of Buddhāvatāra in *Bhagavad Gīta*, it has hinted at the Avatāra Vāda. (6).

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which was composed before the seventh century there is no mention of 'Buddhāvatāra'. But *Varāha Purāṇa* which was composed in the 10th century referred to Buddhāvatāra (7). We also find reference to this incarnation in *Srimad Bhāgavata* (8). *Garuḍa Purāṇa* has also referred to it in the same century (9). Then by the twelfth century Jayadeva alluded to Jagannāth for he was conceived as Viṣṇu.

From the above discussion we see that Buddha was not accepted as an incarnation of isnu before the seventh century and was accepted by the time of the ninth or the tenth century. Now the question arises regarding the position of this Avatāra in the seventh or eighth century. According to Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, this was the time of religious movement when Kumarilla and Sankara tried to revive Hinduism subduing Buddhism (10).

In the last part of seventh century or the beginning of the eighth century Sankarācārya himself came to Puri and continued his anti-Buddhist campaign. (11). We have discussed that by the ninth or the tenth century Viṣṇu was accepted as Buddha. But by the

expedition of Sankara and Kumarilla. Buddha was attributed as Jagannāth (Viṣṇu) by Indrabhūti, the king of Uddiānā in his book 'Jnāna Siddhi' in the 8th Century (12). Then by the time of twelfth century Jayadeva described the Buddha incarnation of Jagannāth.

Anangavajrā, who was regarded as the preceptor of the Buddhist king Indrabhūti in the eight century declared that, Jagannāth the worshipful Lord is the bestower of all Artha and Siddhi (13). Hence it is very clear, the Buddhists surrendered to Hinduism, because of its virility, accepted. Buddha as Viṣṇu or Jagannāth after some centuries i. e. in the 9th-10th century and in the 12th century by Jayadeva.

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- (11) Pu. ViPP. 548
- (12) Jnāna Siddhi—1. "Pranipatya Jagannātham"—C. J. PP. 168
- (13) Two Vajrayāna works PP. 26. quoted in C. J. PP. 168.

ISURUMUNIYA—AN ANCIENT SOLAR TEMPLE IN SHRI LANKA

V. VITHARANA

As I stand before this august assembly of intellectuals in the historic city of Cuttack, the capital of what once was the Kāliṅga Deśa my mind is almost involuntarily transported to the depths of the history of my own motherland. A well-known tradition recorded in the Mahāvaiśya—the chronicle in which is enshrined the continuous story of my own people—refers to a princess of Kāliṅga who became queen of the Vaiśya Deśa; their daughter, exercising what we now refer to as ‘women’s lib’ 27 centuries ago, went her own way to marry a lion; and it was their grandson Vijaya who, behaving in such a manner that was unacceptable to all but to himself and 600 other youths, found his native soil too hot for him, ventured into the cooler and sparser regions of the Indian Ocean and drifted to Shri Lanka to found the Sinhala race to which I belong.

May I, however, have your permission to say that not much credence is attached to this legend today, however picturesque it appears to be. Nevertheless, in subsequent times, through the particular patronage of the great Asoka cakravarti we obtained our greatest cultural treasure, Buddhism, through a process of events in which this Kāliṅga Deśa played a fundamental and significant role. And in still later times, our greatest national possession, the Danta Dhātu—the Tooth Relic of the Buddha, honoured as the palladium of the Sinhala kings of old reached our island shores from this Kāliṅga Deśa sixteen centuries ago.

Friends, it is not only your kind invitation to participate in this Seminar and the hospitality accorded to me for which I am exceedingly thankful, but these historic and everlasting cultural ties give me the exalted feeling that my journey here has been a ‘coming home’.

My subject today would take you back initially to an era in human history when formal religions such as Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism (in this part of the world) were not known, and when mankind through their belief in the forces of fertility both of the animal and vegetable species paid homage to the powers of nature in order to make themselves, their herds and their crop-land fruitful. They worshipped the Sun—the primary source of all creation and life, the Moon and natural phenomena such as rain, wind and thunder. They were gradually made aware of the virtues inherent in fire, and recognising the warmth and the purity that it can bestow to life, adopted it as an earthly symbol of the Sun—their God. They also recognised the importance of the phallus (liṅga) as an instrument of procreation, and in slow measure built up an associated form of ritual. Today many forms of worship and other social practices found among the world’s human communities—be they occidentals or orientals, civilised or primitive, developed or under-developed—are directly or indirectly connected with these cults even as these people continue to be adherents of a formal religion.

The Sinhala people of Shri Lanka are in no way different. They did and do possess a solar cult; there is also some evidence of phallic worship, though very rare and inconclusive. And fertility rites and festivals continue to make their life picturesque and interesting.

May I now draw your attention to a famous Buddhist center of worship in Shri Lanka—the Isurumuni Vihāra at Anurādhapura, and its environs. I am of opinion that this site has been a center where such rites and festivals associated with the worship of the Sun God were practised at one stage of our history.

As it stands today this ancient Vihāra is situated about a mile away from the city on the Kurunāgala Road. Just over 400 meters to the SE. and separated by the main road is Tessagiriya, and at less than that distance to the North of the temple is the Ram Masu Uyana—'the park of the golden fish', also referred to as the royal pleasure gardens. Although they stand as three separate units today there is no doubt, as we shall see, that they formed parts of one institution at one stage¹.

Here is a brief description of the three units:

- (1) The Isurumuni Vihāra is the center of Buddhist worship today. It has a cetiya (stūpa) or dagaba situated on a large boulder of about 15 meters in height, a bodhi tree and a shrine-room (vihāra ge). Three well known carvings, none of them possessing, at first sight, any degree of propriety to justify their presence in a Buddhist temple, or even a thematic relationship amongst themselves may be seen here: *i.* the Lovers *ii.* the Man and the Horse's Head and *iii.* Elephants sporting in a Lotus Pond.
- (2) Vessagiriya: a series of large boulders with caves and flights of steps leading to the summit of, specially, the largest boulder. The caves once sheltered Buddhist recluses and over their drip-ledges are donative inscriptions in brāhmi.
- (3) The royal park is located on the slope of the bund of the Tisā Vāva (tank or reservoir). The site is terraced and has ornamental ponds with pavilions, waterways, promenades, a few large boulders and caves over one of which is carved a tantric mandala.

An attempt at identifying where possible and of interpreting the significance of the three carvings of the first unit is primarily essential.

The Lovers:

This elegant carving is found on a rectangular rock-slab now found fixed on a side-wall facing the South². The short and muscular male seated in the sukhāsana posture and his slim, graceful female companion seated on his bent left leg appear to be in an attitude of near embrace. In addition to his very short garment which reaches only half-way down the thighs appearing no more than a pair of drawers, he has on him a waist-band (kaṭisūtra or udarabandha), anklets (nūpura) and bracelets (maṇibandha); and, significantly, he has no head-dress. Except for a breast-string (upavita) the upper part of his body is bare like that of his companion who wears ear-rings (kuṇḍala), armlets (bāhubandha), necklaces (mālā), waist-band and toe-rings; her hair is crested, and her skirt appears to attach itself to her waist and legs like a soft, wet garment. Their right hands are in an identical mudrā (mudra)—the kaṭakahasta, more particularly, the āhūya varada³. Over his right shoulder is visible about a 1/3 portion of a flaming circle—very likely, a solar emblem—and set within the circle is the hilt of a sword which, indeed, is clearly recognisable.

Of the interpretations of this sculpture so far made that by Abaya Ariyasinha deserves special mention here. According to him the couple represented are the solar divinity (āditya) Savitr and Rājñi (Air)⁴. But one wonders why this illustrious divinity is so scantily attired.

It is advantageous to remember at the very outset that royal pleasure gardens (such as this Ram Masu Uyana) were laid out for royal sports and specially the vasantotsava—the (solar) spring festival (which was celebrated by the monarchs of Shri Lanka too) was held in them. These festivals were composed of jala kriḍā (water-sports) and udyāna kriḍā (park-sports) and were not meant for mere royal pleasure. They were fertility festivals celebrated almost the world over, and it was thought that their blessings rendered man, beast and plant ever the more fruitful. The amorous couple at Isurumuniya are probably participants to a vasantotsava celebrated in the royal pleasure gardens.

In this respect the mudrā in this sculpture is significant in more than one way. Firstly, the term *kaṭakahasta* means 'circle-hand' or 'wheel-hand', and the sculptor may well have been conscious of the association of the circle and the wheel with the Sun⁶ and, therefore, with fertility. Secondly, a representation of a woman of the *padmini* (lotus) type (of the four recognised by Vatsyayana) at Begram (2nd century B.C.) possesses this mudrā with the addition of a full-blown lotus held between the thumb and the index finger⁶. And the description of this type of maiden suits the *Isurumūṇiya* lady satisfactorily well; eyes, as beautiful as those of the swan; face, as charming as the full-moon; neck smooth and graceful; bosom, full and elevated; nose, delicate.⁷ It is possible that the sculptor had in mind this 'most desired type of woman' and indicated his intention by the appropriate mudrā. Thirdly, this more precise *āhūya varada* variation of the *kaṭakahasta* is symbolic of an invitation to the conferment of a boon (see above fn.) and the mudrā displayed here both by the male and the female may, firstly, be mutually suggestive—the one granting the boon of her body and the other bestowing the boon of his fecund seed—and secondly, be collectively suggestive of the boon of fertility that they would grant to the world by the ritualistic saturnalian sports in which they are engaged.

The flaming circle, too—very likely a Sun emblem, as referred to—may well be symbolic of these associations.

The male here is, no doubt, an individual of high standing a king, a prince, or a hero (as may be suggested by the sword) and she, an outstanding beauty of the city. They may well be a husband and wife, a pair of lovers, a man and his paramour⁸ impersonal in either case. The absence of the head-dress in the case of this eminent male and the very short pair of drawers that he wears, and the skirt of the female appearing to attach itself to the lower part of her body are suggestive of the water-sports (performed in the ornamental ponds of the park or the *Tisā Vāva* situated in the immediate vicinity) from which they have emerged a bare moment ago.

The sword is an article that a king, prince or a commander of the forces generally had on him (even on his way to the pleasure gardens). It was of particular importance to a king because it was one of the *panca kakudha bhānda*, the five articles of royalty⁹; and the hilt represented within the solar emblem in this sculpture might be suggestive of a monarch of the solar line—the solar emblem performing, therefore, a further function in addition to that referred to above.

Further, the sitting posture of this personage and the mode of his right hand are reminiscent of the carving at Nāgarjunikonda of the 'Bodhisatva in the Pleasure Garden' in which too the here is seated in the *sukhāsana* with the left leg folded on the plinth and the right hand in the *āhūya varada mudrā*¹⁰.

It may, therefore, be accepted that 'The Lovers' of *Isurumūṇiya* represents a king and his paramour seated in a pavilion for an initial embrace in the course of their customary festival rites in the royal pleasure gardens.

The Man and the Horse's Head :

On a side niche on the northern flank of the living rock is carved a composition in high relief of a seated human male figure and a horse's head. The man is sitting at ease, his left leg folded on the seat, his left arm on the ground, and his straightened right arm resting on the bent knee of his raised right leg. He looks straight on, somewhat over his left shoulder. He wears a short cloth tied with a band below the navel. On his head is a hood-like cap which descends to the shoulders; his ear-rings are large and circular. He also wears a necklace, armlets, bracelets and anklets. The horse-head, which is not as gracefully executed, is somewhat over his right shoulder.

Paranavitana, with his usual scholarship, identifies this personage as Parjanya—the personification of the rain-cloud, and the horse as Agni—the personification of fire and warmth¹¹. Rain and warmth, the combined functions of which cause the seeds to sprout and the plants to fruit—a fertility association, indeed !

Basing oneself on this thesis of Paranavitana¹², it is now opportune to point out that both Parjanya and Agni are themselves solar divinities *ādityas*¹³. According to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* the Sun God is known as Parjanya during the month of Āśvina, in particular¹⁴, and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* refers to Parjanya as the solar aspect responsible for the Śrāvaṇa month¹⁵.

All this is clear evidence of the solar associations of Parjanya; and, hence, the horse-head is in keeping with the conception that the *vāhana* (vehicle) of the Sun God is the horse¹⁶. Therefore, there is no special purpose in attempting to interpret the significance of the horse head as a separate symbol.

Even though the horse-head be regarded as indicative of fire, it is directly in conformity with solar symbolism because fire is perhaps the earliest accepted sun symbol (as referred to earlier) and the pre-eminent of them all.

It is not difficult now to accept, the 'man and horse' sculpture at Isurumuṇi Vihāra as representative of the solar divinity in the aspect of Parjanya; and its presence at a site where fertility rites were once performed can certainly be justified and expected.

Elephants sporting in a Lotus Pond :

This carving may be seen below the sculpture of Parjanya on the rock-face at the edge of an actual lotus pool. Four tuskers are shown—three of them in one group—sporting in the water. It is not impossible that the carving has been executed merely for the purpose of adornment of the site. Nevertheless, it is important here to remember that the elephant is the *vāhana* (vehicle) of the *āditya* Indra¹⁷, and the lotus symbolic of the Sun itself¹⁸.

The boulders of this unit as well as those of the other, Vessagiriya are tall and solitary eminences overlooking the surrounding plain, and those specially of the latter have a commanding view of the rising sun. They, therefore, possess the attributes required of an early center of sun-worship, and it is probable that this site drew its patrons from specially the capital city, Anurādhapura, situated within a very convenient distance.

Of the pleasure park where, as referred to earlier, fertility ritual in the form of pleasure sports was enacted, the tetric *maṇḍala* demands special attention.

It is carved on a boulder here¹⁹, and is quite in conformity with the nature of activities that may be conceived to have taken place within the precincts of the park. The cult of tantrism was intimately associated with eroticism, and the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (a work dealing with the history of the Order of the Priesthood) quotes a stanza of the *Nilapata Darśana* (an aspect of the cult which reached Sri Lanka during the early sixth century) of which the following extract is quite suggestive:

vaiśyā ratnam surā ratnam devo manobhavaḥ²⁰ etadratnatrayam vande

[' I worship the Triple Gem (composed of) the courtesan, wine and the God of Love']

A location already in use as a venue for activities of a saturnalian nature would have suited the contemporary and later tantrists in their cult practices, amply. It is also significant here that Wickramasingha notes a mark which looks like a phallus (which symbol obtains a place of very high importance in fertility rites) on the bottom of this *maṇḍala*.

The Isurumuṇḍiya complex (i. e., all the units taken together) now appears to be an important centre of solar worship and of the associated fertility practices during the very early days of Shri Lanka's history. It is possibly in the light of this factor that the purpose (remaining so far uncertain) of the sculptures referred to, their relevance and their mutual relationship may be understood.

It may also be conceived that with the establishment and the consolidation of Buddhism in the island during later times the first two units took on the personality of a monastic institution of this new faith.

The reference in the Mahāvaṁsa to the restoration of the Issarasamaṇaka Vihāra or the Issarasamaṇārāma (i. e., Isurumuṇḍiya) by King Kāśyapa I (473-91 A. D.) seven centuries after its establishment as a Buddhist shrine becomes noteworthy here. It is not possible that a vihāra located so close to the capital city underwent so much neglect and decay in respect of its establishments during these centuries such that it had to be physically restored. The greater likelihood is that it remained being more honoured as a solar temple than as a Buddhist temple at the accession of this monarch. He—the royal patricide—in his eagerness to win back the favours and patronage of the sangha, therefore, ventured to reorganise the affairs of the institution in such manner that the central unit (No. 1 above), with its land extent enlarged and well demarcated, and with villages for its sustenance bestowed was 'restored' as a place of Buddhist worship alone. Under such circumstances he would have relegated the other rites to the other units, thus facilitating the practice of those associated with specially the Nilapata Darsana (referred to above) in the royal pleasure gardens within a few decades of his death. And further, it is not impossible that these devotes also performed the traditional salutations to the rising sun from on top of the tall Vessagiriya boulders—all these votaries continuing, in the meanwhile, to be adherents of the Buddhist faith too, in the main.

The very term 'Isurumuṇḍi' is intriguing. According to the Mahāvaṁsa 500 noble (issara) resided here after they were ordained as monks (sāmaṇera), and hence its name. In this case the Sinhala term ought to be 'Isuru+samaṇa', '+bamaṇa' or '+mahaṇa'. But starting from the earliest Sinhala reference to the institution it becomes evident that its nomenclature has been different: it is referred to as 'Isurameṇu' in the Vessagiri Inscription (No. 1) and as 'Isurmaṇu' in the Slab Inscription (No. 1) of Mahinda IV, both of the 11th century A. D.²⁷; and the present term 'Isurumuni (ya)' appears to have been used as from the 14th century according to available evidence²⁸.

The cerebral -ṇ- in all these variant renderings of the same term is crucial. In the term used presently too, i. e., 'Isurumuṇḍi (ya)' the second member of the samāsa (compound) is '+muṇḍi' and not '+muni'. And it is muni (with the dental -ṇ-) that has the meaning of 'monk' or 'sege' and is, hence, synonymous with samaṇa. Therefore the term 'Isurumuṇḍi' is not synonymous with, and is not a derivation of 'Issarasamaṇa'. (If at all, it is 'Isurumuni' that is synonymous, though it is not a derivative). Consequently, the origin of the term has to be sought elsewhere.

To begin with, there is no term muni in Sanskrit, Pali or Sinhala: as it appears here it is only a corruption or variant of the maṇu or menu of the earlier (inscriptional) usages, which are unknown as independent expressions themselves in either of these languages. Maṇu and meṇu are, in all probability, corruptions themselves of mina or miṇi and māṇa²⁹ (Skt. and Pl. maṇi) meaning 'gem' or 'precious stone' and, of greater significance here, sun itself.³⁰

Isurū means 'noble' no doubt, and is equivalent to (Pl.) issara of the Mahāvansa. But isuru, (pl. of isura) is also 'wealth', 'riches' and 'prosperity' ³¹ (Skt. aisvarya, Pl. issariya), and is therefore, synonymous with bhaga, bhāgya and samiddhi terms which have a fertility connotation ³².

An initial expression 'Isuru+maṇi' or 'Isuru+miṇi' would thus mean 'the gem or sun of prosperity', and it is conceivable that these terms reduced themselves to the 11th century inscriptional forms (referred to above) and to the 14th century and present-day forms 'Isurumuṇi' with the elapse of time. If, however, 'Isurumaṇi or Isurumiṇi' were the original forms it may be mentioned that no filter term and a term imbued with poetic meaning, at that-to denote a Sun temple may be conceived.

NOTES

1. Paranavitana is of opinion that the first and the second belonged to one institution, once: CJSc. (G.) II. 182.

2. For a short description of this sculpture see ESS. 239-40, 254

3. The kaṭakahasta mudra generally requires the first three fingers to be bent over the thumb with the tip of the index-finger in close proximity or even touching the tip of the thumb which is also bent slightly inward, thus forming a circle or wheel (kaṭaka)—a ring in which something may be held (IB. 28). Among the variations of this mudrā are the āhūya varanda (in which the thumb is curved towards the final joint of the index-finger with the two middle fingers bent lower than those on either side) and the kaṭakāmukha (in which the points of the thumb and the index finger are turned towards each other, with the other fingers as in the former). The first is symbolic: it signifies an invitation for the conferment of a boon, and the second is functional: it is for holding an object such as a flower, wheel, conch, etc. (SIB. 20 and Figs. 5 c & d, 16-7)

4. CDN. 2nd June 1971. Other interpretations of this sculpture. A Warrior with his paramour: J. Ph. Vogel (BAICJ. 85); Prince Saliya and his beloved Asokamala: S. Paranavitana (AA. XIX. 3/4. 335); Siva and Parvati: Martin Wickramasinghe (KS.); Mañjusri and Prajñā P. C. Sestieri (EW. 10).

5. The plain circle or wheel (cakra) has been a very elementary solar symbol from the earliest times, evidently because it is true to shape whilst also being representative of the sun's motion (EM. 206, SAI. 72, VM. 155). The Rg. Veda refers to 'the wheel of the sun' (VM. 31, 146, 155).

6. KK. Pl. lix. 136.

7. KK. 78.

8. The paramour herself may be of a high social standing if she belonged to the gaṇika type of the nine recognised by Vatsyayana; KK. 104.

9. J. V. 136.

10. WB. 49 fig. 43.

11. AA. XVI (3). 1953. 167.

12. Other Interpretations of this sculpture: Kapila Muni: A. K. Coomaraswamy (AAI. 181 ff.); Alexander: D. T. Devendra (CSS. 30); a hero: N. D. Wijesekara (ESS, 239); Anaṅga: (L. T. P. Manjusri (CO, 4th May 1968); Avalokitesvara: A. D. T. E. (Perera (EW. N. S. 20. 1-2. 122 ff.).

13. INM. 'Aditya' sv.

14. Referred to in SAI. 133.

15. *Ibid.* 161.
16. The R̥g Veda addresses the Sun as Vājin, 'courser' (HR. I. CLXII-CLXIII); see also VM. 150, EM. 85, 204.
17. LEM. 342.
18. ERE. 8. 144, SAI. 65, 72-3, AC. 291, fn. 21.
19. CHJ. 1. 4. 291.
20. NS. 19.
21. KK Ch. 14, DA. 'Phallus' sv.
22. CHJ. I. 4. 292. The representation of phalli in maṇḍalas is known to Indian tantrism, too. See KK. Pl. xlvii. 111 & 112.
23. ESS. 238-40.
24. Mhv. XXXIX. 9-11.
25. *Ibid.* XX. 14.
26. EGSL. 1930.
27. EZ. I. 31. 219.
28. Sl. 519, Rr. 21.
29. Ksm. 582, RN. 197, 391, 681, EGSL. 1981, SSS. sv.
30. RN. 629.
31. RN. 354, SSS. sv.; also Amv. 15, 119, etc.; raja isuru (Sl. 502) means 'riches of kingship'.
32. All these terms generally mean 'riches', 'wealth' and 'prosperity'. The month in which the Sinhala spring festival the alut avurudda is celebrated (April) is called 'Bak' (=bhaga & bhāgya) of which the former is the name of a solar divinity.) Samiddhi Sumana is a preeminent fertility deity of Sri Lanka.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA.	Artibus Asiae.
AAI.	Art and Architecture of India—B. Rowland, London 1953.
AC.	Ancient Ceylon—H. Parker, London 1909.
AMV.	Amāvatura—ed. K. Nānā loka, Colombo 1959.
BAICI.	Buddhist Art In India, Ceylon and Java—J. Ph. Vogel, Oxford 1936.
CDN.	Ceylon Daily News.
CHJ.	Ceylon Historical Journal.
CJSC.	Ceylon Journal of Science.
CO.	Ceylon Observer.
CSS.	Classical Sinhalese Sculpture—D. T. Devendra, London 1958.
DA.	Dictionary of Anthropology—C. Minick, Iowa 1958.
E SL.	An Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language—W. Geiger, Colombo 1941.
EM.	Epic Mythology—E. W. Hopkins, Strassburg 1915.
ERE.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
ESS.	Early Sinhalese Sculpture—N. D. Wijesekara, Colombo 1962.

- EW. East and West.
- EZ. Epigraphia Zeylanica.
- HR. Hymns of the Rg Veda—tr. R. T. H. Griffith, Varanasi 1963.
- IB. Icons in Bronze—D. R. Thapar, 1961.
- INM. An Index to the names of the Mahabharata—S. Sorensen, Delhi 1963.
- J. The Jatakas—ed. V. Fausboll, London 1877—96.
- KK. Kama Kalpa—P. Thomas, Bombay 1959.
- KS. Kalunika Sevima—M. Wickramasinghe—Colombo 1949.
- KSM. Kavsillumiṇa ed. W. Sorata, Colombo 1946.
- LEM. Larouse Encyclopaedia of Mythology, New York 1958.
- MHV. Mahāvamsa—tr. W. Geiger, Colombo 1951.
- NS. Nikāya Saṅgrahaya—ed. M. Kumara'unga, Colombo 1934.
- RN. Ruvanmal Nighaṇḍuva—ed. T. S. Dharmabandhu, Colombo 1953.
- RV. Rājāvaliya—ed. B. Gunasekara, Colombo 1953.
- SAI. Sun-worship in Ancient India—L. P. Pandey, Delhi 1971.
- SIB. South Indian Bronzes—C. Sivaramamurti, Delhi 1963.
- SI. Saddharmālaṅkāraya—ed. K. Nānavimala, Colombo 1934.
- SSS. Śrī Sumaṅgala 'abḷakoṣaya—W. Sorata, Colombo 1952 56.
- VM. Vedic Mythology—Macdanell, Varanasi 1963.
- WB. The Way of the Budha—Bombay 1956.
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REPRESENTATIONS OF MAITREYA IN PAINTING

S. K. Saraswati

In Buddhist mythology and pantheon Maitreya has a dual personality. He is considered to be the Buddha to come for the establishment of the lost truths of the religion in all their purity. In the meantime he is supposed to be residing in the Tusita heaven as a Bodhisattva and Śākyamuni Gautama is believed to have visited him there and appointed him as his successor. There are different traditions about the time of his appearance on earth. Some say that it will happen 4,500 years after the disappearance of Gautama Buddha; others compute the period as 4,000 or 3,000 years. The story connected with Maitreya's advent on earth is practically the same, however, in all the traditions and will be related at the proper place. In Buddhist art he has been represented in his two-fold existences: as Buddha to be and as a Bodhisattva.

In the early mediaeval period under the Palas there flourished a school of art of great activity and significance in Eastern India. This school consists of a plastic style in stone and metal, as well as a pictorial style recognised in contemporary manuscript paintings. The extant records of manuscript painting are, almost exclusively, Buddhist and the representations therein seem to have been inspired by the ideas enunciated in Tantrik Buddhism (S. K. Saraswati, 'East Indian Manuscript Painting', Chhavi, pp. 243—262). This pictorial style had its centre in Bengal and Bihar during the Pāla regime and had its impact in other Buddhist countries, like Nepal and Tibet in the north and Burma in the east. There are numerous documents of this style from Eastern India and from Nepal and our study of the subject will be, naturally, confined to documents from these regions.

As Buddha to be Maitreya appears among the collective representations of eight mortals (mānushī) Buddhas: seven previous—Vipaśyin, 'ikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakucchānda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Śākyamuni or Gautama—and the eighth, Maitreya, the future Buddha. These collective representations are usually to be found on one of the covers of the illustrated manuscripts, for instance, the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) manuscript of *Aśṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, No. A. 15, dated N. S. 191/A. D. 1071; Museum of Fine Arts (Boston, U. S. A.) manuscript of the same text, No. 20-589, dated year 4 of the reign of Gopāla III (fourth decade of the twelfth century); Bharat Kala Bhavan (B. H. U., Varanasi) manuscript, again of the same text, dated in year 4 of the reign of Gomindrapāla (end of the twelfth century); to name only a few. These representations, including those of Maitreya, are all alike; each figure is shown in the conventional attitude of a Buddha, seated in vajraparyanka (adamantine attitude) with legs crossed on the seat and with soles turned upward. Uśhiṣṣa is shown over the ringed curls and the foliage of a tree, meant to stand for the Bodhi tree particular to each of the Buddhas, edging the halo. The foliage, however, in most of the instances, cannot be distinguished one from the other and helps little in regard to the identification of the Buddhas individually and separately. The collective representation of eight Buddhas in a group leaves very little doubt, however, that the figures are intended to stand for the eight mortal Buddhas, including the future one Maitreya. Very rarely the figures are shown standing—we have only one such instance in the Boston Museum manuscript, No. 20-589, referred to above. In the seated series the figures usually

exhibit such mudrās (gestures) as dharmachakra-pravartana (turning of the wheel of Law, i. e., preaching), bhūsparśa (earth-touching, symbolic of attainment of bodhi), samādhi (meditation) and abhaya (assurance of protection); in the standing abhaya and varada (boon-offering).

In the context of what has been said above, the rendering of these eight mortal Buddhas in the Cambridge University manuscript of Pañcharakṣā, No. Add. 1688, copied in year 14 of the reign of Nayapāla (mid-eleventh century) appear to be interesting in more ways than one; first, here we have no collective representation of eight in a group. East of the Buddhas, including Maitreya, appears separately and independently interspersed among the folios of the text. The seven past Buddhas follow one another from folio to folio and on the last, i. e., at the very end of the text, is seen the figure of Maitreya, the future Buddha. There is very little to comment upon the representations of the seven past Buddhas who are all seated and share the characteristics of those of the seated series already mentioned. There is some refreshing originality, however, in the rendering of Maitreya appearing at the end of the manuscript. This endows the series, individual and scattered though, with added significance.

Unfortunately, the miniature with the representation of Maitreya has suffered from mutilation. Yet, sufficient details remain to enable us to recognise its importance. In the field to the left of the viewer Maitreya is shown seated in unconventional attitude in three-quarter profile with both hands joined in añjali-mudrā (gesture of adoration). He wears a red monkish robe which leaves the right shoulder bare. The closely cropped hair does not bear an uṣṇiṣa; the head is, however surrounded by a halo. In the upper ground to the right of the spectator there appears a summary representation of a hill. This is no ordinary hill either. The figure of a bird perching on it at one end may indicate that it is meant to stand for Kukkuṭapāda mountain, near Gayā, famous in many Buddhist legends. In the centre of the hill is the representation of a small stūpa. At the further end, again, is shown a pyre with fire alight. These two associated with the Kukkuṭapāda mountain remind one of the story connected with the advent of Maitreya on earth from the Tusita heaven. It is said that when the time comes for Maitreya to leave the Tusita heaven and play his part as a mortal Buddha he will alight on the Kukkuṭapāda mountain where a stūpa is believed to mark the spot where Kāśyapa Buddha is said to be lying. It is further stated that on the appearance of Maitreya the stūpa will open up miraculously for Kāśyapa to come forth in order to offer to Maitreya the robe of a Buddha with which will start Maitreya's ministration as a Buddha on earth. With the charge made over Kāśyapa will enter nirvāṇa and his body will be consumed in sacred fire.

The miniature seems to portray faithfully this story of the future. With the garment of a Buddha draping his body, Maitreya sits in respectful attitude with the gesture of adoration for the miraculous events that take place. The circle with flowers in the lower field may stand for those strewn from heaven heralding the advent of Maitreya on earth and the commencement of his career as a Buddha. Appearing at the end of the manuscript, the miniature is not only a fitting sequel to a sacred text, but seems also to express the hope that the glorious advent of the new saviour will not be long to come. No parallel of this kind of representation is known in the entire range of Buddhist art.

It has been mentioned earlier that preparatory to his descent on earth Maitreya is believed to be residing in Tusita heaven. Many Buddhist arhats are said to have had communion with him there for clarification of various religious matters. Asaṅga, who was one of the earliest teachers to graft the philosophy of tantra on Madhāyāna, is also supposed to have visited Maitreya in the Tusita heaven and to have been initiated by him in the mystic doctrine of the tantra. Certain sects, hence, believe Maitreya to be the founder of the Tantrik school in Buddhism.

As a Bodhisattva Maitreya has been a popular divinity in all schools of Buddhist thought. His images are found in Hinayāna countries like Ceylon, Burma and Siam, usually in association with Gautama Buddha. In the Gandhāra school of fourth-fifth century his images are also common. A temple at Turfan in Central Asia is known from an inscription to have been dedicated to Maitreya in A. D. 465. Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century refers to an image of Maitreya in wood at Dardu, north of Panjab and the sculptor is said to have visited Maitreya in Tusita heaven several times in order to contemplate on the form of the god. There are representations of Maitreya in manuscript paintings of which two purport to show him in his particular heaven. From sculptures and paintings, extant now, the cult of Maitreya appears to have been widespread throughout the entire Buddhist world.

One of the earliest descriptions of Maitreya as a Bodhisattva is to be found in *Ārya-Maṃjuśrī-mūlakalpa*, chap. IV, where in connection with a *maṇḍala* of Buddha in *paṭa* Ārya Maitreya is enjoined to be placed very near the Lord. He is to be in the garb of a *brahmachārin* (ascetic) with a crown of matted hair, with a *tripundraka* (ascetic mark) on forehead, wearing red cloth, having the colour of gold and as an assemblage of beauty. He is to have the skin of a black antelope on his left shoulder. He is to have four hands: rt. saluting Tathāgata and *akṣasūtra* (rosary); lt. a staff and *kaṇḍalu* (water pot. (Trivandrum ed. p. 61)

A representation of Maitreya of this description is yet to be found. There are many representations of the Lord with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara as companions. The former appears, in each case, in two-handed form.

Sādhana No. 283 (SM. II, p. 560) describes a three-faced four-handed form of maitreya as follows: Of the colour of molten gold (yellow). Three faces (main yellow, rt. and lt. blue and white respectively), each with three eyes. Seated with both legs tucked up (*vajraparyāṅka* or adamantine attitude) on lotus seat. Four hands: main pair in *vyākhyāna-mudrā* (*dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*— gesture of preaching); rt. *varadā* (gesture of offering boon); lt. *pushpita nāgakeśaramañjari* (cluster of *nāgakeśara* in bloom).

No representation agreeing to this description is available in India. Bhattacharya (IBI. fig. 47) illustrates a Nepalese drawing of the god closely corresponding to the description in all details.

In the *Nishpannayogāvali* of Abhayakara Gupta (end of eleventh or beginning of twelfth century) Maitreya is said to head the list of Bodhisattvas in the *Mañjuvajra maṇḍala* and is described as of golden colour and with four hands: main pair in *dharmadesanā-mudrā* (*dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*); rt. *vardā*; lt. *nāgakeśara-pallava* with flower (NSP. p. 50).

Hardly any representation of such a form is to be found in art.

In connection with the *Durgatipariśodhana maṇḍala* the same work (NSP. p. 66) describes a two-handed form of Maitreya as follows: of yellow colour; two hands: rt, *nāgakeśara-kusuma*; lt. *kuṇḍi* (water pot).

The *Sādhānamālā* in connection with the *sādhana* of *Lokanātha* (No. 18; I. p. 49) enjoins that on the eight petals of the lotus on which *lokanātha* sits are to be represented eight other gods beginning with Maitreya. The description of Maitreya is as follows: of yellow colour with two hands bearing *nāga-pushpa* and *varada*.

The representations of Maitreya in Indian art are mostly of this form on the assumption that the rt. hand is to be in varada and the lt. to bear nāgakeśara flower.

Naga-pushpa or nāgakeśara-kusuma is a flower of the champaka category (*Michelia champaka*) white blossom. In art it is always rendered differently from either that of the lotus or that of the water lily. In painted representations the blossoms are always shown white.

But the most prominent mark of Maitreya is the stūpa on crest, possibly in remembrance of the part that the stūpa on the Kukuṭapāda mountain is to play in his eventual assumption of Buddhahood. Another distinctive feature is the nāgakeśara flower in one of the hands (usually the left), a mark that has been mentioned in all descriptions of the god in the *Sādhana-mālā* and the *Nishpannayogāvalī*. Varada and vyākhyāna (dharmachakra-pravartana or dharmadeśanā) mudrās and water pot held in one of the hands, from the descriptions noted above, may also be considered as minor marks of cognisance. But these, by themselves, cannot be regarded as sufficient for a sure identification in the absence of the above two distinctive marks, namely, the stūpa on crest and the nāgakesara flower in one of the hands. Besides the above two mudrās, vitarka and abhaya, though not mentioned in the texts, are also casually noticed in the representations of the god. Getty (GNB. p. 23) mentions a scarf around the waist tied to the left side to be another cognisance of Maitreya; but this view does not seem to be warranted since representations of other divinities of the early phase are seen to share this characteristic.

With this preface on the iconography of Maitreya as a Bodhisattva we are in a position to discuss a few painted representations of the god in manuscripts. In this context we should first consider two representations of the god in his particular heaven, as the descriptive labels say, in two Nepalese manuscripts of the eleventh century.

1. Tusitabhavane Maitreya (h)

Nepal N. S. 135/A. D. 1015. Cambridge University Library manuscript of *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, No. Add. 1643.

God of yellow complexion seated in lalitāsana (left leg tucked on seat, right dangling down) with two hands showing dharmachakrapravartana-mudrā with two stalks with white flowers (nāgakesara) at top passing between the arms on two sides. Stūpa on crest. Four companions, two on each side—one in the lower section, one in the upper: rt. lower—god of white colour, seated in lalitāsana, with two hands showing abhaya and lotus by stalk (*Avalokitesvara* ?); rt. upper goddess of green complexion seated in vajraparyāṅka with blue lily in one of the two hands (*Tārā* ?); lt. lower—god of blue complexion with sword in one of the two hands (*Hayagrīva* ?), lt. upper—goddess of yellow complexion, emblems in two hands indistinct. No textual description of Maitreya includes the above as companions of the god.

(A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, pt. 1, Cat. I. No. 10, pl. VI. 1)

2. Tusitavarabhavane Maitreya

Nepal. N. S. 191/A. D. 1071. Asiatic Society (Calcutta) manuscript of *Ashtasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, No. A. 15.

God of yellow complexion standing with a slight flexion. Two hands: rt. abhaya; lt. water pot with a stalk with white flower (nāgakeśara) passing between left forearm and upper arm. Stūpa on crest, if there was any effaced-identification certain from the accompanying label given above. Plantain trees on two sides of red aureole (Ibid. Cat. II. No. 8).

The renderings of Maitreya, as given in the above two manuscripts, will be seen to be different, though the accompanying labels leave hardly any doubt that they represent the god in the Tusita heaven. The inference, hence, is not unlikely that there was no uniform conception

about the form of the god in his parti-heaven in the minds either of the theologists or of the artists.

3. Maitreya.

Eastern India. Year 14 of the reign of Nayapala (mid-eleventh century). Cambridge University Library manuscript of Pañcharakshā, No. Add. 1638.

God of yellow complexion seated in vajraparyanka. Two hands: rt. vitarka (gesture of argumentation); lt. on seat holding stalk of nāgakesāra flower. Stūpa on crest. Aureole edged by foliage at top. Does it indicate a combination of Maitreya as a Bodhisattva and as the future Buddha? In this same manuscript we have the representation of the advent of Maitreya as discussed above.

4. Maitreya

Eastern India. Year 4 of the reign of Gomindrapāla (end of twelfth century). Bharat Kala Bhavan manuscript of Ashtasāhasikā Prajñāpāramitā.

God of yellow complexion seated in lalitāsana. Two hands: rt. near breast holding akshasūtra lt. nāgakesāra flower by stalk (the blossom is not shown white, but the difference in its rendering; from either that of lotus or of water lily is easily noticed). Stupa on crest. Two companions: rt. male of red complexion with hands in añjali; lt. of blue complexion with one hand raised in vandanā (gesture of oblation). In spite of the presence of the companions, for which we have no textual corroboration, the identification seems to be certain from the stupa on crest and the nāgakesāra flower held in one of the hands.

The above discussion, coupled with an examination of the representations of the god in sculpture, will show that the god has a number of variable mudrās: varada, dharmachakrapravartana, vitarka and abhaya. Varada and nāgakesāra flower have been mentioned as the distinctive emblems of Maitreya in sādhanā No. 18 (SM. I. p. 49) and in the Nishpannayogāvali (p. 50) where in the four-handed form they have been prescribed for the additional hands. Dharmachakrapravartana has been prescribed for Maitreya in his three-faced four-handed form described in sādhanā No. 283 (SM. II. p. 560) and in the four-handed form of the Nishpannayogāvali (p. 50). Vitarka and abhaya mudrās, seen in a few instances, do not seem to have any support in literature. But the identification of the representations as those of Maitreya cannot be precluded in view of the presence of the two most distinctive marks, namely, stūpa on crest and nāgakesāra flower. Water-pot, mentioned as one of the emblems of Maitreya in the Ārya-Manjusri-mūlakalpa (chap. IV) and in the two-handed form described in the Nishpannayogāvali (p. 65), appears at least in one of our paintings (No. 2 above). Similarly akshasūtra, mentioned as an emblem of Maitreya in the Ārya-Manjusri-mūlakalpa, may be seen in No. 4 above. It should be emphasised, however, that in each case our identification depends on the two most marks of the god—stūpa on crest and nāgakesāra flower.

Adoption of Brahmanical Deities in Buddhist Pantheon-an Illustration

B. N. Mukherjee

The subject of this paper is a bronze image of a female deity now preserved in a private collection of Calcutta. The height of the image is 18 Cm. The deity is shown as seated in adamantine pose (*vajraparyanka asana*) on the pericarp of a single-petaled lotus resting on a rectangular pedestal with recessing tiers. The goddess, who sits to front, wears only a lower garment. She is adorned with a girdle, bangles, armlets, earrings, and a bejeweled thread. Her hair is raised in a neat chignon, clasped by an ornamented tiara, with locks of hair falling down the shoulders. A lozenge-shaped object (a jewel?) is shown on the open palm of her right hand which rests on her right knee in boon-offering (*varada*) gesture. Her left hand, which rests on the seat besides her left thigh, with the palm faced downwards, holds by its thumb and the first finger a sprout of corn of (*dhānya-mānjari*). (Fig. 1)

On the right side of the pedestal we can notice a recumbent iguana (*godhā* or *godhikā*). The front of the pedestal bears an inscription in the proto-Bengali script, which can be read as *Si-devīh* (i. e. *Śrī-devī*). (Fig. 2)

The stela behind the goddess is somewhat elliptical in shape, with the lower portions of the ellipse, which unusually curve inwards, terminated before the completion of the ellipse. The edge of the ellipse, has four decorated bands. The "ellipse" is topped by a parasol with streamers.

On the lower portion of the back of the stela appears a round inscribed object looking like a round inscribed seal. It purports to bear, as we can guess on the analogy of similar inscribed objects on images, a Buddhist creed. 1 (Fig. 3)

The form of the letter *śa*, with its horizontal portion broken into two parts, points to a date not earlier than the 9th Century A. D., when such a feature of this letter became discernible. On the other hand, the old and short form of medial *e*, attached to the letter *da*, does not favour a date later than the 11th-12th Century A. D. 3 Thus the palaeographic features of the pedestal inscription indicate, even though these do not conclusively prove, that the image may be dated to sometime in the 9th—12th Century A. D. The image seems to have been produced, as the general palaeographic features of the inscription should suggest, somewhere in or near the territories now included in Bangladesh, West Bengal and Bihar.

It is interesting to note that the stela of the image is very sparsely decorated, in contrast to the highly ornamented stelae of sculptures of the Pala and Sena periods (8th—12th or early 13th Century A. D.).⁴ Though contours of the body of the image are prominent, its modelling is coarser than the modelling of the great number of icons assigned to the Pala or Sena school of sculpture. These features and the physiognomical details, showing upturned upper-lip, raised eye-brows and open, almost bulging, eyes, tend to assign this icon to the school or sub-school of sculptures which flourished in about the Pala-Sena age in the south-eastern and eastern regions of the territory now included in Bangladesh.⁵

Most, if not all, of the known icons produced by this school or sub-school belong to the Buddhist pantheon. The object on the back of the icon, simulating an inscribed seal, also distinguishes the image, as indicated above, as that of a Buddhist deity. In fact there is some similarity between the attributes of the deity in question and those of Vasudhara, the Buddhist goddess of wealth. According to one her dhyanas (mental representations of the forms and attributes of the deity concerned), Vasudhara should be conceived *inter alia* as adorned with all types of ornaments, as carrying a sprout of corn (dhānya-manjarī) in her left hand, and as having her right hand shown in boon-offering (Varada) gesture.⁶ The female figure in question bears all these features. No doubt, the deity concerned does not carry Akshobhya as enjoined also in the above mentioned dhyana.⁷ But that she, like Vasudhārā, was associated with wealth is also suggested by the jewel-like object on the palm of her right hand. Again, if the animal on the pedestal is taken as a mongoose, it may be identified with the animal which is sometimes shown in sculptures as held in the hand of the Buddhist god of wealth, Jambhala and as vomiting or showering jewels.

The inscription on the pedestal of the image suggests its identification with Sri, (or Lakshmi), the Brahminical Goddess of wealth. The sprout of corn and the jewel-like object, held by the image, also support the deity's association with wealth.

No doubt godha or iguana which appears on the pedestal of the image, is not associated with Śrī (Lakshmi) by any of her known concepts. But the same animal has been considered as the mount of the virgin goddess Gaurī⁸. One of the forms of Gaurī is called Śrī. Śrī-Devī has been described as seated on iguana, holding rosary and a lotus flower and having (her) hands (held) in gestures of giving protection (abhaya) and boon (vara)⁹.

The deity in question is also associated with iguana. Even though she does not hold either rosary or lotus, one of her hands is held in a gesture of offering boon. Moreover, the pedestal inscription clearly describes her as Śrī.

It appears that the maker of the image in question wanted the deity to be known as Śrī. In doing that he or she was certainly influenced by the concept of the Śrī form of the Brahmanical goddess Gaurī. On the other hand, the raised portion on the back of the stela, simulating a round inscribed seal, surely assigns the image, as pointed out above, to the Buddhist pantheon. These apparently contradictory tendencies can be reconciled only by the hypothesis that here we have an instance of adoption of a Brahmanical deity in Buddhist pantheon.

The sprout of corn and the object looking like a jewel, held by the deity in question, distinguish her as the goddess of wealth, even though she does not carry all the attributes of either the Brahmanical goddess (Śrī) or the Buddhist goddess (Vasudhārā) of wealth. The obvious similarity between the concepts of these two deities probably led to the induction of Śrī into the Buddhist pantheon. But in course of taking Śrī into Buddhist fold the maker of the image was influenced by the Śrī form of the Brahmanical goddess Gaurī.

Here we have not only an instance of syncretism,⁹ but also an example of adoption of a goddess along with her name by a cult to which she did not primarily belong.

This inference indicates a special trend in the religious movements in the zone and period which produced this image in question. Such instances are rare, but definitive, and therefore, are of great importance for writing the history of religious movements in India¹⁰.

NOTES

1. Sundaram (in Bengali), Vol. III, No. 1, 1365 B. S, pp. 140—142
 2. G. Buhler, Indische Palaeographie, Table V, Col. IV, 39
 3. Ibid., Table III, Col. IX, 23; table VI, Col. X, 30;
 - A. Foucher, Etude sur l' iconographie Bouddhique de l' Inde, pl, VIII, No. 4
 4. R. C. Majumdar (editor) History of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 535f; pll. IXXIX, f
 5. We have elsewhere discussed the characteristic of this school or rather sub-school of sculptures. In this connection see also S. K. Saraswati, A Survey of Indian Sculptures (2nd edition), pp. 85f.
 6. Vasudhārām bhagavatīm dhyāyāt kanakavarṇām sakalālamkāravatim dvīrashtavarshā-kṛitīm dakṣiṇākareṇa varadām vama-kareṇa dhānyamañjaridharām Akshobhyaehārīnīm (Sadhanamala, No. 213).
 7. Ibid
 - 7-a. T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 113 and 119
 8. Akshasutram tātḥā padmamabhayam cha varam tatha. Godhāsana śrītā (read śrīyāh) murtrigrihe puṇyā śrīye sadā (Rupamandana; T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography. Vol. I, pt. II, p. 120) See also Sundaram 1365 B. S., Vol. III, No. 1, p 142.
 9. For the history of the development of stylistic tendencies in Indian Iconography, see the relevant section in J. N. Banerjea's Development of Hindu Iconography, (2nd edition).
 10. For the religious movements in the territories now included in West Bengal and Bangladesh during the Pala and Sena periods, see HB, Vol. I, pp. 394f; pp. 425f.
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BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS IN ORISSA

Raj Kishore Mishra

This paper deals with the Buddhist inscriptions of Orissa. Since the inscriptions in stone and copper-plates are numerous, I have rather made a selective study which I think may be of some interest to the scholars. Inscriptions are considered to be very valuable materials in the compilation of history of a region or of a country in a phased manner. Therefore, Epigraphy, the study of inscriptions and history are invariably complementary to each other.

Orissa has been a veritable mine of inscriptions of Brahmi, Pali and Gupta characters, on the basis of which the history of Orissa, particularly in its ancient and medieval periods is reconstructed. The inception of Buddhist inscriptions in the region goes back to the Mauryan period. Asoka, who is rightly called the first greatest patron of Buddhism, issued two separate Edicts in Orissa after the conquest of Kalinga in 261 B. C. It may not be out of place to mention that although Buddhism took a concrete shape under the benign patronage of Asoka it entered into this realm during the life time of Buddha as is known from the tradition and the Pali literature. The Buddhist literature, 'Mahabhaga' and 'Majjhima Nikaya' gives reference about two merchants Tapasu and Bhallika while moving to the Madhyadesa came under the magic spell of Buddha. They were enlightened at a place called Bodh Gaya and were converted to Buddhism.¹ It is further known from the Jatakas that the King of Kalinga paid tribute to Bodhi tree and after his Parinirvana the tooth relic was brought to Kalinga for enshrinement. 'Maha Parinirvanasuttanta' referring to this says that it was presented by Khemaratha (Paudha Arhat) to Kalinga King, Brahmadutta who constructed a stupa for the worship of teeth. Subsequently, this place was known as Dantapura. It is, therefore, assumed that Buddhism became a popular religion of Kalinga since the arrival of the tooth relic.²

The Kalinga war and its subsequent results formed an epoch making event in his career and in the history of Buddhism. Asoka in the ninth (9th) year of his reign effected the conquest of Kalinga which was a land-mark in the history of India. The devastating war fought for the last time in his career was instrumental in complete transformation of Chandasoka to Dharmasoka. It was from here he became a staunch protagonist of Buddhism and lay its solid foundation in Kalinga.³ The pre-dominance of Buddhism in Kalinga under Asoka can be testified with the presence of Buddhist sculptures and other remains in the Bhubaneswar and Khurda regions (Tosali). Ruins of an ancient city known as Sisupalgarh about three miles east of Bhubaneswar town has been identified as Tosali, the headquarters of Kalinga under Asoka.

1. History of Orissa—Dr. H. K. Mahtab

2. Buddhism in Orissa—Dr. N. K. Sahoo

3. Political History of Ancient India—H. C. Ray Choudhuri

Asoka's inscription at Dhauli and Jaugarh indicates that he divided his newly conquered territory into two parts with headquarters at Tosali for the northern part and Samapa for the southern part. Inscriptions enlighten us that Tosali was divided into two portions, northern Tosali and southern Tosali. These divisions are further corroborated in the copper-plate grants of the Bhaumakara rulers¹. Asoka issued two special Edicts prescribing the principles on which the inhabitants of the newly conquered territories should be treated. One of these two Edicts are preserved at Dhauli (Northern Tosali) and the other at Jaugarh near Purusottampur in Ganjam district. They are addressed to Mahamatras and high Officials at Tosali and Samapa. In these inscriptions he makes the famous declaration, "All are my children. Just as in regard to my own children I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world, the same I desire also in regard to all men". These inscriptions are inscribed on rocks in Brahmi characters. The Edicts begin with "Devanam Piyaṇā, Piyaḍasina, Lajinā" etc.

Dhaulti is remarkable for the rock Edict of Asoka (excluding 11th, 12th and 13th rock Edicts) and two special Kalinga Edicts. The first expressing an imperial concern for the proper administration of land and justice to the Kalinga people and the second announcing the principles of peaceful co-existence with the unsubdued people across the borders. Above the inscription is seen an elephant carved in the rock. It is as an example of ancient Kalingan art and architecture. The preservation of the elephant head near the inscription emphasizes the representation of Buddha by the side of Dharma Lipi².

The instructions in Jaugarh Edicts runs as follows—"For this purpose (Artha) has this Edict (lipi) been inscribed in this place that the high officials (Mahamatras) may all the time work for the confidence and practices of religion by those frontier people.

Besides the above two Rock Edicts of Asoka, a number of Buddhist inscriptions have been discovered in many parts of Orissa. A colossal lion which was buried near the Bhaskareswar temple of Bhubaneswar now preserved in the State Museum greatly differs from the Asokan lion due to its inferior quality of stone. There is a short inscription on the left side of it in Brahmi characters of the 5th century A. D. One of its line is perfectly preserved and read as—Shri Simhā—bandhā"⁴. An image of Padmapani Avalokiteswara preserved in the Orissa State Museum contains an inscription in the pedestal. It has been edited as the Khadipada image inscription of the time of time of Subhakar Deva. This epigraph says that Mahāmandalacharyā Parāmaguru Rahulāruchi installed that image during the reign of King Subhakar Deva of the Bhaumakara family.

The three seats of Buddhist relics that made of the Pushpagirivihara of Huen-Tsang account are Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri. At Udayagiri (which was an important Buddhist site) there is an image containing two separate inscriptions one of which reads "Ye Dharma hetu prabhava"⁵. Another inscription in the back slab of Dhyani Buddha reads as—

1. Deya dharmo
2. Yam bhikshu—śū
3. bhaguptasya

1. Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswar—Dr. K. C. Panigrahi

2. Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar—Dr. K. C. Panigrahi

3. Jaugarh Text of Kalingan Rock Edict (II)

4. Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar—Dr. K. C. Panigrahi

5. Buddhism in Orissa—Dr. N. K. Sahoo

6. Buddhism in Orissa Dr. N. K. Sahu

"This is the pious gifts of the Monk, Subhagupta" On Paleographical grounds this image can be placed to 7th or 8th century A. D. Just near this hill there is a large stepped well containing an inscription which reads as *Oṃ rānaka Śrī—Vajranāgasya Vāpī*. The same inscription is repeated in two lines on the right side of the steps. On the eastern wall of the stone terrace or platform of the well is an unfinished inscription which reads *Śrī rānaka Mā*. This inscription is engraved in Nagari characters assignable to 10th or 11th century A. D.

There is an inscription on the pedestal of Avolokiteswara image now fixed in the inner wall of the Basuli Temple on Lalitagiri Hills of 8th or 9th century A. D. Characters appears to be a Buddhist creed.

Ratnagiri, another famous seat of Buddhist learning exhibits a number of colossal figure of Buddhas and Taras. Many of these bear inscriptions or Dharanis.

In Indian Museum, two specimens in Cuttack district are preserved. Of the two, one is Avalokiteswara in Lalita pose. A votive inscription is incised in the characters of 11th or 12th century A. D. at the Khiching Museum there is a colossal image of Bodhisattave Avalokiteswara. An inscription inscribed on the image states, "The image of Lord Lokesa is made by Sri Dharani Vāraha helped by Raja Rayābhanja". The characters of the inscription are placed later than 11 century A. D. and have resemblance with the scripts of copper plate grants of Rayabhanja found from Baman Ghati. The image of Marichi in this Museum contains an inscription, the popular Buddhist Mantra *Ye Dharma hetu*. On epigraphical grounds this can be placed later than the 11th century A. D.

Some Buddhist sculptures containing inscriptions are found in the Prachi valley of Puri district. The images of Avalokiteswara at Latabaran contains the usual Buddhist dharani which place this image to c 10th century A. D. The inscription is badly damaged. A Sivalingam inscribed with well known dharani has been discovered at a village near Soro in Balasore district which can be assigned to the 9th century A. D. when Buddhism in Orissa was fast declining.

The outer wall of the Nilakantheswara temple located on the top of the hill in the village Padmapur of Koraput district contains the Buddhist creed of c 7th or 8th century A. D. It gives the names of Buddhist Acharyas named Chandralekha and Dharmakirti. It can be said on the basis of the inscription that the Viharas of the famous Buddhist Logician was located on this hill. Two images from Sholapuama temple in Cuttack town have inscriptions depicting the popular Buddhist dharani may be assigned to 8th or 9th century A. D. It consists of fifteen (15) lines of writings. Recently newly explored sites of Brahmbana on the valley of Chitrotpala, 3 kms. from Salepur town in Cuttack district have exhibited a number of Buddhist sculptures some of which are inscribed. Unfortunately they are damaged considerably.

The earliest copper-plate dealing with the Buddhist Vihara of 5th or 6th century A. D. collected from Jayarampur in Balasore district now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. This gives a vivid picture of Viharas, the presiding deity, Bhagavan Avalokiteswara, the description of the boundaries of the village donated for the maintenance of the Viharas etc. The inscription of Gopachandra is incised in the scripts of Post-Gupta character and provided mines of information on the Buddhism of northern Orissa.

Seventeen (17) copper-plates relating to the Bhaumakara rulers and their patronisation of Buddhism, the then State religion of Orissa, have been discovered from different parts of Orissa. On the basis of these plates history of Bhaumakara period, which form a glorious epoch in the annals of Buddhism and Orissa as well, is reconstructed. The copper-plates reveals that the early rulers of this dynasty were styled themselves in the records as "Paramopasaka, Paramatathagata and Paramasaugata". It was during that period the culture of Orissa spread throughout India and

in far off China. The most important ruler of this dynasty who patronised Buddhism was Kshemankara Deva who was a contemporary of Harsha. Thus early rulers of the Bhaumakaras were Buddhists and their conversion to Buddhism is attested by the Tibetan tradition that Luipa converted an Orissan King into Buddhism.¹

The Bhaumakara family founded the Kingdom in the 7th century A. D. with the capital at Guhesvara Pataka or Guhadcva Pataka. This has been described in details in the Talatali¹¹ and Santigram copper-plates. This place has been identified with Guhiratikara near Khadipada of Balasore district where several Buddhist sculptures have been discovered including inscribed Avalokiteswara giving the name of Suvhakara Deva.

The epigraphical evidences based on Bhaumakara grants gives accounts of the growth of Buddhist art and architecture in Orissa during the period. The Pushpagirivihara which finds place in Yuan-Chwang's accounts was a magnificent establishment under the Bhaumakaras. The ruins in Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri hills, the famous seat of Buddhist culture await the archaeologists' spade. The magnificent Buddhist establishments of Mahayana Pantheon in the words of Charles Fabri "should rank with Nalanda and Taxila as being the largest Buddhist establishment any where in India". The images so far discovered from this area all belong to the Buddhist Mahayana sect and may be attributed to the reigns of Subhakara and his predecessors on paleographical grounds.

That some of the rulers of the Bhaumakara dynasty were responsible for erecting of the Mathas, monasteries and temples as is evident from the inscriptions. The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi refers to her predecessors as having "decorated the earth by constructing in unbroken continuity on various mathas, monasteries and temples".¹³ No major Bhauma inscription is found in any temple of Bhubaneswar. Temples like Voital, Mohini, Gouri and sixty-four Yoginis ascribed to the Bhaumakara period indicates that Bhubaneswar was under their rule for a long time. The rule of the Bhaumakaras over Bhubaneswar is further Proved in Dhauli and Udayagiri inscriptions (Ganesa gumpah). This is attested by the fact that in 699 A. D. Bhattaloyamanka and the physician Bhimata built a monastery at Dhauli in the reign of King Santikara Deva I. This inscription incised on the walls of an artificial cave not far from the Asokan inscription, records the erection of the monastery of which no trace is found at present.

All the land grants of the Bhaumakaras are issued from one place known as Guhaddevapataka. This place was very similar with the present town of Jajpur. Ganjam grant refers to the second King of the dynasty as King of Virajas, well known as Jajpur. It may be presumed that this town represents the site of the ancient capital of the Bhaumakaras. This is supported by Dr. D. C. Sircar on the discovery of a fragmentary inscription of Suvakara Deva I amid the ruins of Hameswara temple at Sivadaspur (not far from the Viraja temple of Jajpur).¹ The remains of Bhauma age can also be found in hilly tracts of Orissa such as, Talmul in Angul, Baneswaranasi near Narsinghpur, Boudh and Kupari in the district of Balasore which have yielded a number of inscriptions.

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12. I. H. Q. Vol-XXI pp. 217—220

13. E. I. Vol-XXIX pp. 87

14. Orissa under Bhauma Kings—Binayak Mishra

15. Jajpur and the Bhaumakras of Orissa—Dr. D. C. Sircar J. A. S. L. Vol. XVII, pp. 15—17

The Bhaumakara period heralded a new epoch in the history of Buddhism in Orissa. Most of the Buddhist ruins so far brought to light belong to this period, as is attested by inscriptional, iconographic, co-related evidences. It will, therefore, not be unwise to conclude that Buddhism entered into this sacred land during the life time of Buddha, found proper nourishment under the royal patronage of Orissa Kings, particularly the Bhoulmakaras and continued to exist and held its way till the downfall of this illustrious dynasty.

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TRIRATNA AND BUDDHIST ORISSA

R. K. SAHOO

TRIRATNA (The Triple Gem) is a collective name denoting the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. The Buddha is the Lord supreme, Dhamma is the holy precepts of the Lord and Sangha is the brotherhood of the followers of the Dhamma. It is therefore natural that the Triratna is held in highest esteem by the Buddhists and in the land where the followers of the faith predominate.

While discussing about the Buddha or Buddhism, it is generally asked if there are Buddhists or followers of Lord Buddha in Orissa. It appears a pertinent question. It is true that Orissa is apparently not a Buddhist country in the like of Srilanka, Burma, Kambodia, Thailand, Korea, Japan and China which are out and out Buddhist countries, Orissa is not so although a few thousand of Buddhists still remain in this country. Common people generally regard the worships, rituals, festivals and the like external forms and formalities as religion. Orissa is not a Buddhist land under this yardstick. On the otherhand, if analysed under higher standards of inherent civilisation, Culture, Social customs and history, Orissa may then stand as one of the dominating Buddhist lands of the World. In other words, Oriyas are descendants of original Buddhists.

It is a general notion that Orissa's association with Buddhist history starts from the invasion of Kalinga by Emperor Ashoka in about 251 B. C. But in fact it is not so. Orissa i.e., the then Kalinga came in touch with Lord Buddha during his life time only, when Tapussa and Ballika the two Oriya silk merchants met Lord Buddha at Urubela on their way to Upper India for trade. It is recorded that Tapussa and Ballika became the first lay disciples of the Buddha after His attainment of Nirvana, i.e., Enlightenment. This happened in the year 588 B. C., that is, 337 years before the conquest of Kalinga by Ashoka, Orissa has reason to feel proud that the first two lay disciples of Lord Buddha belong to her soil. Some centuries after, Ashoka won a military victory over Kalinga but the spiritual and the human victory was won by Kalinga. It is so because Emperor Ashoka embraced Buddhism only after witnessing the horrors of Kalinga war which transformed the "Chandashoka" to a "Dharmashoka". It is construed from this historical background that Buddhism which was then known as "Saddharma" had gained its root in Orissa before the time of Ashoka. It may rightly be presumed that Sadharma came to stay in Orissa during the life time of Lord Buddha and was in a very flourishing condition during Ashokan period. It is further inferred from Ashoka charita that Bhikku Upagupta residing in the East coast near the sea was invited by emperor Ashoka to grace the inaugural ceremony which was held at Pataliputra in commemoration of 84,000 stupas built by the emperor. Bhikku Upagupta perhaps then resided at Rajapuri subsequently known as Dantapuri and thereafter simply Puri now situated on the shore of Bay of Bengal.

It is said that after the Mahaparinirvana (Demise) of Lord Buddha, a portion of his mortal remains, perhaps one tooth, was enshrined in a stupa at Rajpuri i.e., the present Puri over a hillock known as "Nilachal". Idolatry was strictly forbidden during the life time of the Buddha. So the Buddhists started worshipping the Lord after his Mahaparinirvana in the form of such Stupas scattered all over the country.

The original or genuine Buddhists, subsequently classed as orthodox or sthavirabadis Therabadis) continued to worship the holy stupa of Tathagata Buddha at Puri till about 3rd

century A. D. Then came the era of Mahayana. The Mahayana buddhists, the first among deviationists introduced worship of *Bodhisattas*, i. e., the forerunners of Gautama Buddha born in His previous births. They adopted idolatry in a disguised way and performed rituals in the manner of Hindus as to gain popularity among the common mass. All the same, the Mahayanis had top regard for the Buddha stupa of Puri. The passion for worship of idols perhaps led them to instal and worship three symbolic statues at this Buddha stupa signifying *Triratna*, i. e. Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. The Oriya equivalent word for Stupa is Bedi. So the Mahayanis probably named their altar of worship at Puri as *Triratna Bedi*. In all probability this holy altar of Buddha stupa of Puri then known as *Triratna Bedi* became the dominating centre of religious practices of the people and consequently all religious sects of the country focussed their attention onto this Pitha or place of pilgrimage as to catch the imagination of the people and win over.

The Mahayanis were followed by Bajrayanis, Tantrayanis, Jainas, Baishavas, Ramanujas and above all the Hindus who adorned the holy trinity set up by the Mahayanis with their respective sect symbols, or say, religion emblems. Finally appeared on the scene the holy trio Shri Jagannath, Subhadra and Balabhadra seated on the *Triratnabedi*, now called *Ratnabedi*. Shri Jagannath represents Lord Buddha, Subhadra the Dhamma, and Balabhadra the Sangha.

Eminent writers, thinkers, scholars, and historians of this country almost unanimously agree to the Buddhistic origin of Shri Jagannath of Puri. No legend, no talk, no song and no history about Shri Jagannath goes without a reference to Lord Buddha. The points of argument put forth in favour of this belief or inference are given below:—

(1) The figure and faces of Shri Jagannath, Subhadra and Balabhadra are unlike those of myriads of gods and goddesses of Hindu mythology such as Rama, Krushna, Shiva, Laxmi and Saraswati who bear lovely human faces and figures. Thus it shows that the holy Trinity of Puri do not exclusively belong to any particular religion or faith, but embrace the cults originating from Buddhism and culminating in Hinduism. disproportionately large and prominently round eyes (*Chakadola*) of Shri Jagannath symbolise supreme wisdom (*Prajna*), perfect awakening (*Sambodhi*) and right view (*samyak drusti*) which are chiefly attributed to the Buddha, and hence the round eyes represent the cult of Buddhism in Shri Jagannath. And no other part or symbol in the face of Shri Jagannath is so prominent as the eyes, denoting thereby the top place given to the Buddha and Buddhism in the shrine.

(2) The statues are made of wood as used to be in Buddhist era unlike those of other religions in which statue of deities are made of either clay, stone or metal.

(3) The *sevakas* (attendants) of Shri Jagannath are non-brahmins and embrace almost all sub-castes in the ideal of Buddhism which advocates casteless society.

(4) Rice, dal and vegetable curry are offered to Shri Jagannath and served daily two thousands of people as "*Mahaprasad*". This is an inheritance from Buddhist custom. Perhaps nowhere else in India this is in vogue from time immemorial.

(5) Every year, the holy Trinity are taken out in wooden Chariots in a ceremony which is famously known as "*Car festival*". Such car festival originates from the time of Lord Buddha who used to be driven in like manner by his disciples once a year.

(6) Once in a decade the structures of the holy Trinity are renewed with fresh wood. It is almost a historical legend that one of the tooth relics of Lord Buddha kept inside Lord Jagannath is transferred from the old body to the new one at this time.

To add to all the above, Adi Sankaracharya was so noble and assimilative as to declare Tathagata Buddha as one of the incarnations of Lord Bishnu and exhorted the Hindus to worship Lord Buddha as such although Buddhists do not believe in the cult of incarnations.

In some quarters, Adi Sankaracharya has been misunderstood as anti-buddhist on account of this. But in fact he raised his tirade only against the pseudobuddhists like the Bajrayanis, Tantrayanis, Mantrayenis and Sahajayanis who through their cult and practice of esoterism, sensualism, and mysticism had defiled the sanctity of buddhist Shrines and degraded the social life of the credulous mass. Shri Sankaracharya had greatest regard for Goutama Buddha and for His teachings reflected in Sthavirabad, for which he was accused as crypto-buddhist by the orthodox Hindus. However, as ill luck would have it, the shrine of Shri Jagannath fell into the hands of priestly Hindus since the Sthavirabadi buddhists were in sad decadence by 9th century A. D. when Shri Sankara appeared on the scene, and naturally priestly rituals were introduced in the shrine. Accordingly, later on the great Baishnava poet Jayadeva composed his Dasabatar (ten incarnation) hymn in Gita Govinda in which Lord Buddha has been adored as the ninth (current) avatar represented in the form of Shri Jagannath. In fact, in the Dasa Avatar motifs carved out at the front of Singhadwar and on the well inside the main temple of Shri Jagannath, a statue of Jagannath has been engraved where the Buddha ought to be in the order. This conclusively proves the impact of the Buddha and Buddhism on the holy shrine of Shri Jagannatha of Puri.

Oriyas are only half without Lord Jagannath who is regarded as the life soul of this nation. The history, civilisation, culture and social life of Orissa are centred round Lord Jagannath and His cult. And the cult of Shri Jagannath is primarily the cult and philosophy of Buddhism, originally known as "Sadharma". So, it is no exaggeration to say that the land of Orissa is primarily Buddhist, and continues to be so through the cult of Shri Jagannath.

The Buddhist way of life, culture and tradition are still inherent, consciously or unconsciously, in the life of Orissa till to-day. A "Jataka" is written as soon as an Oriya child is born. In no other State of India, the word "Jataka" is used and "Jataka" is a Buddhist term meaning story of birth.

The worship of Osastha tree (*ficus-religiosa*) is common in Orissa. People still do not use this tree for fuel. This tree is sacred to Buddhists since prince Sidhartha had attained Buddhahood under such a tree which is therefore called Bodhi-tree.

A princely State of Orissa was called "Boudha-Raj". A magnificent statue of Lord Buddha still stands in front of the Raj Place. It now forms a subdivision called Boudh.

The top intelligentsia and educationists of modern Orissa have named their three University campuses as "Bani Vihara", "Bhanja Vihara" and "Jyoti-Vihara". The word "Vihara" is buddhistic in origin meaning a Buddhist campus, such as "Jetaban Vihara", "Beluban Vihara" where the Buddha used to reside, and "Nalanda Vihara", "Puspagiri Vihara"—the centres of learning.

As late as 1972, a magnificent Boudha Stupa named as Shanti stupa along with a Buddha Vihara has been erected on top of Dhauligiri, the place where emperor Ashoka fought the Kalinga war in 251 B. C. This could be possible only through the patronage, benevolence and respect of Government and the people of Orissa to Buddhism.

Over and above, the non-violent disposition of the Oriyas and their hospitability, simplicity and easy contentment may be attributed to their Buddhist heredity. It may not be out of place to cite that the very fact of an International Seminar on Buddhism organised by the non-buddhist intellectuals goes to prove exclusively the buddhistic outlook of Orissa. It is aptly

said that Orissa is the Tribeni Sangam of Arya, Dravida and Adivasi cultures. And more so, Orissa is the Tribeni Sangam of Hindu, Boudha and Jaina cults, a wonderful and unique synthesis which has been epitomised in Shri Jagannath.

The logical conclusion from what have been narrated above is that Orissa lives Buddhist till to-day in tradition, in temperament and in outlook. And so the holy Triratna live in Buddhist Orissa. The people of Orissa in adoring and worshipping Shri Jagannath and the holy Trinity, indirectly pay reverence and homage to Triratna, for which the Buddhist world may humbly rejoice in gratitude to Orissa. The world Buddhists may as well focus their respectful view at this glorious shrines of India in veneration to the holy TRIRATNA and recite ;

Buddham Saranam Gachhami,
Dhammam Saranam Gachhami,
Sangham Saranam Gachhami.

BHAUMAKARA RULERS AS PATRONS OF BUDDHISM IN ORISSA

Satyendra Pattanaik

The reign of the Bhaumakaras is considered to be the golden age in the history of Orissa. Buddhism got the affectionate patronage of the first group of Bhaumakara rulers who tried their best to popularise it by constructing Mathas, Viharas and Monastries. Buddhist art and architecture study and culture flourished side by side under the Bhaumakara rulers who like other famous Buddhist monarchs in India sent ambassador and scholar to the Royal court of a far-off country like China for the upliftment of Orissan Buddhist culture. After Sasanka's anti-Buddhist operation, Buddhism would not have been there in the soil of Orissa during 8th to 10th A.D. unless it would not have got the royal patronage of the Bhaumakara rulers.

The geneology of the dynasty reconstructed from the copper plate grants reveals the names of 18 rulers including six queens. Some of the rulers were also purely Buddhist and catholic in their attitude and some took the advantage of patronising both Buddhism and Hinduism. Different C. P. grants of the Bhauma kings and queens throw substantial light on this.

The Neulpur C. P. plate indicates that Sivakara¹ the third ruler of this dynasty was a Buddhist as is known from his title "Paramatthagata". It is perhaps he who conquered and annexed Kalinga and Kingdom.

The role of Suvakar Dev-I next to Sivakar Dev-I is glorious in the sense that Buddhism rose to prominence during his rule. His Neulpur C. P. refers to him as "Parama-Saugata" which is distinctly a Buddhist title. He has been styled as a tolerant ruler because his wife Madhaba Devi was a devout saivite who could build a temple at Jajpur known as Madhabaswar temple. She also donated land for the worship and maintenance of the temple, excavated tanks and established markets in the Capital.

We also find Suvakar Dev-II, son of Suvakar Dev-I to have followed the foot-prints of his forefathers and styled himself as "Saugatasraya". Santikar Dev-I who succeeded him caused the construction of a monastery called Arghaka-Baratika at Dhauli which unfortunately has not yet been traced out. Subhakra Dev-II, the next following Santikar-I was also a Buddhist as is known from his C. P. It is known from the Terundia C. P. that he donated the village Labaganda to the Brahmins. This shows that though he was a Buddhist, he made no resolution in patronising Brahminism and other religions side by side. The kings and queens that followed him one after another patronised Buddhism, Brahminism and to some extent Naishnism.

Besides the C. P. grants hitherto discovered, there are certain other archaeological remains in different part of Orissa which help us to know that the Bhaumakara kings patronised Buddhism and popularised it. A low mound and some Buddhist sculptures at Khadipada in the Balasore district along with some colossal statue of the Buddha, all of which speak the existence of a big Buddhist church or establishment at the place. A halfburied image of Padmapani (ht 4½') revealed the existence of an inscription on its proper left edge. The inscription on the basis of

palaeographical consideration can be dated to the time of Subhakaradeva as from the same place Khadipada. One Avalokitesvara image has been discovered in which the name of Subhakaradeva is inscribed. The images discovered from various places testify the flourishing of Buddhism during the time of the Bhaumakaras.

Buddhism which had flourished in this land in either unilinear or multilinear direction got the royal patronage of the Bhaumakaras. This is for the first time we noticed Buddhism as the state religion under royal patronage of this dynasty.

Before the coming of the Bhaumakaras to royal eminence the Mahayan form of Buddhism was in prevalence in Orissa which in later course developed into Bajrayana and Mantrayana etc. During 7th and 8th century A. D., a radical change took place in Mahayan Buddhism due to the preachings of Dharmakirti Santideva, Tantric scholars like Nagarjuna, Acharya Pitopadai Bajracharya Ananga Bajra and his disciple Raja Indrabhuti. An asoteric Tantric system was super-imposed on Mahayan Buddhism. That changed the very character of Mahayan Buddhism and gave birth to a new school the Tantric Buddhist School which became the dominant religion of the period. This period also witnessed the emergence of Saktism as a product of Tantricism, and existed as a co-religion of Saivism and Mahayan Buddhism. As a mark of this new religious upheaval. Several important Sakti temples like Vaital, Mohini, Barahi, Sapta-Matruka were, erected under the royal patronage of the Bhaumakaras.

The evolution of this pantheon of Gods and Goddesses opened a new vista for the creative genius of the early mediaval sculptors who gave them shapes in the monasteries of Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, and Ratnagiri (tentatively identified with the Puspagiri Vihara) and the temple Viharas of Ajodhya and Sholampur in the Balasore district.

During the Bhaumakaras, a large number of Buddhist shrines were built up in different parts of Orissa. Kopari, Khadipada, Solamapur and Ayodhya in the Balasore district became flourishing centres of Buddhist art. The Neulpur grant of king Sudhakaradeva mentions the name of the places Komparka and Solomapura. The Padmapani image from Khadipada, Dhauli and Udayagiri cave inscriptions of Santikara indicate the existence of Buddhist monasteries during the time of the Bhaumakaras. It is of no doubt that the Bhaumakara kings constructed Mathas, Monasteries, and Viharas to popularise Buddhism. The C. P. of Bhaumakaras and that of their feudatory rulers give a clear cut view of the state of Buddhism of the period.

The C. P. further enlightens us on the cultural activities of the people of Orissa under the Bhaumakaras. Subhakaradev with a view to disseminate the Buddhist culture of Orissa sent an autographed manuscript of his philosophical treatises of Ganda-vyuha to the emperor of China. This autograph was sent through a Buddhist monk named Prajna who was staying and studying Yoga in the famous Puspagiri Monastery. This evens the fact the monastery of Puspagiri not only was a flourishing centre of arts, but also a famous centre of learning to which flocked scholars from all over India and outside.

It might have been so that the philosopher monarch having been attracted to the philosophical learning of Prajna sent him to China with the autograph of Gandavyuha. For propagation of philosophy of Gandavyuha as well as to missionarise the Orissan Buddhist culture Prajna took the trouble of travelling to the far eastern Asian country like China. The very incident of Prajna's journey to China with the manuscript provides us a clear idea of the aptitude and love for learning and the patronage to the scholars specially of the Buddhist sects of the Bhaumakara monarchs.

The Bhaumakaras irrespective of their own religions were tolerant to other religions existed during their period. Hamsesvara temple incscription of Jajpur proves his fact. This incscription is very important from the point of view that it is the only Bhaumakara record from which it is known that Mādhavādevi, queen of Subhakara I was a Saivit although her husband is known from his own Neulpur plate and from the records of his successors to have been a Buddhist. The construction of a Siva temple (Madhaveswara) after the name of the queen Mādhavādevi is sufficient to prove tolerance towards other religion. The Neulpur C. P. of the Buddhist ruler Shri Subhakaradeva records the grant of two villages in Northern Tosali to the hundred Bhramanas. It is clear from the Terundi a plate of Subhakar II which gives us ample evidences to know that there was a great influence of the Brahmanical influence on the lay-followers of Buddhism which along with several other factors let to complete absorption of the latter into the Brahmanical fold.

THE ORIGIN OF BUDDHISM

A Survey of the Important Views

N. N. Bhattacharyya

I

In the case of Indological researches certain ideas are always found predominating over others not because their historical validity is conclusively established but because they are popular and acceptable to modern mind. One such idea is that the malignant growth of the Brahmanical ritualism, the corrupt practices of the priestly class of the post-Rgvedic age, created a social reaction out of which evolved a new intellectual movement led by the sophists of that age known as the Sramanas who rejected the Veda and the authority of the Brahmanas, ridiculed the complicated rituals and upheld the ideas of personal purity, renunciation, asceticism and empirical knowledge. The Buddha belonged to this new movement of philosophy, and though apparently not the first, by far the most successful and important of the Sramana schools was that founded by him.

The understanding of the rise of Buddhism, if we judge from the view point of formal logic, does not appear to be unlikely and inconsistent, and herein probably lies the reason for its wide acceptance since the days of Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids. To substantiate this view, its supporters depended on the Upanisads in which they found sparks of a new intellectual revolution sponsored by the Ksatriya kings and nobles who were disgusted with Brahmanical ritualism and sacrificial cults, and also on the post-Asokan Buddhist and Jain texts which refer to the wandering ascetics, the teachers or sophists engaged in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, and different schools of thought. But when the growth of this Sramanism in general and Buddhism in particular is viewed in terms of a rationalistic philosophical movement arising out of the irrationalism and commercialism of the existing Brahmanical tradition the hypothesis cannot at once be regarded as valid, so long as we do not make a thorough check up of the real contents of these two traditions.

We are not quite sure about the historical existence of the Buddha ; nor we have any idea about the original doctrines he preached. The Sanskrit sources and their Tibetan and Chinese versions give only a legendary account of the Buddha's career. Scholars in this field have tried to separate facts from legends, but with little success. The same also holds good in the case of the Pali sources. There is no reason to believe that the Pali canon represents the earliest form of Buddhism. Previously it was believed that since the Pali canon represents the oldest school, viz., Theravada, it should be the only means to understand the pure and basic aspects of Buddhism. But now it has been settled that other Buddhist sects had also their own canons, which were unfortunately destroyed under different historical conditions, their fragments being only preserved in Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and Tibet and in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Mere survival of the Pali canon does not prove its antiquity and relative priority. Secondly, we cannot deny the fact that there is a long time-gap between the days of the Buddha

and in the formation of canonical literature, that the present threefold division is artificial, made only after the actual production of the majority of the texts concerned, and that something must have existed as the original canon before the days of Asoka of which we know nothing. It is only by comparison and analysis of the extant and fragmentary texts belonging to different sects of Buddhism that a chronological stratification may be obtained which is likely to serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the early history of Buddhism. There is perhaps no flaw in this theoretical formulation, but to what extent can this principle be worked out is really doubtful.

Indeed, the paucity of historical materials regarding the life of Buddha on the one hand and the abundance of legendary data on the other led E. Senart to conclude as early as in 1875 that the Buddha of whom the Buddhist tradition speaks was an allegorical figure, who was originally a Sun-god to whom the fancy of the Buddhists attributed a personality. Like the sun issuing from the clouds of night, the Buddha is produced from the dark womb of Maya whose death immediately after delivery resembles the vanquishing of the morning cloud before the sun's rays. Like the Sun-hero conquering the thunder demon, Buddha vanquishes Mara and sets in motion the Wheel of Law marching triumphantly across the sky, until at last the day declines and the Sun-god succumbs to darkness. The destruction of the Sakyas is the dying away of the power of Sun in the blood-red tints of the evening clouds.

Hopkins has rejected Senart's formulation by saying that the career of Napoleon or Max-muller can even be explained in terms of a sun-myth, but this does not solve the problem. Even in 1915 we hear R. O. Franke saying "I should not wish to make it appear as if I believed that we know even the very least about the founder of this doctrine. Naturally somebody (or somebodies) has (or have) created it, otherwise it would not be there. But who this somebody was, and whether there were not rather several somebodies, we have no knowledge." In 1927 we find E. J. Thomas asking with all the available materials in his pocket: "Do these data point to an origin in the growth and spread of a myth in which the religious belief in a god has been gradually converted into an apparently historical event, or is the basis of a historical person who lived in the sixth century B. C.?" And again in 1969 we find E. Conze facing the same problem when he asks "Did Buddhism originate among an elite of intellectuals or philosophical ascetics and then become a popular religion only at the time of Asoka? Or was it, even from the earliest times onwards, a popular religion based on the cult of Buddha? And if so, was this religious side a part of its very essence, or just a propagandist concession to laymen?"

It must therefore be admitted that the Buddhist texts, the knowledge derived from them so far, are hopelessly unable to give any definite clue to the understanding of the actual happenings of the life of Buddha or even to that of his historical existence. But unless we believe in the existence of an historical Buddha, the problem of the genesis of the Buddhist religion cannot be faced. The only dependable evidence in this case is archaeological, which is an inscription of the Mauryan emperor Asoka. When this inscription shows that Piprawa was certainly the accepted site of the Buddha's birth place as early as the third century B. C., the belief in the historical existence of the Buddha automatically gains ground. From the evidence derived from this inscription and also from the suggestivity of the Buddha-legends recorded in later Pali and Sanskrit traditions we can somehow assume that the Buddha was a historical person who flourished in north-eastern India about the sixth century B. C.

But the fact is that the region where the Buddha is said to have flourished lay outside the domain of Brahmanism and that if there was at all any Brahmanical influence it could not historically have been so formidable as to call forth a social reaction. With its growth as an organised religion and with its spread in different areas which were the strongholds of Brahmanism, Buddhism ultimately came into conflict with the latter which was very likely or rather inevitable, and this probably accounts for the insertion of some anti-Brahmanic passages into the Buddhist texts. In spite of this, there is no evidence to show that when the Buddha formulated his philosophy of suffering, the four noble truths, he had any thought in his mind about the reactionary role of Brahmanism. Rather the earlier concepts of metempsychosis the endless cycles of births and deaths, the doctrine of karman and other kindred ideas found in Brahmanical texts, helped him to formulate his views on suffering and cessation of suffering, the problems with which he was directly concerned.

That is why Oldenberg and Kern did not hesitate to uphold the view that the Buddhist ideas were not stranger to those of Brahmanism and that Brahmanical speculations anticipated Buddhism in diction as well as in thought. The problem of the early Brahmanical speculations was to define the relation between the Atman and the external world. A painful world, full of hunger and thirst, sorrow and confusion, old age and death, when equated with the all perfect, all-pervading, all-beautiful Atman would naturally give birth to absolute pessimism the conceptions of metempsychosis, the endless cycles of births, and deaths, and finally the doctrine of karman. Even the reward of good action is impermanent which arises out of some kind of desire, and hence the doctrine of deliverance gradually came to be based upon the conquest of all desire through the knowledge of the impermanence of everything. And this is what was originally taught by the Buddha, according to Oldenberg and Kern.

This pessimism has been explained by Oldenberg in terms of the climatic conditions. According to him, the so-called Aryan migration happened in two waves (cf. Hoernle-Grierson-Chanda theory of the Inner and Outer Bands), the first settlers being driven by a more vigorous second wave dispersed to the forbidden eastern region beyond the river Sadanira where they finally settled. In these sultry, moist, tropical lands, the people who were in the prime of youthful vigour when they penetrated hither from the north, soon ceased to be young and strong, and became quick victim of disease and death. Under this new climatic condition, a change came over their life, and their mind received the morbid impression of sorrow and disease leading to absolute pessimism.

Oldenberg's view that the pessimism inherent in the Buddhist and kindred ideas originated among the physically and mentally weak descendants of the Vedic tribes who settled in eastern India is frankly absurd. But it must be admitted that in finding out Brahmanical speculative elements in Buddhism he was completely successful. He and the other exponents of the Anglo-German school believed that the Pali sources must have preserved the 'original', 'pure' and 'true' forms of Buddhism and that it was redundant to look for any other thing as original Buddhism beyond the normal suggestivity of the Pali sources. But there were others who held that the Buddhist texts and their commentaries were mainly composed by the Brahmanas, since they were the scholarly class throughout the ages, and that they employed their traditional terminologies and conceptions in interpreting the essentials of Buddhism. There also might have been conscious or unconscious attempts to fabricate the one in the light of the other, like mixing up of milk with mango-juice, and in doing so the mango-seed, which was original Buddhism, was probably

thrown away. The Brahmanical doctrinal elements in Buddhism, so laboriously pointed out by Oldenberg and regarded as the natural culmination of a running thought-process, may be explained in terms of such fabrications. This view was upheld not only by the scholars dependent on Sanskrit or Sanskritistic tradition like Stcherbatsky or Valee Poussion but also by eminent Palists like Mrs. Rhys Davids and others.

III

Another group of scholars devoted themselves to the study of the scholastic literature of Buddhism which they believed to be nearer to the original doctrine. Of these scholars, Stcherbatsky insisted on the exact meaning of the Buddhist technical terms which had so far been translated just anyhow, either on the basis of etymology or of common sense. Stcherbatsky's methodology was to depend on what the Buddhist materials themselves had to say on the terms and concepts. His chief source was not the Pali canon, but a later work, the *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu. According to him, although late, the *Abhidharmakosa* is a systematic exposition of a much earlier work which must have preserved the original doctrine very faithfully.

Stcherbatsky holds that the dharma theory is the basis of all forms of Buddhism and the starting point of all later developments. By dharma is meant a fundamental principle, viz., the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle, ultimate, and not further analysable elements of matter, mind and forces. We do not know of any form of Buddhism without this doctrine and its corollary classifications of elements into skandha, ayatana and dhatu, and the laws of their interconnection (*pratityasamutpada*). This doctrine of elements was current in pre-Buddhist systems and in Buddhism they got a changed significance. Just as Mahavira was not the first to proclaim Jainism, so also the Buddha might have adopted and spread a doctrine which he found in the philosophical traditions of India. He, indeed, is reported to have emphatically disowned the authorship of a new teaching, but claimed to be the follower of a doctrine established long ago by former Buddhas.

According to Stcherbatsky, the idea of a self or soul as a psycho-physical entity, arising out of the rudimentary doctrine of elements was not unknown in the earlier traditions. But the idea of an immortal soul was quite unknown to the Vedas and the older Upanisads. The new conception of the immortal soul, called *atmavada* by the Buddhists, was accepted by all the subsequent philosophical systems, except the materialists and the Buddhist whose sole emphasis was on the older tradition with considerable amendments. By the *anatmavada* of the Buddhist we understand a plurality of separate elements without real unity, a conception which must have been in existence in pre-Buddhist traditions. According to Stcherbatsky, the basis of the Hinayana and Mahayana ideas was the same which drew its main impulses from the earlier traditions. To him, the origin of Buddhism, therefore, was a matter of philosophy to be traced to the history of ideas, and the Buddha was the representative of a spiritual succession, who followed and modified a doctrine established long ago by former Buddhas.

IV

The impact of the researches in Mahayana Buddhism created a move also among the Pali scholars which resulted in the development of a more critical attitude. In her later work, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids expressed herself as convinced that the Pali scriptures as they now stand represent the monkish thoughts of times much later than the Buddha's, and if we are to discover his original teaching we must extract it from the scriptures by a process of criticism and discrimination. She believes that fragments of these teachings can be discovered here and there in the Pali canon and can be differentiated

form the surrounding material. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, this differentiation must lead us to the earliest period which is so different from the picture that we find in our earliest records that she prefers to call it Sakya and not Buddhism. The name of Buddhism had become connotative of the later monkish accretions on a primitive, tribal and unsophisticated Kernel which was originally Sakya. The idea in itself is very stimulating, and Mrs. Rhys Davids is quite correct in upholding the conception of a primitive Buddhism basically different from what is known to us by that name. Unfortunately her works have exhausted themselves in the most masterly and critical analyses of the sources and in brilliant outlining of methodology, but very little we have about the reconstructed form of the primitive Sakya religion on which she lays so much emphasis. Her insistence upon the social basis of the ideas is however, a very important point which should especially be noted.

In fact the need of studying the socio-economic condition of India during the time of the Buddha was felt long ago by the Rhys Davids couple, R. Fick, E. J. Thomas and others and that of evaluating the intellectual growth of that age was stressed by Oldenberg and Kern, but the difficulty was that none of these scholars cared to think of the latter as the ideological reflection of the former and interpret the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism on the basis of such an understanding. As a result of this the social contents of Buddhism could not be scientifically approached. Contradictory views came to prevail regarding the social contents of early Buddhism. Some scholars thought that early Buddhism stood for a noble social purpose, for equality and social Justice, while others held that Buddhism was meant for the aristocratic and privileged class, for men of the establishment, and it had nothing new either in theory or in practice. Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids summed up the controversy thus: "Some writers on Buddhism do not hesitate to ascribe to Gotama the role of a successful political reformer, by representing him as having fought for the poor and despised against the rich and privileged classes, and having gone as far as to abolish caste. Other writers gird at the Buddha because most of the leaders of his order were drawn from the ranks of the respectable and the well-to-do, with an education in keeping with their social position; and disparage him for neglecting the humble and the wretched, for not using his influence to abolish, or to mitigate, the harshness of caste rules."

For the paucity of materials in Sanskrit Buddhist social studies have mainly followed the Pali sources. Prof. T. W. and Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids were able to establish very successfully on the basis of the earlier Buddhist texts the tribal character of the janapadas of the sixth century B. C. and to demonstrate the process of their disintegration which was responsible for the rise of the four great kingdoms, later culminating in the absolute rise of the Magadhan empire. Much light had also been thrown on the nature of the tribal constitutions, their democratic institutions, and forms of government, and also the growth of the economic classes responsible for creating a new socio-political set up and the contribution of Buddhism to that end. As early as in 1897 R. Fick while dealing with the social organisation of north-eastern India during the time of the Buddha was able to throw important light on the character of the ruling and aristocratic class, the head of the state and the king's officers, family life, kinship and social institutions, the growth of the economic classes, the leading middle class families, the guilds of traders and artisans, the despised castes and occupations, and other aspects of social life. But the only difficulty is that Fick based his views solely on the Jatakas which were composed many centuries after the demise of the Buddha. This problem, however, holds good in the case of the entire Pali canon in general. Recently Narendra Wagle while dealing with the society at the time of Buddha has followed a new methodology to analyse the social structure of an earlier age from the works of a relatively late period. It appears that he has adopted, with certain reservations, Morgan's theory of

consanguinity and affinity which can throw light on the obscure aspects of social life on the basis of the studies in the evolution of kinship terms. Dr. Wagle has analysed the terms of address used by different members of society and thus outlined social groupings and rankings. On the basis of certain terms of habitation, such as *gama*, *nigama*, etc. he has tried to explain the patterns of settlements and their relative significance. He has also thrown light on the patterns of settlement, social groupings and rankings, kinship and marriage, occupational divisions and economic life of the period. The results of such studies have not as yet been properly utilised for the understanding of the rise of Buddhism in its real historical context.

V

Now about the Marxist historians. As regard's the origin of Buddhism, D. D. Kosambi held that the Vedic ritual was formulated in a pastoral age where large herds collectively owned were the main form of property. The new society of the sixth century B. C. had gone over to agriculture, so that the slaughter of more and more animals at a growing number of sacrifices meant a much heavier drain upon producer and production, telling upon the trading class and the new economic set up. Herein lies the economic reason of the Buddhist and Jain emphasis on *ahimsa* or non-killing. Truth, justice, not encroaching upon the possession of others and similar values show that a totally new concept of private individual property had arisen. The *ahimsa* doctrine first expressed the basic fact that agriculture can support at least ten times of the number of people per square mile than a pastoral economy in the same territory. The doctrine of *karma* was a religious extension of the elementary concept of agricultural economy. It would grow and ripen like a seed planted in a previous season, or mature like a debt, while it never failed to pay in exact proportion. Buddhism did not fight to abolish all caste from society, even though the *Sramana* himself renounced caste. Although the Buddhist monastic order functioned along the lines of a tribal *sabha* council, the Buddhist precepts were meant for a class society.

The views of Kosambi were basically accepted but modified to a considerable extent by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, and R. S. Sharma. Both of them held that the sixth century B. C. was a period of a great social transformation in eastern India which was marked by the rise of the state power and class division on the ruins of ancient tribal societies, caused by the disintegration of tribes owing to the production of surplus. According to Chattopadhyaya, at this critical stage of Indian history, while the free tribes of the time were being ruthlessly exterminated and, within the orbits of the expanding state powers people were experiencing the rise of new values on the ruins of tribal equality, the Buddha modelled his Sanghas on the basic principles of tribal societies and advised the brethren of his order to mould their lives according to these principles. In building up his own Sanghas, the Buddha could only provide the people of his times with the illusion of a lost reality, of the dying tribal collective. And it was only the great genius of the Buddha which could have built this coherent and complete illusion. Not only did he successfully build up his Sanghas on the model of the pre-class society, but he took great care to see that the members therein the *bhiksus* within the Sanghas lived a perfectly detached life, i. e., detached from the great historical transformation going on in society at large, whose course was obviously beyond his power to change. At the same time the Buddha had to face the dual requirements of his age, and this alone explains why a considerable number of contemporary aristocrats formed his front rank associates. This explains why Buddhism had given moral support to the interest of the trading class. In fact, the Buddha had to act as an unconscious tool of history and it was not possible for him to change the course of historical transformation, and what he could do under such a condition was to boast up some of the progressive features of class society in public life and to rescue some of the beneficial aspects of tribal life in a class society.

According to Sharma, the primary factor that revolutionised the material life of the people around 700 B. C. in eastern U. P. and Bihar, the birth place of Buddhism, was the use of iron which initiated plough agriculture with iron ploughshare, and consequently created a new social set up, a class society marked by the rise of state power, in which cattle in the form of private wealth, to be increased by commercial activities, gained much importance, and its senseless destruction for the purpose of non-vegetarian food and also for the purpose of Brahmanical sacrificial cults came to be discouraged. The voice of protest was raised by the trading class and was given theoretical and moral support by Buddha and his contemporaries. The most emphatic protest against animal sacrifice is registered in the early Pali texts, The Brahmanical attitude towards trade was not helpful. The traders were not encouraged and were assigned a lower place in society. The Buddha took up the cause of this emergent class, having something new to contribute during its rise to power, and that is why traders of the first rank became his associates and Buddhism lent all its moral support to the financial and other interest of the trading class.

Recently Dr. Dilip K. Chakrabarti has pointed out that earlier chalcolithic elements continue to occur in a significant quantity at all the sites even after the beginning of the use of iron and hence he prefers not to attribute any revolutionary role to it on the social changes preceding to the sixth century B. C. But this does not minimise the importance of Sharma's thesis since Chakrabarti himself admits that "Iron was the basic technological element from the sixth century onwards." In this connection I like to point out that in the Vedic texts there is practically no reference to iron and that iron is mentioned in the earlier Upanisads only twice. It should also be pointed out in the Upanisads we come across clear evidence of an enormous amount of social surplus accumulated in the hands of the kings and aristocrats. Kings like Janaka could bestow as gifts thousands of cattle on those preaching the doctrine of Brahman, the absolute idealism seeking to establish the unreality of the world. And what was the source of this surplus ? It could come only in two ways—either by a revolutionary change in the mode of production or by heavily exploiting the toiling masses.

In any case, the sixth century B. C. was the greatest turning point of ancient Indian history, and the genesis of Buddhism can only be understood in the economic context of that age. The misery and suffering on which the Buddha laid so much emphasis were not spiritual feelings, but facts of life, realities experienced by the Buddha himself. In other words, the suffering which the Buddha saw was material, and as such any attempt to discover the cause of the rise of Buddhism should be to find out the material cause. We must say that works in this field are indeed very few. This is because of two basic difficulties. The first is the tremendous pressure of the traditional and preconceived ideas and the second is the paucity of historical materials, of the difficulties of which we have already occasion to refer.

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TWO UNPUBLISHED BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS

Basanta Kumar Sahoo.

In ancient times Buddhism flourished throughout the length and breadth of Orissa and had reached the high water-mark of its glory being given the status of the State religion. Orissa was a land of Buddhists, Buddhism was the State religion of Orissa. Some are of the opinion that Buddhism entered the land of Orissa, even during the life time of Buddha and he himself came to Orissa and converted some of the people. But actually after the great war of Kalinga, Buddhism spread over the entire country. This great war took place at about 2nd Century B. C. Buddhism continued to be a popular religion of Orissa and Hsün-Tsang's accounts are replete with abundant materials as eloquent testimony to the continued popularity of Buddhism in the State. The popularity of Buddhism continued up to the rise of Brahminism, Saivism and the cult of Sakta worship. The time for the rise of Brahminism has been tentatively fixed to be the 11th Century A. D.

The excavations of Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri have made it quite evident that Orissa was a renowned centre of Buddhist learning and the centres attracted a galaxy of scholars, both indigenous and alien. Very recently the Archeological Department, Orissa has discovered a new site in the proximity of Salipur. The place is known as Bramhabana. On this site there are some images, worshipped as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. But according to the identification of the Orissa Archeological Department, these images were originally the images of Buddha.

At a distance of five hundred yards from the site, there is a village, Kolampur by name. Three months back at the time of digging the plinth to construct a house three images (two Dhyanī Buddhas along with one image of a goddess) were discovered. On the back side of the Buddha image there are two inscriptions. The reading of the inscriptions is as follows.—

Inscription No. I

(Photo)

1st Line—S (Swasti mark) Ye dhamma hetu pravaba he—

2nd Line—tu tesan (Stop mark) ta tha gatah hyabada

3rd Line—(ta) Tesan cha ye nirodha dhamma

4th Line—(aba)di mahasramanah:

Inscription No. II

(Photo)

1st Line—S (Sign of swasti) Ye dharma he tu pravaba he—

2nd Line—tu tesam ta tha ga to hya

3rd Line—bada ttesam scha yo niro

4th Line—dha cha badi mahā shrama

5th Line—nah :

Ordinarily it means "Mhashramana (Buddha) advised the checking of the cause and indulgence and that religion (mental impulse) which is originated from that cause". But actually its philosophical significance is concealed beneath the expression. These are the laws of Interdependent and origination.

In both these inscriptions we find a little bit of difference in reading. In the inscription No. I in the third line we find "dhamma di Mahashramana". But in the inscription No. II we find the same as "habadimahshra Mana".

In these inscriptions we find stop (chheds) mark and a symbol of goodness or swastimark in the beginning only eighteen consonants, used without a vowel. They are ga, cha, na, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, sa, sa, sa, ha,. In these inscriptions we find a single verb used "abadat" which means said.

From the script and the nature of their contents, it can be safely proved that the images were constructed at about ninth or tenth century A. D. This script was the medium of writing in the then society. The language of these inscriptions is Sanskrit. For its script Buhler said it is proto-Bergali where as D. C. Sarkar maintained is to be Gaudi. But Dr. K. B. Tripathy opines it as Magadhi which was prominent from the eighth to the twelfth century S. D.

The images of Brahmabana and Kolanapur prove it sufficiently that the area adjoining Salipur, was an important place of Buddha worship. It is hoped that a thorough investigation will be taken up under the supervision of the archeological experts, as it will open up a new chapter in the History of Orissa.

Map of Cuttack district with an indication of Salipur and Brahmabana.

(Map)

(I am ever grateful to my teachers those who helped me a lot to write the essay. I will never forget Dr. K. B. Tripathy for his kind sympathy to read and translate and to Dr. K. C. Sahoo for his humble guidance).

The Ramayana and Buddhist Jatakas

K.B. Tripathi

The original Ramayana—which began with the Vth canto of the Vala Kanda (— Book I) and ended with the Yuddha Kanda (— Book VI) with Rama's return from Lanka and installation as King of Ayodhya—as written by Valmiki was Pre-Buddhistic in origin, that is to say, it belongs to a date prior to 500 B. C. Some of the characters of the Ramayan such as Dasaratha and Rama are just mentioned in the Vedic literature. The Ramayana uses several words such as Tathagata, adharma, which are used in Buddhism.

There is only one place in the Ramayan where the name of Buddha occurs (vide 2.109.34). Here Buddha is said to be an atheist. This stanza deprecating Buddha is put in the mouth of Rama. But it is irrelevant in the context and has been shown to be an interpolation.

The story of the original Ramayana consists of two parts. The first ending with Rama's banishment to the forest and Bharata's return to the capital is quite human and natural. The second part beginning with Ravana's elopement of Sita and ending with Rama's return and coronation after killing Ravana is partly super-human and super natural.

The story of the Ramayana especially the first part appears in a modified form in the shape of Buddhist Jataka called Dasaratha Jataka where Rama was a Bodhi Sativa i. e. he was identified with Buddha in a previous birth. The story is summarised as follows :

There ruled in Banaras the great King Dasarath, His Chief queen bore him two sons Rama and Lakshmana and a daughter named Sita. When she expired late in her life, the King realised another Lady to the status of the Chief queen. She bore him a son named Bharat. The King offered her a boon. She accepted but did not specify her desire. When Bharata became 6 years' old, she asked the King to grant her the boon by which Bharat would be king. The King became engray, pointing out that he had two elder sons namely Rama and Lakshmana. But she persisted in her demand.

The King apprehending danger to the lives of Rama and Lakshmana, advised them to live in the domain of a vassal King or in the forest for 12 years and then return to the Capital for coronation for he learnt from the soothsayers that he would live for 12 years more. Princess Sita accompanied her two brothers and all the three retired to the Himalayan region and lived in an 'Ashrama' Nine years after, the king Dasarath expired and the queen wanted to make Bharat the King of the realm, But Bharat declined and he, along with the ministers and army, approached Rama in the forest, appraising him of the King's death. Lakshmana and Sita who had been out in the forest, came late in the day, and hearing the news of their father's death, became too much agitated and continued lamenting. The whole party were deeply moved and agitated at this except Rama, who consoled the whole party especially Lakshman and Sita and Bharat to be steadfast by reciting nine verses on the transitoriness of human life.

When all were consoled, Bharat requested Rama to return to the capital and assume the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Banaras. Rama wanted to abide by his father's words by staying outside

for a further period of 3 years and promised to return to capital 3 years after. He delivered his sandals to Bharat to represent him. Then Lakshman, Sita and Bharat and the party returned to the capital. For 3 years the enthroned sandals ruled the kingdom and when there was any error in any judgment, the sandals struck each other until a righteous decision was arrived at.

After the elapse of 3 years Rama returned to the kingdom and waited at the outer parks of the capital. There he was greeted by the Lakshman and Bharat and others. Sita was made 'Aggmahesi' and coronation ceremony of both of them was performed. The party returned to the capital and the great Rama ruled piously for 16,000 years and finally went to Heaven.

The deviations from the story of the Ramayana which are noticeable in the Jataka story are many but the most important is that Sita is represented as the sister of Rama and that she returns to her paternal capital from banishment—without being eloped by Ravana—with Lakshmana, leaving Rama in the forest hermitage in the Himalayan region for a sojourn of three more years. And again after Rama's return she is made the Agramahishi and she is crowned along with Rama.

As regards the identification of characters it is said that Buddha was Rama himself in his previous birth and Sita was Rahula's mother and King Dasarath was Suddhodhana.

Prof. Macdonnel writes "While Valmiki's poem concludes with the re-union of Rama and Sita, the Jataka is made to end with the marriage of the couple after fairy tales —"

I personally think that 'Ītā (Sita in the Jataka story) was assigned simply the status of Agra-mahisi (Chief queen) in the realm. She was not married to Rama.

The marriage of Sita and Rama is not mentioned in the Jataka story. Both (remained unmarried) had to perform separate functions in the state. It is a case of brother and sister ruling the Kingdom.

The Jataka story is not free from supernatural elements because Rama is said to have ruled the Kingdom for 16,000 years where as in the Ramayan he is said to have ruled for 11,000 years.*

The author of the Jataka appears to have utilised some verses of the Ramayan as will be evident from the following.

Ramayana
(Skt.)

Dasaratha Jātaka
(Pali)

Yathā phalānaṃ pakvānaṃ nānyotra patanād bhayaṃ evaṃ narasya jātasya nānyatra maraṇād bhayaṃ" 2.105.17	Phatanaṃ iva pakkānaṃ nichchaṃ papatanā bhayaṃ evaṃ jātānaṃ Mach- chānaṃ nichchaṃ maraṇato bhayaṃ"
eko hi jāyati jantureka eva vina'yati 2. 108.3	ekova machcho achcheti ek ova jāyate kule
Taṃ ti nainavidhaṃ kaśchit prājñā śochituśn- marhāti.,	evaṃpi dhīro sutavā medhāve paṇḍito naro, mattara" 2. 105.38.
tuadvidho madvidhaśchāpi śrutavān buddhi-	Khlppaṃ uppatitaṃ sokaṃ vāto tulaṃ va dhamsaya.

* Even Kalidas in Raghuvamsa makes Dasarath rule for 10,000 years (Sradamayutam)

Other characters of the Ramayan have also been embodied in other Jataka stories. The story of R̥ṣyśringa (Valakanda, cantos 9 and 10) is seen in Nalinika Jataka and Alambhusa Jataka in suitably modified forms. The story of Sama in the Sama Jataka has its prototype in the story of Sravanakumār in Ramayana. King Janaka of Mithila figures in Mahajanaka Jataka.

It would be reasonable to hold that not only the Dasaratha Jataka and of the Jatakas specified above, hero of the fashioned out of the basic materials from the Ramayana.

In every Jataka story Buddha in his previous birth, is identified with the hero and the Jataka is named after the hero. So Dasaratha Jataka should strictly be called Rāma-Jataka.

The identification of Buddha with Rama, as is done in the Dasaratha Jataka, facilitated the doctrine of Buddha being an incarnation of God as is found in the Daśavātāra-stotra of the author of the Gitagovinda in the 12th Century A. D. Buddha became the Saviour (as the Lord of the Universe) (Jagannatha and the Buddhist Church and the Law preached by Buddha, came to be identified or merged respectively with Subhadra and Balabhadra of the Jagannath temple at Puri.

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Jainism and its impact on the twentieth Century

Ghanashyam Sahu

Jainism is a topic of absorbing interest and importance. Its moral, philosophical ideas and its treatment of religion, ethics with special reference to soul, doctrine of Karma, theory of knowledge (Vidya and Avidya) comparatively signify a higher order of philosophy than other contemporary schools. From the philosophical point of view, Jainism gives more stress on religion and ethics. It also attempts at a detailed analysis of the significance of soul which is the crux of all the philosophical thoughts. This philosophical understanding has a great impact on the twentieth century. We should first know the nature of Jainism and its treatment of all the above stratas then ascertain its impact on modern times.

Before proceeding deep into its philosophy, we should understand beforehand the form 'Tirthankara'. A 'Tirthankara' is one who helps man to win the 'Dharma' or 'Tirtha'. They are saints, monks and nuns and the like. Mahavir was the twenty-fourth Tirthankar. The Tirthankar possessed all the qualities like compassion to all, deviation from anger and greed, and a sense of tender treatment to every man and animal. By virtue of this Jyana, Yogic and proper philosophical knowledge, the Tirthankar could know the past and future lot. Due to all these qualities, even the god 'Indra' gave respect to the Tirthankar. By removing all kinds of impurities, delusions of the worldly existence by means of austerity, they could get the celestial light or, 'Jivalok'. By their proper Dharmic and ethical knowledge, they helped men to get rid of the darkness of this mundane world and lead their life through the path of truth and light.

Mahavir tried to enlighten people regarding the entire metaphysical world which is broadly divided into two issues idealism and realism. Both of them have separate approach to the philosophy of life. Idealism is the ideal doctrine of correct actions in relation to self and intellectual expressions, which is very essential of man to determine his duty. The concept of realism is nothing more than to describe the spontaneous expression of man's existence in the reality. Realism is always independent of any mind, it is based on the most primitive and natural tendencies of outside appeal and represents a full-fledged existence in reality of any physical mind.

The next outgrowing discovery of Mahavir regarding the independent existence of soul is no doubt a new approach. It is refuted by other schools like Charvak and the next philosophers like Thales, Anaxinander, Heraclitus and others. Mahavir tried to foil the attempts of his opponents in particular those who opposed the truth of independent existence soul. According to Mahavir if man doubts about the independent existence of soul, this very doubtmaking is itself the soul. The revised idea of lord Mahavir which he considered from psychological point of view regarding the existence of soul, refers to three aspects of mental state like 'willing', 'knowing' and 'feeling'. These are unanimous happenings, centred around the spiritual effect not material. That aspect is soul. To this context, it may be added that the various aspects of cognition and memory certainly give proof of the existence of the soul.

Mahavir held that onebody can possesses more than one soul but one soul cannot possess more than one body. But the Vedantin school of philosophy holds that there are not more than one soul, but one, and also one body cannot possess more than soul. Jainism further argues that if there is one soul, there would be no change in reality and unreality, pleasure and sorrow, emancipation and upayoga as described in Vaisesm vasyak-bhasya. It further argues that one's soul is different from another's soul. To this context, he assigned that there is more than one soul but one. Mahavir tried to prove the existence of soul in each ———of the earth. So all the trees presented in the earth should be equally respected. It is father the effect of their past karma, which makes them higher and lower in status and suffering. As a result of this Mahavir prohibits to pluck even a leaf of a tree without a reason. Because there lies also soul. Soul acts as the agent of the body simply rather it is knowledges (Vidya and Avidya) which possesses intelligent part of the body or mind through which men become able to distinguish between right and wrong values of the earth. There is pleasure and happiness on one side, sorrow and happiness on the other. It is the vidya and avidya which help men becomeable to get rid of the above pleasure and sorrow respectively. He, who properly selects Vidya becomes able to get happiness and celestial light (I.e., Paramatma or Jivaloka). But Mahavir strictly prohibits the arbitration on other soul to get pleasure instead. Because these arbitration creates unhappiness on earth. So he proclaims the principles of non-violence :—

Atmāvat Sarva Bhūtesu

Sukha, dukha, priya, priye

As man appreciates and depreciates pleasure and sorrow respectively likewise he should consider about others soul. One who acts otherwise by indulging in pomp and luxury, fails to tread the path of Jivaloka. That man also takes rebirth in this earth. In this context it may be said that the term 'Mithyatva' (perversity) is generally used to devote the same idea of avidya declared by Jainism. Again the terms, 'Mithyadarsan', 'darshanmoha' and 'moha' resemble the idea of 'mithyatva' (perversity). To suppress the repercussion of 'Mithyatva', the opposite term 'Sanyag darsan' should be used. The soul is associated with various aspects of Karmic order and keeps ties to the delusion of worldly existence. The function of 'darsanmoha' is to delute and misdirect the stamina of soul. It vitiates the whole outlook of man. Though the 'darsan moha' misdirects the people still it helps man for the determination of the distinction between dharma and adharman magga and ammarga, jiba and ajiba and the like. So 'mithyadarsan' lies at the root of all evils. It is the darkest part of the life. It blockades all paths of life leading to celestial light.

Mahavir has proclaimed several methods like Yogadharma, Tapasya, right knowledge and selfcontrol which are in his opinion, required for men to get rid of 'Mithyadarsan'. In addition to this, there is newly discovered principle 'Anekantsa' which means equal consideration to all common folks in every respect. So the Jyanayoga worked at the roof of inspiration for getting the perfect taste of 'Paramatma'. The 'Paramatma' i.e. ultimate absolute eternal comonly be attained through proper Uponisadic knowledge-Tapasya, Jnanayoga and right actions. Mahavir has given more stress on self-control. He always proclaims that soul is the greatest enemy of all enemies of man. So man should always be aware of his soul, actions and he should set up good relation with his own soul.

The attitude of twentieth century man towards religion (Dharma) is quite different from that of 6th century B. C. people. It was the age of Mahavir and lord Buddha. They both ushered a newear and were instrumental in bringing about a novel change in the corrupt citilization of those days. The people had strong faith in religion and were turned to be compassionate to common

folk. But the man of today are quite different. They have neither faith in God nor in his religion. By coming in contact with western civilization, they have turned fanatic and wealth-blinded. There is no scope in the university level for the students to be taught in ethical problems of the country. The rich people always keep themselves busy in sucking the poor ones. So, to save India from all these problems, the ethical advice of Mahavir, i.e., 'Aparigraha' in modern outlook and socialistic principles should be followed. The Jainjoga, non-violence, truthfulness, should be kept in mind by all, through which Mahavir had created a new era. So in the present crisis, it is the duty of all to follow the ethical advice of Mahavir, i.e., live and let others live. So the Jainism of Mahavir cannot be over thrown by the Indians. Though the garlands in India have withered away and the trumpets are mute, still its voice beyond India is really the voice of the celestial and its call is the call of the Saviour to which half of the world can respond.

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BUDDHIST ICONS IN BRONZE

H. C. DAS

This is a paper which deals with the Buddhist bronzes of Orissa. While laying emphasis on the study of bronze icons I have attempted to refer to the important stone sculptures recovered through excavations, chance finds and those enshrined in the temples, monasteries, Vihars, etc.

It is difficult to ascertain as to when the bronze industries came into existence in Orissa and what actually was the type of production in the initial stage. Till we are equipped with the archaeological materials in a chronological order we have to depend for our purpose upon the available literary, historical and other correlated evidences.

On the basis of literary evidence we may infer that a class of artisans of great importance emerged even during the Vedic period. We learn from the Yajurveda that certain architects and artisans who personified the Gods and Goddesses had held very high place in the society. In this connection Trasth and Viswakarma the two architects of heaven deserve mention. The History and Puranas give us ample description of the artisans and artists who were regarded with honour and esteem. The Arthashastra and other literature reserve a number of hymns in eulogizing the artisans. Besides the literary evidences so far available we have the icons in bronze from different parts of India. The earliest bronze figures, which are 4000 years old, were excavated from Mohenjodaro, which reveals the hoary antiquities of the Indian metallurgy. Although there was a check in the development of metallurgy on account of the downfall of Indus civilization the tradition continued to exist till the spark was blazed up anew during the late pre-historic period. A miniature figure of Mother Goddess found at Adichanallur in South India belonging to the next millennium reveals the continuity of the tradition. A juvenile figure unearthed at Taxila of the first century B. C. is a fine example of bronze image. Gandhara art of Mathura embarked upon a new phase of development. In later centuries the extension of the Gandhara art is seen in remarkable metal sculptures preserved in a museum at Berlin. The Maturyan period is a land-mark in the multidimensional development of art. The image-making process started earlier took a concrete shape under Asoka, the first great patron of Buddhism. For propagation of this Faith he erected pillars, monasteries, vihars stupas, rock-edicts, etc., embellished with different types of figures.

The excavation at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh has brought to light a number of metal figures of Ikshvaku period. The statues recovered *in situ* exhibit the master pieces of Indian bronze art. The famous bronze image of Buddha from Sultanganj now preserved in the museum of Birmingham is one of the finest and perhaps the largest of the bronzes of Gupta period. This indicates the high skill of Gupta craftsmen in the 5th Century A. D. The recently discovered set of bronzes from Akota and preserved in Baroda museum covers the period from 2nd to the 8th Century A. D. This gives an idea of the continuity of the tradition in the western part of India. The Pala school of Bihar and Bengal produced master pieces of bronze statues showing the high perfection of the technical skill. "The beautiful Tārā, Buddha and scenes from Buddha's life, including his descent from Nalanda museum (and in the bigger Indian Museum) evidence to the wealth of imagination and artistic perfection of the Pala's school.

The beautiful Tārās, Buddhas and scenes from Buddha's life, including his descent, first Sermon, subjugation of Nālagiri and so forth; the Avalokitesvaras and other figures of the Buddhist pantheon, are acknowledged as the representative of a school which flourished at a high pitch of excellence for several generations." (Sivaram Murty-pp. 5 & 6.).

The fine pieces of Brahmanical sculpture and a Jambhala from Nalanda almost vie with the earlier Kusan master pieces from Ahichhatra.

The bronze images of early period represent the fine Gupta tradition, exhibiting the infallible characteristics of boldness and crudeness in styles. This was the period when needle work fineness of execution had not become the rule. Even so the divinely mysterious smile that lights up the countenance of the deities and beams forth through the crude sculptures bespeak the best days of Indian sculptural heritage.

So far Orissa (early Kalinga) is concerned it fed the Indian tradition exhibiting its own identity through ages. We have the masterpiece specimens of stone sculptures beginning from the Mauryan period. The tradition of metal casting in Orissa as elsewhere in India had no doubt its origin in the ancient past and developed keeping in pace with the all India system. Since detailed survey and excavations of the places of antiquarian interest have not yet been taken up systematically we have to depend upon the archaeological remains recovered mainly through chance finds. In this connection it may be said that the elegance, exquisite workmanship, symmetry and proportion, the beautiful postures and gestures, the stylistic ornamentation, the status exhibit are clear indication of an established metallic industry in ancient Orissa.

The bronze sculpture discussed in this paper belong to Vajrayan pantheon ranging from 6th to the 11th Century A. D. Vajrayana literally means 'a lamine path' or vehicle, but its technical meaning is the 'Sūnyavehicale' where in Sūnya is used in a special sense to represent Vajra. Sūnyata is designated as Vajra because it is firm and sound, and cannot be changed, cannot be pierced, cannot be penetrated, cannot be burnt and cannot be destroyed (Bhattacharya P. XXIV). This thought of Buddhism found prominence under the patronage of the Bhaumakara rulers. Several Buddhist centres and innumerable relics came into eminence under this dynasty (736—940 A. D.). The important centres so emerged are Banpur, Baudh-Baneswarnasi, Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, and Udayagiri, Soro, Ajodhya and Khadipada. The Bhaumakaras who may be rightly called the Buddhist rulers of Orissa styled themselves as Parama saugata, Parama Bhattachāraka, Mahārājādhirāja. This dynasty is responsible for spreading Buddhist culture of Orissa throughout India and in far off China. It was during this period the amalgamation of Buddhism with different sects of Brahmanism like Saivism and Saktism brought about a synthesis allowing inter-change of traits from one complex to other. That is why certain Tantrik images of Buddhism entered into the sphere of Saktism and *vice-versa*. As for example Ganesh, Sarasvati, Kuvera, etc., of the Hindu pantheon found prominence in the Buddhist sculptures.

The first miniature Buddha in bronze was recovered from the Buddhist site of Jayarampur in the district of Balasore in 1963. The author had the opportunity to collect the image with a copper-plate grant of Gopa-chandra belonging to the 6th Century A. D. for the Orissa State Museum. The grant was donated for maintenance of a Vihara situated in the village Svetavālīka which has been identified tentatively with Jayāmpur and its neighbouring villages, Bela and Sialia. The presiding deity as is known from the copper-plate is Bhagawan Avalokitesvara and his counter-part is Tara. In 1964 a Tara image in black-chloride stone was recovered while quarrying bricks from the mound. The inscription found on the pedestal of Tara is stated to be of later date (7th-8th century A. D.). The recovery of a bronze Tara image from the

outskirt of the village belonging to C 10th century A. D. indicates the continuity of Buddhism till that date. The image of Tara may stylistically be compared to the Tara images of Banpur. The Buddha is in Bhumi-sparsa mudra bears the characteristics of post-Gupta period.

The largest hoard of bronze images numbering 130 (including 19 votive stupas) were recovered in Achutarajpur (Banpur) in the district of Puri in 1963 at the time of laying foundation for the Godavarish Mahavidyalaya (Banpur). Two big earthen ware pots contained the entire hoard of bronzes alongwith a set of copper-plates of a king of Somavamsi dynasty named Indrarath. With the unstinted help and assistance of the then Collector of Puri Shri D. P. Dash, I. A. S., the entire hoard of bronzes was collected for the Orissa State Museum.

Banpur was a promising site of Buddhist interest. Buddhism flourished here beginning from the 3rd Century A. D. till the 11th Century A. D. A modern temple standing on the ruins of an enormous stupa is decked with a number of beautiful Buddhist images. The entire mound and the surrounding area are scattered with Buddhist ruins including votive stupas. The beautiful Tara image brought out from the site and kept in the compound of Godavarish Bidyapitha is an excellent image ever produced in black chloride stone. "The Tara suggests a much later date, with her elongated eyes, high arched eye-brows, profuse jewellery, ornate lotus, rich pedestal and the sensuous carving of the breast and the body. The whites of the eyes bulge and in a manner not used before the 9th Century, and fully developed in the 10th in some parts of India; a date beyond the 10th Century A. D. seems unlikely, especially as the back slab is less ornate than 11th Century work (say Pala sculpture) would have favoured."

Achutrajpur, hence, promises finds ranging at least from the 6th Century to the 10th (C. Fabri-pp.44-45).

The discovery of the Bronze images and the copper plate from the Achutrajpur (Banpur) pushed forward the importance of the place as a centre of Buddhism to the 11th Century A. D. The copper plates deciphered by Dr. K. B. Tripathy (J. A. S. Vol. VIII. No. 4, 1966) indicate clearly the ancestry of Indrarath, the donor of the grant and describe the city of Jajati nagar (modern Jajpur on the river Vaitarani). Indrarath in the grant is said to have got the royal fortune of Kalinga and got possession of Udra kingdom after defeating its king. Although he was a very powerful king of Udra and Kalinga and assumed the title of Paramamāhesvara Mātāpitṛpādānudyata Param Bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameswara Somakulatilaka Trī-Kalingādhipati Srimad Indraraj Dev and a great patron of art, architecture, culture and learning, was unfortunately defeated by Rajendra Chola of South Indian in a battle which took place during the period 1013-1030 A. D. This unfortunate defeat was of little effect on the history of Orissa because Jajati Keshari, the most powerful monarch of Somavamsi dynasty who was famous for consolidation and enlargement of vast kingdom and patron of learning and culture retaliated the defeat. The defeat of Indraratha by a South Indian king was, therefore, a passing event rather energizing the next monarch of Somavamsi dynasty for establishment of the kingdom on a permanent footing.

The title of Paramamāhesvara and Parama Vattāraka assumed by Indraratha gives an indication that he was a follower of both Saivism and Buddhism. We further understand from the copper-plate that he offered sacrifices for Khadiravani Tārā the presiding Buddhist deity of the place.

The Buddhist bronzes of Achutarajpur are categorised in the following way :—

Male deities	Female deities
1. Buddha	1. Tārā
2. Avalokitesvara	2. Hārīti

Male deities

3. Vajrasattva
4. Trailokya Vijaya
5. Heruka
6. Manjushree
7. Jambhala
8. Amoghāsiddhi

Female deities

3. Kurukullā
4. Marichi
5. Cunda

Buddha

There are eighteen Buddha images ranging in size from 6.4 cm to 11.4 cm and all in sitting pose. Out of the total 18 one is in Varada, one in Dhyana and the rest are in Bhūmisparśa mudra. Except three all of them have well-embellished halos behind with beautiful workmanship. Some of the images are seated on lion pedestals and some on lotus pedestal of quadrangular or square sizes. There is the auspicious mark on the fore-head, the usual feature in Indian Buddha. The lobes of the ears are long. The head of every image is found covered by a series of knots arranged in the shape of a Pyramid. The knots represent the curls of hair while the conical shape is supposed to be the protuberance of the skull which is supposed to be the sign of his Buddhahood.

Avalokitesvara

Avalokitesvara the most popular divinity in the Mahayana Buddhist pantheon is the object of much veneration. He is described as 'Avalokitesvara the Measured light of the Sun and Moon, is thus the reflex of or spiritual son of Amitabha, Buddha of Infinite Light' (Getty-p. 57). The first representation of Avalokitesvara resembles Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Some of the characteristics of Avalokitesvara have much in common with Siva for the white colour, trident with or without a serpent. One of the Avalokitesvaras in this group is associated a serpent. The total of 15 Avalokitesvaras may be identified as Padmapani (Lotus-bearer). One of the images is in Vajrasana pose with Amitabha, the Dhyani Buddha on the crest and the left hand holding the lotus stalk and right hand in varada, one is in kājālāsana pose and the others are in Lalitā pose with the right leg folded and the left hanging gracefully from the seat and resting on lotus. The Sādhnamālā in 31 sādhanas describe in a variety of different poses. In this group we find three varieties. The figures of Padmapani are represented as graceful youth and are dressed like Indian princes with many ornaments. The images of Avalokitesvara are common in all the places of Buddhist interest in Orissa.

Vajrasattva

Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyani Buddha is considered as the priest of the five, Dhyana Buddhas. He is associated with the secret and esoteric practices in the Vajrayāna and is usually worshipped independently. This hoard contains five such images in fierce pose and are seen in Vajraparyanka asana. All are two handed the right hand holding the vajra against the breast level and the left hand with the ghanta resting on the left thigh. Two of them have the figures of Akshovya on the crests.

Trilokyavijaya (conqueror of the Three World)

It is an interesting Buddhist deity of Vajrayana group showing the superiority and preponderances over the Hindu gods and goddesses. In the Sādhnamālā Trilokya-vijaya is conceived as of blue colour, with four faces and eight arms; his first face expressing amorous fury;

that at the right, anger, that at the left, disgust; and the face at the back, heroism. With his two main hands holding the bell (ghanta) and the thunderbolt (vajra), he makes against his chest the gesture what is called as Vajrahumkar. His three hands at the right hold a khatvāṅga, an elephant goad and an arrow and the hands at the left carry a bow, a noose and a thunderbolt. He stands in the pratyālidha attitude stepping to the right on the breast of Parvati (Gauri) and with the left foot treading on the head of Siva (Mahesvara) (Sahai-p. 231).

The Trailokyavijaya image in our collection is the most interesting and biggest of all in pratyālidha attitude with his two hands clasped against the chest in vajrahumkāra which suggests extreme anger and firm determination. He is trampling under his right foot the figure of eight handed Siva and under his left foot the image of four handed Gauri. The figure of Siva image is 8 handed, 10 faced and 3 eyed garlanded in skull of human heads and decked in the head of serpent and the crescent of moon. Gauri with four arms lies flat on the round with her face upward being pressed at the bosom by the Lord.

The round halos (pravā) at the back of the image with the clear signs of flames (sikhā) makes the image more fierce. The ornamentation of the image is described in the following way. "He is decked with the Bodhisattva ornaments—crown on the head—Kundala in the long looped ears, broad necklace, armlets, bracelets, waist band, girdle, well-fitted decorated garment (Janghi) at the lower limbs, with a wavy cloth laid over the front part of the waist band, one scarf banded on both thighs and knotted at the left side Ratnapavita, etc. The crown on the head is decked with five-Dhyani Buddha figures of which only four are visible—the one at the centre of the crown in Bhūmisparsa mudra, may be identified as Akṣovya, to the right of it Buddha in varada mudra to the left Buddha in Abhaya mudra and above (over Bhūmisparsa Buddha) Buddha may be with Amṛitabhanda. The back of the crown though designed, the fifth Dhyani Buddha is not visible perhaps due to the obstruction of the halo at the back. All these Buddhas wear monastic dresses" (S. S. Pattnaik in O. H. R. J. p. 84).

An inscription inside the pedestal of the image which is greatly defaced has been tentatively deciphered by Padmasri S. N. Rajguru, an eminent epigraphist of Orissa as Buddhist Dharani, the magical spell of the Vajrajana pantheon.

The image of Trailokyavijaya in view of its peculiar characteristics particularly his pose in trampling over Hindu deities Siva and Gauri indicates a triumph of Buddhism over Hinduism. This image excels in quality and workmanship to that of Trailokyavijaya image of Kurkihar preserved in the Patna museum and the image from Nalanda in Nalanda museum and the image of Bodhagaya and still that of the image of Patarghata in Bhagalpur district of Bihar and now in Indian museum, Calcutta.

Heruka

He is a rare image in Buddhist pantheon. We have in our collection only one image of Heruka. He has been depicted as a great warrior in warding off the evil spirits. The description in the Sadhanamala of Heruk runs as follows:—"He is blue in colour. He wears human skin. His head is decorated by garlands of skulls and by Akṣovya. His tawny hairs rise up like flame. He has bloodshot round eyes. He has a necklace hanging formed of skulls joined together by entrails. He is bedecked with ornaments of human bones. He has two arms and one face. His face, with teeth protruding, is terrible to look at. He holds the thunderbolt with the right hand and in his left hand is a human skull

full (of wine). On his left shoulder he bears a Khatvāṅga which is (placed against his breast) like the sacred thread. Its top is shaped like the 5 pointed thunder bolt and the bottom is like the single pointed one. It is decorated with human skulls and the Visvavajra and to it is fastening a flapping banner with tinkler at (the end). He has placed left foot on sun of the Visvapadma and he is dancing on it with the right foot raised to the left thigh (Bhattachali 36). The tawny image in Ardhaparyanka mudra on the dead body with a skull cup (Kharpar) in the left hand decorated with a garland of skull shows a fierce but benign pose. From his left shoulder hangs a Khatvāṅga with flowing banners. The miniature image of Akṣohavya shines on the blazing tiara.

Manjushri

He is the Buddhist god of learning and wisdom. A sword, a book and blue lotus are the special symbols assigned to him. "The sword symbolizes the cleaving ascender (dissipating) of the cloud of ignorance; the book is the Prajnaparamita, Treatise on transcendent wisdom". (Getty p. 111). Manjushri comes in the group of Dhyani Bodhisattva and is therefore depicted like a prince with all the Bodhisattva ornaments. One of the Manjushris in our collection in Lalitasana holds an Utpala in the left while the right hand showing the Varada mudra. The other one known as Arpachana raises a sword in his right hand, the left hand holding an Utpala. The image of Manjushree is very common in Orissa. A number of life-size figures in stone preserved in the Orissa State Museum represent the first variety with book on the lotus. Ratnagiri Vihara has yielded a figure of Arpachana with the similar characteristic features noted above.

Jambhāla

He is regarded as the God of wealth. His characteristics are comparable to Kubera of Hindu pantheon who is also associated with wealth and treasure. According to Sadhanamala he is emanated either for Ratnasambhava or from Akṣhavya. The usual characteristic with him is that when he is alone he holds a citron in his right hand and mongoose in the left, the mongoose is represented as the receptacle of all gems and pearls. The figure in our collection presents an excitable temperament with a flabby constitution and a bulging belly and is well decorated with jewellery and ornaments, decorated lion pedestal with a citron in the right hand in Varada pose and a mongoose in the left hand. The symbol of three vases in the pedestal perhaps signifies the Buddhist Tri Ratna. Jambhala being a lord of wealth has been given a special, well decorated pedestal with a beautiful round halo at the back.

The image of Jambhāla in stone is common in Orissa. We have come across pot bellied Jambhalas in Ratnagiri, Ayodhya and in the Prachi valley.

Amoghasiddhi

There is a miniature image of Amoghasiddhi in the Orissa State Museum (find spot not known) decked with a sevenhooded snake at the background. The hoods form his umbrella. The image is in Dhyāna mudra. Another snake with its hood raised is seen on the lotus pedestal. Stylistically the image can be compared to a life-size Amoghasiddhi image in Dhyana mudra preserved in the Archaeological section of the Orissa State Museum (Collected from G. Udayagiri in Phulbani district). A serpent with seven hoods forms the background and the expanded hoods form his umbrella.

Tārā

Tārā is the feminine principle introduced into the Buddhist pantheon in the form of Goddess. In the beginning she had a simple manifestation but in course of time she took the distinct form and from one variety there came up several deities ultimately forming a group of 21 varieties of Tārās (Setty) Other goddesses also made their appearance with the multiplication of her pantheon but none of them gained the popularity of Tārā. The nomenclature of 'Tārā' is

derived from the root word "Tār" which means 'Cross'. It is believed that Tārā helps the humanity to cross the ocean of existence. In order to highlight the importance of the deity several legends were created and I think it may be interesting to cite here at least one. The generally accepted legend relates that a tear fell from the eye of God Avalokiteswar and falling in the valley beneath formed a lake; from the waters of the lake arose a lotus flower which opening its petal disclosed the pure Goddess Tārā. The lamaism speaks of two varieties of Tārā, white and green. The white Tārā has the full blown white lotus as her symbol and that green Tārā the utpala or the blue lotus. The symbolical representation of these two varieties is clearly understood from the following quotation "As the lotus opened by day and closes by night, the white Tārā with the full blown lotus and the dark Tārā with the Utpal having its petals closed, may symbolise 'day and night' or in other words, since they were born from the tears shed by Avalokitesvar, they may represent his never-ceasing grief at the miseries of mankind. Or they might also symbolise the willingness of Tārā soothing human suffering by day as well as by night, for it is believed that Avalokiteswar imposed on her that duty." (Getty-pp-120-21).

B. Bhattachary classifies all varieties of Tārā in two groups, ordinary Tārā and extraordinary Tara—Green Tārā and white Tārā under the first group whereas other types in the second group.

On acceptance of the classification, I may bring the Taras of Achutarajpur in the ordinary variety. There are altogether 11 Tārā images in Lalitasana carrying Utpala in left hand and exhibiting the Varada mudra in the right. The ornamentation is exquisitely beautiful showing anklets on the feet, bracelets in the hand, necklace in neck and tapering mukutas on the crest. Stylistically these images may be compared to Tārā images of Ratnagiri, an inscribed Tārā of Jairampur, the colossal Tārā of Jajpur, etc. Different places of Orissa exhibit similar such images.

Hariti

Hārīti is a popular Buddhist Goddess and is normally associated with the children like the mother—goddesses in Hindu pantheon. Vinayapitakam of Sravastivada school relates that she was born as a Yakshini in Rajagriha and was blessed with 500 children. She acted as the guardian deity of the city of Magadha but for her evil intention in the previous birth she started stealing and eating children. For such nefarious acts she was named as Hariti (the thief). The people of Rajagriha to save their children prostrated themselves at the feet of Buddha who with an intention to put an end to Hariti's cannibal attitude hid her youngest child (pingala) beneath his begging bowl. She in despair roamed in four directions in search of the child and lastly came under the magic spell of Gautama Buddha and prostrated herself before him in adoration. She said, "Oh Bhagavat, it is now a long time since I have seen my youngest son, priyankara. I beseech you to let me see him again. The Buddha replied that she must first promise to follow his precepts and accord security to all the people of Rajagriha, after which Priyankara would be restored to her. She acceded to the Buddha's command, and there was rejoicing in Rajagriha" (Getty—p. 85). She was then admitted to the order and became the guardian deity of the sanctuaries. In course of time she was also turned to giver of children.

Hārīti is easily recognised for her association with children. We have five figures of Hārītis. Each of them is shown seating on the lotus pedestal carrying child on her left lap in the local fashion. The description of the images is given in the following manner. "The figure of the goddess, as usual is full of motherliness, her pose dignified and stately, giving her a madonna-like appearance. She puts on an Indian dress, and her ornaments include necklace, bracelets, and anklets. On her head is a chaplet of leaves from which a veil falls down her back" (Sahai—p.255). "She was also sometimes represented holding a lot" (Sahai—p.255). "Gautama Buddha is believed to have cured her of cannibalism by giving her a diet of pomegranate, the red fruit being supposed to resemble human flesh" (Getty—p. 86). The images in this group are associated with mango fruits.

Uddiyana Kurukulla

She is a peculiar deity of Vajrayana group available in Orissa. This peculiar image of rare variety is fierce in form and has the garland of skulls stretching to the waist. The image in our collection is four handed, the left upper hand holds a bow, lower a flower-stalk of Utpala whereas the right upper holds an arrow of flowers and the lower a goad. She is in *Ardhaharhanka* pose dancing on a corpse. The hair of her head rises above in the shape of a flame.

Kurukulla

This particular image in sitting posture is conceived as six-armed, three-faced, three-eyed blooming with youth. The lower right hand is in Abhaya mudra, middle holds a vajra and the upper an arrow whereas the left hands hold from lower to upper a stalk of utpala, *pasa* and bow respectively. She has on her crest the image of Dhyani Buddha, Amitabha. The expression on the face of the image and the ornamentation in the body are very pleasant.

Marichi

Marichi the Buddhist goddess of dawn has similarity with the Sun god of Hindu pantheon who is shown in a chariot drawn by seven horses. Marichi is drawn in a chariot by seven pigs with Rahu as the charioteer. *Sādhnamālā* describe Marichi in six different forms having one, three, five or six faces and two, eight, ten or twelve arms. Needle and string are the characteristic emblem of this deity. This particular image in *pratyahidha* mudra is one faced, two handed, the left hand holding a flower bunch and the other holding a vajra. The presence of a pig in the lotus pedestal as her vahana leads me to identify her as Marichi. The figures of Marichi are very popular in Orissa. In this connection I refer to a typical life-size image of Marichi of Ajodhya in the district of Balasore. She is fair, with three faces, three eyes and eight hands. The left face is in the form of hideous pig face. The Dhyani Buddha virochana sits on her crest. Her car is drawn by seven pigs. This threefaced image bears almost all the characteristics of Marichi as described in the *Sādhnamālā*.

In addition to the above noted images there are few images which could not have been identified accurately. Two such four-handed images with first pair of hands in Dhyana with a vessel over, the left upper holding a *kamandalu* and the right upper holding a rosary are nearest approach to the goddess Cundā.

Votive Stupas

The Banapur hoards contain a group of 19 votive stupas ranging in size from 22.1 cm (high) to 44.60 cm. (in height). The biggest stupa is incised with an inscription of Buddhist Dharani. Three of the stupas are decked with four Dhyani Buddhas (each) and one with four images of Tārā on all four sides.

The hoard of Banapur bronze images in its totality gives a clear picture of the gods and goddesses of Vajrayana pantheon prevalent in the medieval Kalinga. Clear examination and correct identification of the images will no doubt throw a flood of light on the Buddhist iconography and history of Orissa as well. This hoard also yields four Jaina Tirthankara, Mahisamardini Durga, Uma-mahesvara, Ganesha and Vishnu images along with the Buddhist deities which indicates the prevalence of Buddhism, Jainism, Saktism and Vaisnavism side by side in the same centre.

Boudh in the district of Phulbani was a great centre of Tantrism and the scholars are of opinion that this cult continued to exist for a long time. The name Boudh is perhaps derived from Buddha. The colossal image of Buddha and a number of images found in the present Rameswar temple bespeak the heyday of Buddhism in this area. Along with these images two bronze figures were noticed. The description of the two images runs as follows: "We have found two exquisite bronze images from Boudh, which probably belonged to the 9th century A.D. One of them is the richly ornamented figure of two-armed Maitreya seated gracefully in Lalita pose on the throne holding in the left hand a bunch of Nagakeswara flowers and in the right the nectar vase. The other image is that of a variety of Lokeshvara and is in better state of preservation. Although in Lalita attitude, it sits erect on a lotus throne and places its right foot on a foot stool (pāda pitha). It is four armed and one faced, and is richly ornamented, while the modelling of the body conveys the impression of roundness and volume. It carries in the upper right hand a conch shell and in the upper left hand a lotus, while the lower right hand is in varada pose and the lower left is placed on the throne. Such a variety of Lokeshvara is, however, rarely found, and we are disposed to identify it as Sankhanath-Lokeshvara although this god is stated to have only two arms with a conch in the right and lotus in the left hand" (N. K. Sahu, p. 204).

Chowduar, once upon a time an important place of Buddhist interest exhibited a bronze mask of Buddha along with the images (in stone) of Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokitesvara, etc. The image in good condition is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. "The characters of the votive inscription behind the ears of the mask which gives the donor's name indicates that it should be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A. D. A comparison of the modelling of the face of this mask with that of Bodhisattva images of the Nalagiri and Udayagiri discloses a stronger influence of conventionalism in the former" (R. P. Chanda-p. 22).

It is further understood from Shri K. N. Mahapatra, an eminent historian of Orissa that a number of Buddhist bronze images were recovered from Ratnagiri of Cuttack district. Unfortunately I had no occasion to examine these images.

A beautiful Tārā image of about 1ft. in height recovered from a brazier by the police officer of Jajpur police-station was handed over to the author in 1969 for preservation in the Orissa State Museum. The image sitting in a Rājājalāsana shows vyākhyāna mudra in the right hand the long lotus stalk with a flower in the left hand. The image in elegance exhibits profuse ornamentation (five-leafed mukuta on the head, hair-do in a pyramidal form, two lines or necklaces falling gracefully on the neck, pendant earrings, bracelets, broad armlets and anklets and the supple gracefulness and divinely peaceful motherly expression. Stylistically the image may be placed to the 10/11th century A. D.

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Buddhism an off-Shoot of Brahmanism

Pranabananda Jash,

The most outstanding event in the cultural history of India in the sixth century B. C.¹ is the emergence of Buddhism, preached by Buddha,² 'the Enlightened'. The Buddha is deemed to be the first historic person in the dawn of Indian Civilisation to conceive the fundamental unity of all beings, and to give effective expression to a feeling that humanity has a common bond and a common end. The messages of this great teacher and humanitarian the doctrine of unity and universal brotherhood of man, may now sound stale, but the idea was undoubtedly revolutionary in the extreme in the period of 2,500 years ago. To understand the magnitude and magnanimity of the ideology of the Buddha as well as to evaluate its relation with the contemporary Brahmanical religion, it is essential to have a brief idea of the socio-religious background of the time of the Buddha's life. Brahmanism which prevailed in the society prior to the emergence of the Buddha, had developed into an elaborate ritual, and only learned Brahmanas were competent to perform sacrifices, and even in domestic worship the services became indispensable. The religion of the Vedas, which was pragmatic and sacrificial had lost its appeal with the masses. Yet the ideas of the Upanisads, highly scholastic, metaphysical doctrine of the direct realisation of God, could not in any way appease the spiritual appetite of the people. Moreover, it was not possible for the common-folks to perform such a costly and complicated rituals and sacrifices of the Vedic—upanisadic ages, Existing Brahmanic religion, thus, gradually had lost all spontaneity, and religion, as a rule, was considered the monopoly of the Brahmanas in India of the Buddha's time. R. K. Mukherjee while dealing this point says that "the economic background of the rise and spread of Jainism and Buddhism is the opposition to the Brahmanical monopoly focussed in the Ksatriya and merchant groups in the *dāsas* and *bhatakas*, the have-nots (*dalidda-kula*, *adhona*) whose degradation is lamented so sympathetically in the *Jātakas*. Mere indoctrination with the Law of Karma could not appease the classes that were dispossessed and oppressed or that could not rise to the status and power they demanded"³.

In this Socio-religious atmosphere the Buddha preached in a spirit of most conscientious and determined contradiction against the sanctity of the Vedic Lore, the sacrificial prescriptions of the rituals, self-mortifications, prejudices and superstitions, etc., which were the common practices of the society. But Buddhism gave us a popular form of religion, without any complicated and unintelligible ritual. It deliberately set itself to appeal to the common people and wonderfully succeeded in winning their hearts by its simplicity, its emotional element, its easy ethical code, its use of the vernacular language in its scriptures, its popular method of teaching by means of parables its worship in congregation.

It is to be noted here that Buddha never thought of himself as a prophet and thus Buddhism was not conceived as a new religion. He is a pioneer in the field of social development and moral and ethical upliftment of the people. For the amelioration of the

1. Unfortunately, the Indologists are not unanimous regarding the exact date of the Buddha, so the period for the Buddha's activity may be approximately assigned to the sixth century B. C.—Cambridge History of India, I, VII, pp. 152-53.

2. He was also known by Siddhartha, but popularly known by his gotra name Gautama. Sakyasimha-'the Lion of the Sakyas' and Sakyamuni-'the Sakyan sage' (as he was born in the Ksatriya clan of the Sakyas) were the other popular designations of the Buddha—Eliot Hinduism and Buddhism, I, p. 133.

3. A History of Indian Civilisation, p. 161.

miserable and poor people, the Buddha insists on humane and compassionate treatment. Thus, originating as a pre-eminently rational system of philosophy, Buddhism was sanctified to a religion by the intense moral earnestness and profound humanism of Buddha. Nourished in its beginning by the thought and moral discipline of the contemporary Hindu Scriptures, Buddhism never kept it aloof from the parent stock of Brahmanism from which it has been enriched and revitalised. As Kern points out, "It does not necessarily follow that the Buddha was supposed to have invented the whole of morality. On the contrary, the Master himself repeatedly extols the morals and virtues of the ancient rishis. Buddhism has wisely adopted many articles of morality and pious customs flowing from the sources of the Brahmanist Code The sect originally had no moral Code at all, except the prohibitions and duties prescribed to the members of the Order".

Again, so far as the original philosophy of Buddhism goes, there is hardly any break of continuity between Buddha and the Hindu sages who had preceded him. The doctrine of Anatta or not Ātmā, the doctrine that there is no such thing as a soul or self, is emphasised as a most important part of the Buddha's teaching and Buddhist ethics might be summarised as the selfless life. This idea is probably the old Upanisadic doctrine of Ātmā described in his own characteristic and original way. His emphasis was more upon what Ātmā was not than upon what it was. According to Eliot "the doctrine of Anatta is counterbalanced by the doctrine of causation. Without this latter the Buddha might seem to teach that life is a chaos of shadows. But on the contrary he teaches the universality of law, in this life and in all lives.

For Hindus of most schools of thought, metempsychosis means the doctrine that the immortal soul passes from one bodily tenement to another, and is reborn again and again. Karma is the Law which determines the occurrence and the character of these births. In Buddhism, though the Pitakas speak continually of rebirth, metempsychosis is an incorrect expression since there is no soul to transmigrate and there is strictly speaking nothing but Karma. No explanation whatever is given of the origin of Karma, of its reason, method or aims and it would not be consistent with the principles of the Buddha to give such an explanation. Indeed, though it is justifiable to speak of Karma as a force which calls into being the world we know it, such a phrase goes beyond the habitual language of early Buddhism which merely states that everything has a cause and that every one's nature and circumstances are the result of previous actions in this or other existences. Karma is not so much invoked as a met physical explanation of the universe as accorded the consideration which it merits as an ultimate moral fact."⁵

The practice of Dhyāna or contemplation in Buddhism is in line with Yoga system which was in vogue during the time of Buddha. For the Buddhists, Dhyāna is the road and preliminary conquest of Nirvāna. It is needless to add that the monk who gives himself up to Dhyāna or contemplation lives in complete solitude, and, delivered from all earthly cares and troubles, thinks of nothing but eternal salvation, Nirvāna, on which all his thoughts are henceforth concentrated. In fact, there is hardly any difference between the Yoga system and Buddhism relating to the practice of Dhyana or contemplation. Coomarswamy's statement is worth-quoting in this connection—"The spiritual exercises of the Buddhist contemplation are taken over almost unchanged from Brahmanical sources"⁶.

4. Manual of Indian Buddhism, pp. 68-69

⁵ Eliot, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 194-95

⁶ Buddha and Gospel of Buddhism, p. 197

In the *Dharma-cakra-pravartana-sūtra*⁷ the essence of the teaching of the Buddha was a call to take the Middle Path. This 'way' was based on the recognition of the Four Truths :

(a) the truth of pain-e. g., birth, old age, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, dejection and despair ;

(b) the truth of the origin of pain-namely, craving for existence, passion, pleasure, leading to rebirth ;

(c) the truth of the cessation of pain-by ceasing of craving, by renunciation ;

(d) the truth of the way to its elimination viz., the Middle path (*majjhima patipadā*) which avoids the two extremes of excessive attachment to worldly pleasures and rigid self-mortification and which is the noble Eight-Fold path (*arya aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) consisting of "right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture."

These four noble truths of *Āryo Satyāni* are no innovations. analytical study will disclose that they are the cardinal articles of Indian medical science applied to the spiritual healing of mankind exactly as in the yoga doctrine. In this connection we may also note that the concept of transmigration was borrowed from the Brahmanas. Transmigration is a doctrine invented by the Brahmanas, and can be traced back to the origin of the society and religion they founded. Buddha conformed to the current idea in adopting it—Life is but a long series of pain and misery; Salvation consists in avoiding existence. Such cessation comes from moral self control and the repression of all desires. The eight fold path enjoined by Buddha for this purpose is only a code of general ethics, and not the special creed of a revealed and distinctive faith.

Although it was of later growth, yet it may be pointed out that Buddhism became progressively more and more akin to Hinduism till it completely merged in it, losing its separate entity. Some of the later forms of Mahayana Buddhism or Tantric Buddhism did closely approximate to Tantric Hinduism⁸. Thus, under the Pala rule in Bengal and Bihar, under the Singhasari⁹ and Majapahit dynasties in Java and under the Khmers in Cambodia, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D. worship of Siva and Buddha was popular and the two cults were even fused together. Tucci thus opines that "Buddhism when it abandons the human form and multiplies the heads and arms of its divinities, copies Hinduism extensively; certain Tantric images like *Halahalāvalokiteśvara* and *Nilakanthāvalokiteśvara* are clearly contaminations with Siva¹⁰. Elsewhere the same scholar points out that "Buddhism mostly accepts the gods of Hinduism.....inserting them as acolytes among its own gods....."¹¹. This new amalgam found expression in iconography as well as in contemporary literature. *Avalokiteśvara* possesses a lotus in his hand, rides a lion and holds a trident—"with the lotus of *Lakṣmi*, the lion of *Durga* and the trident of *Siva* as his main symbols, and even sharing the feminine grace of *Durga* and *Lakṣmi*, the *Bodhisattva*

7 *Mahavagga*, I. 6,18; *Sāṁyutta Nikaya*, II, P. 106 ; *Majjhima Nikaya*, I. P. 47 ff ; See-Ajoy mitrasastri, an outline of Early Buddhism.

8. As EdLaVajlee Poussio says—"Buddhist tantrism [is Buddhist hinduism- Hinduism or Saivism in Buddhist garb". *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, P. 193 b.

9. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, p. 84

10. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I. p. 215

11. *Ibid.*, p. 217

Avalokiteśvara was a complex embodiment of the supreme divine forces of Hinduism¹². The *Saddharma-pundarika* describing the transformations of Avalokiteśvara, states that Avalokiteśvara assumes the form of Brahma, Mahesvara, Visnu, etc., depending upon the character of the persons to be converted¹³. Jayadeva (c. 12th. Century A. D.) in the *Gita-govinda* speaks of the Buddha as an incarnation of Visnu¹⁴. But all these works are the production of the later period. So we need not much emphasise on them.

Another important and significant point that has to be noted in this connection is that the discipline and rules of ordination of the Buddhist monks were, to a considerable extent, regulated on those of the Sannyasin in the fourth *Asrama* of life¹⁵. In the *Jatakas* Buddha repeatedly says that true piety consists not in the performance of rites or the repetition of set prayers, but in holy living and holy dying¹⁶. Buddha himself recognised his indebtedness to the past, but he claimed to know as well something beyond it (*Abhijānāmi*)¹⁷. In fact, from the purely historical point of view, the line between a Brahmanical Hindu and a Buddhist had never been very sharply drawn.

On the basis of the available materials it may safely be said that Buddha was, at first, essentially and basically a social reformer and he did not propose to found any new religious school opposed to the existing one. True religion is one but in course of time people following the same religion deviated from the right path and the preacher came to show the errors and correct way leading to truth. Like the Sophists Buddha moved from one place to another telling people his experiences. He did not write¹⁸ anything but argued their position and explained things orally and because of his intensity of belief and strength of conviction carried all sections of people with him. Moreover, by his strong personality, intense conviction, simple, honest and austere life, Buddha stood out as the most striking person of this period. His progressive outlook and scientific approach kept him alive to the sufferers and destitutes. There is hardly any doubt that the system of Buddha in its original form was one of resolute and wholesale opposition to the prevailing religious thought. It was revolutionary in doctrine, ritual and social custom. But it was not different from Brahmanism. It was an 'off-shoot from the ancient faith of the Hindus, Perhaps a schism or heresy' and Buddha's main object was to bring about a reformation in religious practices and return to the basic principles¹⁹.

12. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, p. 184

13. *Saddharma Pundarik*, ch. XXIV; Kern's translation in the *Sacred books of the East*, XXI, p. 411.

14. Jayadeva, *Gita-Govinda*, First Canto, Sloka-13

15. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 46, 68—78

16. J. N. Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, p. 24

17. B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, p. 252

18. The *Prajña-Paramita* is probably the first metaphysical work of Buddhism

19. S. Radhakrishnan, *Forward to 2,500 years of Buddhism*, pp. XIII—XV

Buddhism and Jainism in Orissa During the Pre-Christian Centuries

D. K. Ganguly

Introduction of Buddhism

I

For ascertaining the state of Buddhism in the south-eastern State of Orissa during the pre-Maurya period we may take into consideration the following evidences:

First, the *Mahācattārisaka Sutta*¹ of the *Majjhim Nikāya* which appears to have been composed before B. C. 350. speaks of the two Utkala tribes, named Vassa and Bhañña, as renouncing their earlier faith in *Ahetu-vāda*, *Akriyā-vāda* and *Nāstika-vāda* in favour of the Buddhist belief in non-covetousness, non-malice, right mindfulness and right concentration, preached by the master at Jetavana.

Secondly, the *Vinaya Piṭaka*,² which was composed before the rise of the Maurya and the Śuṅga dynasties, represents Tapussa, also called Tapassu, and Bhallika, also known as Bhalluka and Bhalliya, the two merchant brothers of Utkala, as offering the Buddha rice cakes and lump of honey in the eighth week of his enlightenment. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary³ adds that the Buddha reciprocated by giving them eight handfuls of his hair which they later enshrined in a magnificent caitya at Asitāñjana. The commentary on the *Theragāthā*⁴ records that whereas Tapassu continued to be a lay disciple, Bhallika entered the Saṅgha and turned an Arhat.

Thirdly, Chinese sources⁵ indicate that the Buddha lauded Orissa as one of the twelve suitable places for the attainment of perfection.

Fourthly, the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* refers to a Kāliṅga monarch, named Kāliṅga II, as paying reverential honour to the Bodhi tree at Uruvelā near Gaya for seven days.

Fifthly, the *Dāṭhādhātuvamśa*⁶ and the *Buddhavamśa*⁸ state that after the demise of the Buddha one of his tooth-relics was carried to Dantapura to be enshrined in a caitya therein.

The evidences, enumerated above, indicate that Buddhism succeeded in securing a foot-hold in Orissa even in the life-time of its founder-propagator. But doubts have been expressed over the authenticity of these evidences. The lateness of these Buddhist works is supposed to have considerably diminished the reliability of their evidences on past events. It is held that traditions are not unanimous in regard to the country of Tapassu and Bhallika who are described in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu* and narrative of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang as belonging to the north-western part of India. The evidence of the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka*, which represents a Kāliṅga monarch as a convert to Buddhism is discarded on the ground that it is not only mythical but there is also a great deal of uncertainty as regards the identity of king Kāliṅga and his chaplain Kāliṅga Bhāradvāja. Scholars are similarly lukewarm to accept the testimony of the *Dāṭhāvamśa* which is adjudged to be more wonderful than accurate. Further more, the account of the coming of the tooth-relic of the Buddha to Kāliṅga, as adumbrated in the *Dāṭhāvamśa* and the *Buddhavamśa*, is hardly compatible with the evidence of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which does not include the people of Kāliṅga in the list of those who shared the relics of the Buddha. These and similar other lines of argument have led scholars to assume that the horizon of primitive Buddhism was hardly extensive enough to include Orissa to its orbit. It is further pointed out that Orissa was always considered an outlying territory of *Majjhima Janapada*, which is taken to be co-extensive with the extent of early Buddhism.

It is, however, difficult for us to subscribe to the view which excludes Orissa from the limits of early Buddhism. Notice has already been taken of certain interesting allusions, appearing in Buddhist literature, to the association of the people of this region with Buddhism even in the days of the Buddha. It is hardly correct to accept each and every element of these stories as sober history but it is equally unhistorical to brush aside the whole thing as entirely baseless. Underneath the superimposed construction of myth and hyperbole is discernable in these stories a solid base which was evidently provided by some definite cases of conversion of the Orissan people, especially, the members of the mercantile community, to Buddhism at a very early date. The story of the deposit of a tooth-relic of the Buddha at Dantapura, for instance, may be treated as a case of fabrication, but the existence of a Buddhist pocket at the site by the last quarter of the fifth century B. C. is, in all probability, undeniable. Cities like Rājagṛha, Pāṭaliputra, Vaiśālī, Campā, Śrāvastī, Vārānaśī and Kausāmbī, which were renowned centres of trade and commerce, must have been scenes of visits of the traders from Orissa. It is not unlikely that the frequent visits of the Orissan merchants to these places in Kosala and Magadha brought them into intimate relations with the Buddha that led to their conversion to Buddhism in the long run. Again, the presence of ārāmas in most of these places, like those of Veluvan-ārāma, Jivak-ārāma and Udumbarikāra at or near Rājagṛha, Ambapālī-vana at Vaiśālī, Kukkuṭ-ārāma, Ghosita-ārāma and Pāvārikāmba-vana at Kausāmbī and Jetavan-ārāma near Śrāvastī, might have paved the way for their conversion to Buddhism. Denounced as members of Samkīreya-yonah and branded as inhabitants of an impure country by orthodox Aryans,¹⁰ particularly of Madhyadeśa, these merchants and their associates were encouraged to join the anti-Vedic and anti-Brahmaṇa socio-religious and philosophical movements like Buddhism and Jainism that deprecated the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas and emphasised the importance of conduct and the practice of austerities, rather than birth or family, as the chief means of emancipation.

Another proof in favour of the spread of early Buddhism in Orissa may be found embedded in a passage of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta which includes the people of Kaliṅga in the list of the worshippers of the relics of the Buddha, if it be not a later interpolation, as it is usually supposed to be. The Sutta Nipāta¹¹ records that a Brahmin ascetic named Bāvarī, living in an island of the river Godavari, sent sixteen of his disciples to the Buddha, who was then staying at Śrāvastī to enquire whether his claims to Buddhahood were genuine or fallacious. This would only indicate how even primitive Buddhism could make a deep inroad into the cultural life of the people of the Deccan. There is hardly any improbability in the success of the master-propagator in claiming adherents in Orissa, which he, however, left unvisited, actuated, in all probability, by the fluid political condition, coupled with a busy schedule, in North India¹².

II

Buddhism before Asoka's Conquest

With its introduction in Orissa by the last quarter of the fifth century B. C. Buddhism was fast growing into prominence, and by the beginning of the third century B. C. it succeeded in claiming a large number of votaries in this area. The people of Orissa, who lived outside the pale of Madhyadeśa, were freed from the obligations of orthodox Vedic religious ideas and practices, and they differed also, in no small measure, from the midlanders in point of language, ethnic elements and culture. Orissa, with all her characteristic peculiarities, offered a paradise to the protagonists of the heterodox religions.

The following passage of R. E. XIII¹³ affords us an interesting glimpse into the condition of Buddhism in Orissa at the beginning of the third century B. C. :

Savatā vasati bāmbhanā va, śamanā vā, ane vā pāsāṃḍa, gihithā vā, yeṣu vihitā eṣa agabhuta śusuṣā, mātāpiti śusuṣā, galuṣuṣuṣa, mitaṣamthutaṣahayanātikeṣu dā'abhatakaṣi śamyāpaṭipati, didhabbatitā.

R. G. Basak¹⁴ translates the passage into English thus : "There live everywhere Brāhmaṇas and (Buddhist) ascetics, people of other (religious) sects and house holders, among whom these (virtues) are practised, namely, service (or hearkening) to superiors (or elder brothers), hearkening to mother and father, hearkening to preceptors and proper behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives, as well as to slaves and servants and also steadfast devotion (to duties)". Since the statement is made in the context of Aśoka's expedition in Kāliṅga, there is hardly any doubt about its applicability to Orissa which was then inhabited, among others, by śramaṇas and householders, among whom were established certain ethical practices. Now, the true import of the word śramaṇa, as used by Aśoka in R. E. XIII, is difficult to determine, as the term has different connotations. The term does not only denote a Buddhist ascetic (sa tu Bauddha-sannyāsi), but frequently a religious mendicant, in general¹⁵ (śrāmyati tapasyati=īti yati-viśeṣaḥ iti Medinī). The existence of ascetics of different religious orders and sects in those days, as proved by Brahmanical, Buddhist and Classical accounts has further complicated the issue. But it cannot escape notice that the śramaṇas are distinguished in the passage not only from the Brāhmaṇas but also from the followers of different dissenting sects. This may indicate that the term śramaṇa has been employed by Aśoka in its narrower connotation to denote a Buddhist ascetic.

The identification of the householders, as enumerated in R. E. XIII, is, likewise difficult, but it is not altogether impossible. D. R. Bhandarkar¹⁶ has rightly observed that the ethical practices, which the householders were enjoined to follow, are identical with those, preached for the Buddhist laity in the Sigalovāda-sutta, which is aptly styled gihī-vinaya, 'Institute for the house-men', of the Dīgha Nikāya. In the expression of Aśoka, as embodied in R. E. XIII, we find the justification for the assumption that, even before Aśoka's expedition, Buddhism had claimed a good number of adherents, comprising monks, whose cherished goal was nirvāṇa, as well as lay-followers (Upasakas and Upāsikās), who aspired for heaven, svarga.

III

Buddhism under Aśoka

Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism, in all probability, in the fourteenth year¹⁷ of his reign—an aftermath of the Kāliṅga war—inaugurated an unprecedented era in the history of this religion. It was during his reign, as the emperor himself would have us believe, that Buddhism spread not only over the whole of India and Ceylon but also over Western Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa. Buddhism gained momentum in Orissa also under the aegis of the Buddhist Maurya emperor.

The literary evidence would suggest the Aśoka employed the following measures for propagation of Buddhism in Orissa :

First, Tiṣya,¹⁸ Aśoka's youngest brother, and Dharmarakṣita,¹⁹ Tiṣya's preceptor, are known to have spent the last days of their life in popularising the Theravāda sect in Kāliṅga. Since both of them were connected with the royal house of Pāṭaliputra, there is every likelihood

for the presumption that these Buddhist missions were despatched to Orissa at the instance of Aśoka himself. Unfortunately, the activities of Tiṣya and Dharmarakṣita in the role of the protagonists of Buddhism lack corroboration from the inscriptional evidence which, however supplements our knowledge by providing the information that the task of promoting Buddhism amongst the people was entrusted to such high state functionaries as the Dharma Mahāmātras, Yuktas, Rājūkas and Prādeśikas. It is worth mentioning that in the list of the countries, as is disclosed by the Ceylonese chronicles,²⁰ to which missionaries were deputed by Moggaliputta Tissa, the eminent leader of the Theravāda school of Buddhism in Aśoka's time, mention is made of Kashmir, Gandhāra, Aparāntaka, the Himalayan region, the Bactrian kingdom to the north-west, Mahārāṣṭra, Vanavāsi (North Kanara), Mahiṣamaṇḍala (Mysore), Suvarṇabhūmi (Burma) and Ceylon. It is noteworthy that not only the name of Kaliṅga but also those of other neighbouring regions are conspicuous by their absence in the list.

Secondly, Aśoka²¹ is said to have built up in Kaliṅga a monastery, known as Bhojakagiri-vihāra which became the centre of activities of the Theravādins.

Thirdly, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang²² testifies to the presence of ten stūpas in Oḍra and of one in Kaliṅga, lying to the south of the capital, all of which are said to have been founded by Aśoka. N. K. Sahu²³ is of opinion that the site of the last named Stūpa lies somewhere in the Dhauli-Bhubaneswar area, for, as he suggests, the stūpa was located in the vicinity of Tosālī. But Tosālī can hardly boast of being the capital of Kaliṅga at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit.

The Chinese evidence of the construction of stūpas by Aśoka in Orissa seems to be corroborated by archaeological discoveries. R. L. Mitra²⁴ has long ago traced the foundation of a caitya or a stūpa in the Dhauli area. The presence of remains has also led Beglar²⁵ to affirm the location of a stūpa on the flat terrace of the Dhauli hill near the rock-cut elephant which probably betrays the symbolic representation of the Buddha by the side of the Dhamma-lipi or of 'His Imperial Majesty King Aśoka, presenting himself in quiet dignity before the people of Kaliṅga'²⁶. R. L. Mitra²⁷, and following him, K. C. Panigrahi²⁸ and N. K. Sahu²⁹, point out that the unusually large liṅgam in the Bhāskareśvara temple at Bhubaneswar was the remnant of an Aśokan pillar, although scholars like M. M. Ganguli³⁰ and N. K. Bose³¹ appear to be lukewarm to subscribe to this view. The discovery of a pillar-capital and the front portion of a colossal lion figure at Bhubaneswar has, however, given rise to heated controversies among archaeologists, as their alleged association with the Maurya art is often doubted in the absence of any positive evidence³².

It is, however, far from being known whether Aśoka's propaganda machinery encountered any opposition in Orissa from any other religious order. Nevertheless royal patronage, coupled with a favourable atmosphere, resulting from the overwhelming disparity in social position between the people of Orissa and those of Madhyadeśa must have facilitated the onward growth of Buddhism in this south-eastern corner of India as a popular religion. If the witness of the Sāmantapāsādikā³³ is to be believed, Aśoka despatched as the retinue of the sacred Bodhi tree eight families of Kaliṅga who are reputed to have played a pivotal role in the development of the Theravāda sect in that island.

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Buddhism in the Post-Maurya Period

The cause of Buddhism must have sustained a serious set-back in consequence of Aśoka's demise,³⁴ for, the later Maurya rules³⁵ seldom betrayed the zest that he had exhibited in its dissemination. The Śuṅgas, who succeeded the Mauryas on the imperial throne of

Pāṭaliputra, were the avowed champions of Brahmanism while the Cetis, who established their authority in Kāliṅga by the middle of the first century B. C., took up the cause of Jainism.³⁶ Even then, Buddhism, to judge from the available source-materials, continued to play an important role in the religious life of the people. The discovery of four railing pieces from the neighbourhood of the Bhāskaresvara temple discloses the existence of an ancient stūpa in that area. The relief art of the pieces would make them contemporaneous with the great stūpa of Sāñchī which was mostly erected in the second half of the first century B. C.³⁷ If the post-Aśoka Buddhist art in India reveals the culture-ideology of the people, in general, this stūpa of Bhubaneswar merits recognition as a definite testimony to a fairly prosperous state of Buddhism in the pre-Christian century.

The eastern hill of Sankaram³⁸ and the hill range near Ramatirtham³⁹ are studded with the ruins of stūpas and images of the seated Buddha. Although Rea⁴⁰ has assigned these stūpas to the days of Aśoka several considerations as the presence of the Buddha images, the technique of the caves and the discovery of seal impressions, containing legends in post-Gupta script, warrant the possibility of a very late date for the architectural activity of these sites.⁴¹

V

Jainism in the pre-Christian Centuries

The paucity of positive information hardly allows one to determine with precision the period when Jainism came to be introduced in Orissa, for, the Haribhadrīya Vṛtti,⁴² which represents Vardhamāna Mahāvīra as preaching his sermons in Kāliṅga at the behest of her ruler, is a work of a much later date. K. P. Jayaswal,⁴³ who has read the expression, supavate-vijaya-caka-Kumārī-pavate, in line 14 of the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Mahārāja Khāravela, observes that Mahāvīra preached his doctrines at a site atop the Kumārī hill which has been identified with Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar. But a cloud of uncertainty hangs over the reading of the passage and its interpretation, as proposed by Jayaswal. Whether Mahāvīra may be supposed to have personally visited Orissa or not, Jainism, to judge from the combined evidence of the the Uttarādhyana Sūtra, representing king Karaṇḍu of Orissa as a convert to Jainism, and the Vyavahāra Bhāṣya,⁴⁴ alluding to king Tosālika as jealously guarding a Jina image in the city of Tosālī, must have spread to this region at a fairly early date.

It was in the first half of the fourth century B. C. that Jainism appears to have secured a firm footing in Orissa, inasmuch as, she could boast of, by that time, a Jina image, the existence of which is vouchsafed by the Hathigumpha epigraph (Kāliṅga-Jinaṃ). The identity of the Jina, as mentioned in the record, is, unfortunately, far from being certain, for, whereas, K. P. Jayaswal identifies him with Sītalanātha, N. K. Sahu⁴⁵ is inclined to equate the Jina with Rṣabhanātha. The expression Kāliṅga-Jinaṃ, admitting the suggestion to be conjectural, may be construed to mean the image of a Jina preserved in Kāliṅga. Whatever view may be held on the identification of the Jina of the Hathigumpha inscription, there is little room for doubt that the practice of image-worship⁴⁶ was in vogue among the Jainas in Orissa even in the pre-Nanda times. The Jina image did not remain in Orissa for long, as it soon passed into the hands of Mahāpadma Nanda in the course of his Orissan invasion.

Jainism made a great headway in Osissa during the reign of the Ceti monarch Khāraveia, who in his faith was a devout Jaina, as may be gleaned from the preamble of his record which contains an invocation of the Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras) and the Siddhas (liberated souls). As the Hathigumpha inscription would have us believe, Khāravēla championed the cause of Jainism by undertaking the following measures :

First, he liberally patronised Jaina ascetics by constructing a number of caves on the Kumārī hill (Kumārīpavate arhatehi.....Jīva-deha-sayikā parikhātā), making munificent provisions for their maintenance and offering gifts of silk and white clothes. It seems that other members of the royal family participated in the pious donations of caves. The Svargapuri cave, for example, owes its origin to the piety of the chief queen of Khāravēla while two of the cells of the Mañchapuri cave were dedicated by Mahārāja Kūdepa and Kumāra Vaḍukha. Their low height, narrowness, small door-openings and the absence of niches would clearly indicate that these caves, which were meant for the residence of Jaina recluses, provided little amenities to their inmates. The prime considerations for the selection of the Udayagiri hill for the site of the Jaina establishment were evidently its 'secluded situation ensuring a proper atmosphere for meditation and monastic life and the proximity to the populous capital (identified with Sisupalgarh, 10 Km. south-east of the hills) of Kālīṅga, where the monks could easily go on their missionary rounds and from where the devotees might come to pay homage to the ascetics and perform worship at the sanctuary'⁴⁷.

Secondly, Khāravēla, in his twelfth regnal year, brought back to Kālīṅga the image of the Kālīṅga-Jina which had been carried away by king Nanda of Magadha (Nanda-rājanitaṁca Kālīṅga-Jinaṁ saṁnivesa). S. C. De⁴⁸ observes that one of the sculptural scenes of the Udayagiri caves portrays Khāravēla as installing the image of the Jina of Kālīṅga but the identification of this sculptural scene, as proposed above, is not beyond dispute. K. P. Jayaswal⁴⁹ is of opinion that Khāravēla convened in the thirteenth year of his reign a council of Jaina monks and caused to be compiled an authentic version of the Jaina canonical texts—the seven-fold Aṅgas of the sixty-four letters, but the authenticity of Jayaswal's reading and interpretation of the last line of the Hathigumpha epigraph has not met with general acceptance⁵⁰.

REFERENCE

1. Majjhima Nikāya, III, 78
2. Vinaya Piṭaka, I, 3
3. I, 207
4. I, 48
5. N. K. Sahu, Buddhism in Orissa (Utkal University, 1258), p. 7
6. Jātaka IV, 228-36
7. Buddhism in Orissa, p. 7
8. Buddhavaṃsa (PTS), XXVIII. 6
9. S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India (London, 1962), pp. 60-61
10. Bodhāyana (I, 2, 14) prescribes a sacrifice of expiation after a travel amongst the people of Kālīṅga (Ārattān Kāraskarān Puṇḍrān Sauvirān Vaṅga-Kālīṅgān Prānūnān-itica gatvā punastomena yajeta sarva-pṛsthayā vā). Bodhāyana (I, 2, 15) adds that 'it is to commit a sin with the legs to go to Kālīṅga; for its atonement, the saints prescribe a Vaisvānara libation (padbhyām sa kurute pāpaṃ yaḥ Kālīṅgān prapadyate/Rṣayo niṣkṛtim tasya prāhur-vai 'vāi'vānaram haviḥ). An echo of this reprobation is reflected in another traditional verse: 'If one goes to Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kālīṅga, Saurāṣṭra and Magadha except for a pilgrimage, it is necessary for him to receive a new sacrament [Aṅga Vaṅga Kālīṅgeṣu Saurāṣṭre Magadheṣu ca/tīrthayātrām vinā gacchan punaḥ saṃskāram-arhati // Sylvain Levi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India (Calcutta, 1929) p. 74].
11. SBE, X, pt. II, p. 180
12. Although there is no unanimity among scholars on the date of the Buddha's death B. C. 486, which is based on the Chinese tradition of 'the dotted record', may be accepted as a working hypothesis. S. Dutta (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, p. 35) postulates B. C. 483 as the year of the Buddha's 'Great Decease'.
13. R. G. Basak, Aśoka Inscriptions (Calcutta, 1959), pp. 64-65
14. Ibid, p. 72
15. The term also means labouring, toiling, low, base, vile, etc. [V. S. Apte, The Students' Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Delhi, 1965), p. 564; N. N. Vasu, Viśva-Kosa, XH, p. 624] R. G. Basak (AI, p. 72) interprets the term śramaṇa in the sense of a Buddhist ascetic.
16. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, A Comprehensive History of India, II (Calcutta, 1957), p. 35.
17. Aśoka appears to have conquered Kālīṅga in the thirteenth year of his reign [D. K. Oanguly, Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa (Calcutta, 1975), p. 111] and he became a Buddhist about a year after this event. D. R. Ehandarkar (A Comprehensive History of India, II, p. 30), who does not accept the Sinhalese tradition that Aśoka was crowned four years after his accession to the throne, places Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism in the latter's ninth regnal year.
18. Malalasekera, Dictionary, I, 585; JKHS, I, No. 4, p. 297
19. Malalasekera, ibid

20. S. Dutta, *Buddhist Monks And Monasteries Of India*, pp. 60-61. Some scholars do not believe in the historicity of Tissa's missions. A relic casket, found in a stūpa at Sanchi contains the name of Majjhima who has been identified with his namesake who was sent by Tissa to the Himalayan region.

21. N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism In Orissa*, p. 23

22. Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 411 and 414.

23. N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism In Orissa*, p. 28

24. *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 47

25. ASI, XIII, p. 96

26. R. C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bombay, 1960), p. 508

27. *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 48

28. JAS., XVII, p. 98.

29. *Buddhism in Orissa*, p. 29.

30. *Orissa And Her Remains*, p. 324.

31. J. BORS., XV, p. 260.

32. The word that Aśoka used for Buddhism is Dhamma. D. R. Bhandarkar (*A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 35) points out that the Dhamma that Aśoka preached 'was not that simple piety which is common to all religions, but the specific code of moral duties laid down for a lay-follower of Buddhism'. But a contrary view has been propounded by S. Dutta (*Buddhist Monks And Monasteries of India*, p. 113) as he says, 'If the spread of Buddhism had been any object in the emperor's mind, it is reasonable to suppose that among these items (i. e., proper behaviour towards slaves and servants, etc.) of 'Dhamma-maṅgala' he would have included paying reverence to the Stūpa and taking the eight vows of morality (Aṭṭhaṅga-uposathā.) Dhamma evidently was to his mind a concept of culture, of the cultivation of social and ethical virtues, rather than of religious faith or observances'.

33. I, 96.

34. Aśoka's death is placed in B. C. 236 (*A Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 43).

35. With the exception of Mahendra, none of the sons or grandsons of Aśoka is known to have embraced Buddhism.

36. D. K. Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, pp. 129 ff.

37. *Buddhism in Orissa* pp. 31 ff.

38. *Annual Report of ASI*. 1907-08, pp. 49 ff; 1910-11, pp. 78—81.

39. *Ibid*.

40. *Ibid*.

41. In the earlier days devotees were contented with making and worshipping symbols. It was only from about the middle of the first century B. C. that the building-up and worship of the Buddha-Bodhisattva images came into vogue. The

earliest Buddha image from Mathura is placed in c. A. D. 80 (The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 518, fn. 3). The Bimaran reliquary (in the ancient country of Gandhāra) is assigned to c. B. C. 50, the headless standing image of the Buddha from Loriyan Tongai, to A. D. 6 and the standing Hārīti figure from Sakrah Dheri, to A. D. 7 (Ibid, p. 520).

42. JBORS, XIII, p. 223.

43. E. I., XX, p. 88.

44. Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Jain Art And Architecture, I, p. 25.

45. The Utkal University History of Orissa, I, p. 228.

46. The highly polished torso of a Jina image from Lohanipur near Patna, probably assignable to the Maurya period, is the earliest of the Jina images hitherto discovered in India (U. P. Sah, A Brief Survey of Jaina Art In the north (Banaras, 1955), p. 5.

47. Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha Jain Art And Architecture, I, p. 74.

48. OHRJ, XI, p. 57

49. EI, XX, p.

50. Some of the scenes from the sculptured friezes of the Gaṇeśagumpha and Rāṅgigumpha caves have been taken by some to represent Pārśvanātha's wanderings as a Tīrthaṅkara or his rescue of Prabhāvatī and his subsequent marriage with her. But V. S. Agrawala [Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, XIV, (1946), P.P. 102—09] is inclined to identify these scenes with the episodes from the tales of Duṣyanta-Śakuntalā and Udayana-Vāsavadattā.

MAHAVIRA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES ABROAD

B. S. Upadhyaya

When Mahāvīra was living and preaching in India in the Sixth Century before Christian epoch of revolt, resurgence and defiance had dawned over the world. This turned out a period distinguished by a shower of stars in the history of genius. Intellect, pure intellect, scintillating with an incisive and trenchant spirit of enquiry, had taken a new turn and had torn away the gods from their niches and thrones and dismembered and cast them down into dust. Thinkers of the Upanishads, the atheistic denouncers of the metaphysical beliefs and the materialistic Lokāyatas and Mahāvīra and Buddha in India, Lao-tze and Confucius in China, Jeremia and Ezekiel, the Second Isaiah, in Israel, the pre-Socratic philosophers in Greece, and Zarathustra in Persia led their movements and sought to build their respective worlds.

Such a simultaneity of genius does not spring of a sudden and from nowhere like a Minerva born in panoply but is suggestive of intercommunication and mutual influence among the contemporary cultures. The caravans that traded in material wares also commenced in ideas and those that buckled in Thebes and Memphis, in Jerusalem and Jerico, in Damascus and Antioch, Tyre and Sidon, unbuckled at Benares and Ujjain, Pāṭaliputra and Kosāmbī. Thoughts are no upstarts; they are continuous, universalized by contacts. They cross and recross and blot out the frontiers of nations.

The traditional date of Mahāvīra falls between 599 and 527 B. C. although a later one between 549 and 477 B. C. too is put on record. It will be reasonable, therefore, to take into account here the mental speculations during the period ranging between 650 and 450 B. C.

In India the stagnant past was losing ground under the stress of the challenging new. The anthropomorphic plurality of the eating and drinking gods of the Rigveda had been starved by the suppression of the bloody sacrifices and the advent of Brahma or Purusha of the Upanishads. The priestly Brahmin had become subservient to the thinking Kshatriya as Yājñavalkya, Uddālaka, Āruṇi Svetaketu Āruṇeya and Dripta Bālāki had submitted to the kings like Janaka of Videha, Ajātasatru of Kāśī, Pravahana Jaivali of Pañchala and Aśvapati of Kekaya. Great teachers like Uddaka Rāmaputta and Ālāra Kālāma were preaching their gospels in their hermitages. While thinkers roamed the country with their bands and orders rebutting dogmas, confuting ideas, integrating the opposites, a great variety of rational masters paribbājakas, the wanderers wandered about despising the priests, doubting the gods and hearing without fear the stigma of Nihilists, ever challenging, never fearing and submitting, and creating a chain of negation of negations. Sañjaya, the agnostic, would neither admit nor deny life after death, would question the very possibility of knowledge and limit philosophy to the pursuit of peace. P. rāṇa Kaśyapa refused to accept moral distinctions, and taught that the soul is a passive slave to chance. Makkhari Gosala held that fate determines everything, regardless of merits of men, Ajita Keśakambalin reduced man to earth, water, fire and wind and said, "Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off annihilated and after death they are not." Pakudha Kachāna considered the seven elements of earth, water, fire, wind, happiness, misery and soul self-created. No one kills, no one is killed; the weapon strikes

the elements alone. Jābali is a typical sceptic of the times who ridicules Rāma for rejecting a kingdom in order to keep a vow. He says: 'Crafty priests have forged maxims. There is no hereafter, Rama. Vain is the hope and creed of man. come and seek the pleasure of the present and spurn the illusions. Buddha found the halls, the streets, the very woods ringing with philosophical disputation, mostly of an atheistic and materialistic trend. A large class of travelling, Sophists spent the better part of every year seeking pupils or antagonist in philosophy. It was an age of amazingly free thought and of a thousand experiments in philosophy. Intellectual jousts arranged in arenas by kings to which great audiences flocked to hear the hair-splitters' and eel-wrigglers'. Out of the aphorisms of Brihaspati came a whole school of materialists, the Charvakas who said, the truth can be known only through the senses. What is not perceived by the senses does not exist, therefore, the soul is a delusion and Atman is humbug. We do not observe, in experience or history, any interposition of supernatural forces in the world. All phenomena are natural. Matter is the one reality; the body is a combination of atoms; the mind is merely matter thinking; the body, not the soul, feels sees, hears, thinks. Who has seen the soul existing independently of the body? Where can you find consciousness away from life? There is no immortality, no rebirth. Religion is an aberration, a disease, a chicanery. Nature is indifferent to good and evil, virtue and vice. The sun shines indiscriminately upon tenances and saints. There is no need to control instinct or passion, for these are the instructions of nature to men. Virtue is a mistake; the purpose of life is living, and the only wisdom is happiness. The Charvakas put an end to the age of the Vedas and the Upanishads and created a vacuum which was filled by the sceptics and Mahavira and Buddha. Both were outcome of this Nihilistic movement, both were Kshatriyas, both spoke in the people's language, not in the sacerdotal Sanskrit of the Brahmanas. Mahavira emerged triumphant with his anekantavada, Buddha saw misery and pain in the birth, cause of that pain, cessation of pain and the way leading to the cessation of pain.

The world outside India was equally in ferment. Egypt, though dead, was yet a source of inspiration for the Greeks. Thales, Pythagorus, Solon all visited Egypt to seek wisdom of her. She could give them nothing and yet the Egyptian priest had enough to taunt them with: "You, Greeks, are mere children and talkative and vain, and knowing nothing of the past".

Crete and Troy lay under the earth, Sparta had already ruled and ruined Greece. Under the shadow of Draconian Laws the "Code" of Solon (640-558 B. C.) had been proclaimed in Athens where the philosopher had declared—"Many undeserving men are rich while their betters are poor. But we will not exchange what we are for what they have, since the one gift abides while the other passes from man to man". The days of the Academics were yet in the womb of future.

Corinth was more alive for while the tyranny of Perimander (625-585 B. C.) was killing and burning, harlots roamed the streets and the temple of Aphrodite was receiving thousands of courtesans in gifts. When Perimander died, Mahavira was already fourteen and dreaming his future. Both Solon and Perimander were his senior contemporaries. Pythagorus of Crotona, the mouthpiece of the Pythian oracle at Delphi, had already been born about 580 B. C. at Somos. Like Mahavira in India he was the first feminist of Greece, who like the Indian saint, admitted women to his teaching. He is said to have travelled to India and imbibed traits not dissimilar to the Upanishads, much similar indeed to the living of Mahavira. He received both men and women to the school that he founded. He Taught his women pupils philosophy and literature and maternal and domestic arts so that Pythagorean women' came to be honoured by the antiquity as the highest feminine type that Greece ever produced.

He changed his school into a monastery and himself turned a strict vegetarian. He would not eat flesh, eggs or even beans and would not drink wine. No animal, which did not injure man, he commanded, must be killed. He would not even suffer the destruction of a cultivated tree. He took a vow to live rigorously, and did not ever yield to laughter. He started a movement against the institution of sacrifices and declared war on those who would seek to appease the carnivorous goats. The alters, he declared, must not be stained with blood. He dressed in spotless white and practising absolute chastity, he never made love, never chastized even a slave. He prescribed abstinence and self-control essential for entry into his school and himself kept silence for five years. He gave a new name "Kosmas" to the world, and rejecting the word "sophia" meaning wisdom, and prefixing it with "philo", he called it "philosophia", the love of wisdom. He said that soul was divided into feeling intuition and reason, which, after death, undergoes a period of purgation in Hades, and then turning to earth enters a new body in a chain of transmigration to be ended only by a completely virtuous life. He starved himself to death. It is not difficult to locate his Hippocrene. The conclusion is irresistible that he found his Mecca in the East and the tradition that he had visited India in an epoch, which coincided with the life and environ of Mahāvīra, points the way he may have taken.

Almost as great a parallel in philosophical thought can be found in Heraclitus (576—480 B. C.), a contemporary of Mahāvīra, who declared: "The world was made neither by a god nor by man, but never was, and is, and shall be, ever-living fire, in measure being kindled and in measures going out". He identified fire with soul and God. According to him there is nothing static in universe, the mind or the soul. Nothing is. Everything becomes; no conditions persists unaltered, even for the smallest moment, everything is ceasing to be what it was, and is becoming what it will be. His famous declaration—*panta rei, oudsn menci*—means that all things flow, nothing abides. "You cannot step twice into the same river, for other waters are ever flying on to you." This easily reminds one of the laterly *Mūlinda Pañha* and its teacher Nāgasena. "We are and we are not", declared Heraclitus, "Many are one.....the One is the Many". Like Hegel, he declared the unity of opposites, the interdependence of contraries, the harmony of strife—"God is day and night", he said, "winter and summer, war and peace, surfeit and hunger". "Good and bad are the same; goodness and badness are but one". "Life and death are the same, and so are waking and sleeping, youth and age." All these contraries are stages in a fluctuating movement, moments of the ever-changing fire. "They understood not how that which is at variance with itself agrees with itself. There sits attunement of opposite tensions, like that of the bow and the harp." In the struggle of organism with organism, of man with man, of man with woman, of generation with generation, of class with class, of nation with nation, of idea with idea of creed with creed, the warring opposites are the warp and woof on the loom of life, working at cross-purposes to produce the unseen unite and hidden concord of the whole. "From things that differ comes the fairest attunement".

Parmenides (5th Cy. B. C.) of Eba on the western coast of Italy, another contemporary of Mahāvīra in Greece, begins a trend of thought said to be arising from the Upanishads which ends with Plato. "Perhaps the antisensations", says Will Durant, "of the Upanishads had penetrated through Iona or Pythagoras to Parmenides". (The Life of Greece, p. 350) The mysterious problem of knowledge, the distinction between noumenon and phenomenon, between the unseen real and the unreal seen were flung into the cauldron of European thought. His poem "On Nature", a collection of 160 verses, survives even today; it is regrettable that he did not write prose. All things are one, said he; motion, change and development are unreal—phantoms of superficial, contradictory, untrustworthy sense; beneath these mere appearances lies an unchanging, homogenous, indivisible, indissoluble, motionless unity which is the only Being, the only Truth, and the only God. Heraclitus said, *panta rei*, all things change:

Parmenides says, *hen ta panta*, all things are one and never change. At times, like Zenophanes (fl. 536 B. C.), he speaks of this one as the universe, and calls it spheroidal and finite; at times, in an idealistic vision, he identifies Being with thought, and sings, "One thing are Thinking and Being," as if to say that for us things exist only in so far as we are conscious of them. Beginning and end, birth and death, formation and destruction, are of forms only; the only Real never begins and never ends, there is no Becoming, there is only Being. Motion too is unreal, it assumes the passage of something from where it is to where there is nothing, or empty space; but empty space, not Being, cannot be; there is no void; the one fills every nook and corner of the world, and is for ever at rest.

Zenophanes of Elea belonged to Colophon and flourished in the 6th century B. C. with Mahāvīra. He reached Elea about 510 B. C. and founded his Eleatic school. Pythagoras was his favourite foe although he denounced Homer more for his impious gibaldry, laughed at superstition and wrote and recited philosophical poems. He completed a century before he died. He declared that there is one God, supreme among gods and men; resembling mortals neither in form nor in mind. The whole of him sees, the whole of him thinks, the whole of him hears—mark the Upanishadic flow of thought—without toil he rules all things by the power of his mind. This good is identified with the universe. All things, even men, are derived from earth and water by natural laws. All change in history, and all separateness in things, are superficial phenomena; beneath the flux and variety of forms is an unchanging unity, which is the innermost reality of God. Zenophanes had dauntless energy and reckless initiative who wandered about for 67 years, making observation and enemies everywhere.

Empedocles (500-430 B. C.) was perhaps a junior contemporary of Mahāvīra. He was a pupil of his contemporary Pythagoras or perhaps a pupil of one of the Pythagoreans. He was born of wealthy family at Acragas in the year of Marathon and had passion for horseracing. He believed in the theory of transmigration of the soul and declared that he himself had once being born a youth, a maiden, a flowering shrub, a bird and a fish. Like Pythagoras and Mahāvīra, he too condemned animal food as a form of cannibalism. He declared, "From what glory, from what immeasurable bliss, have I now sunk to roam with mortals on this earth; By profession he was a physician. He performed miracles, and went about in golden sandals and purple robe crowned with laurels. Some 470 lines of his poetry survive. Like the propagators of Anekāntavāda in India, he saw some wisdom in every system and deprecated Parmenides' wholesale rejection of the senses, and welcomed each sense as an "avenue to understanding". All things are composed of four elements—air, fire, water and earth. Two basic forces of attraction and repulsion, love and hate, operate on these. The endless combinations and separations of the elements of these forces produce the world of things and history. Transmigration weaves all souls in to one biography, so in nature there is no sharp distinction between one species or genus and another; e. g. "Hair and leaves and the thick feathers of birds, and the scales that form on their limbs are the same thing." All higher forms develop from lower forms. At first both sexes existed in the same body, then they separated, and each longs to be reunited with the other. God has no body. "He is only mind, sacred and ineffable mind, flashing through the whole universe with swift thoughts."

While the pre-Periclean Greece was thus refuting and disputing ideas and seeking and opening up new paths to wisdom, a new day was breaking on the eastern horizon. China was undergoing the pangs of labour and rebirth after creating a culture reaching as far back as 1700 B. C. This, one of the oldest and richest of living civilizations, had a long record of philosophy idealistic and yet practical, profound and yet intelligible. And now there rose in the Chinese firmament two luminaries, Lao-tze and Confucius, who dimmed the light of others with their own effulgence and

gave to China a new creed, a new thics, a new sense of understanding. They appeared right at the time India was seething with the ferment of revolt and Mahāvīra and Buddha were enlightening their devout audiences with their finds in the field of thought.

Lao-tze, the Old Master, was propounding his philosophy of Taoism and leading his followers on Tao, literally Patipada, the Way, the Way of Nature, of wise living which he had sought and found. The Old Master rejected intellect and all its wares and showed the Way—a modest life of retirement, of rusticity, and of quiet contemplation of nature. Knowledge, he said, is not virtue, not wisdom : rascals have increased since education has spread. Philosophers hatch every natural process with theory; their ability to make speeches and multiply ideas is precisely the sign of their incapacity for action. “Those who are skilled”, Lao-tze declared, “do not dispute.When we renounce learning we have no troubles.” “He who tries to govern a State”, he concluded, “by his wisdom is a scourge to it, while he does not do so is a blessing.” Even writing he put aside as an unnatural instrument of befuddle ment and deviltry. Unhampered by regulations from the Government, the spontaneous economic impulses of the peoples would move the wheel of life in simple and wholesome round. There would be few inventions, for these only add the wealth of the rich and the power of the strong; there would be no books, no lawyers, no industries, and only village trade,” he thundered. “All things in nature work silently. They come into being and possess nothing. They fulfil their function and make no claim.When they have reached their bloom each returns to its origin. Returning to their origin means rest, or fulfilment of destiny. This reversion is an eternal law. To know that law is wisdom.”

Like Christ he said, “If you do not quarrel no one on earth will be able to quarrel with you.Recompense injury with kindness.To those who are good I am good, and to those too who are not good I am good; thus all get to be good. To those who are sincere I am sincere; and thus all get to be sincere. The softest thing in the world dashes against and overcomes the hardest. There is nothing in the world softer and weaker than water and yet for attacking things that are firm and strong there is nothing that can take precedence of it.”

K'ung-fu-tze, Kung Master, was born at Ch'ufu in the province of Shantung in 551 B. C. and was a junior contemporary of Mahāvīra. He married at nineteen, divorced his wife at twenty three and did not marry again. At twenty-two he began his career as a teacher, one of the few teachers in the world beginning teaching at that early age. Besides history, he considered poetry and rules of propriety major factors in building human character. “A man's character” he said, “is formed by the Odes, developed by the cithers and perfected by music” To the Duke of T'ei's question about good Government, he answered, “There is good Government when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister ; when the father is father and the son is son.” The Duke offered him the revenue of a town which he refused. He served the State from several officers. The Chinese records say, “Dishonesty and dissoluteness were ashamed and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men, and chastity and docility those of the women. Strangers came in crowds from other States. Confucius became the idol of the people.” Some became Jealous of his success, intrigued, and he had to quit.

There is no system of philosophy that he formulated, no consistent structure of logic or metaphysics that he built up. His ethics and politics were dominated by one idea, the art of reasoning not through rules or syllogism, but by the perpetual play of his keen mind upon the opinions of his pupils. Though he made occasional mention of “Heaven” and prayer, and counselled his disciples to observe sedulously the traditional rites of ancestor worship and national

sacrifice, he was so negative in his answers to theological questions that modern commentators agree in calling him an agnostic. His master passion was for morality. The chaos of his time seemed to him a moral chaos. He advocated a moral regeneration based upon a soundly regulated family life. The keynote and substance of the Confucian philosophy is as follows:—"Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their own selves were cultivated. Their own selves being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy."

Let us now get back to the western world of Asia. There, by the landlocked sea of the Mediterranean, lies a land of sand and rocks emblazoned with glory. A hundred and fifty miles from Dan on the north to Beersheba on the south, some twenty-five to eighty miles from the Philistines to Syrians and Edomites on the east—a tiny territory—but one that has played an uncommonly major role in history and has influenced the making of it deeper than Babylonia, Assyria and Persia, perhaps even more than Egypt and Greece. Lying between the capitals on the Nile and those on the Euphrates and Tigris, the land of the Hebrews was harassed and overrun by the invading armies and the Jews were ground between the millstones of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

But there arose from that land the uninterrupted voice of the Hebrew prophets, a voice at once tremulous with emotion and vibrant with defiance, a voice refusing to be stilled, to be choked to silence. Never did men, bereft of power, of riches and belongings, spoke with such vehemence and denounced with such force the inequities of human deals. Since poverty is created by wealth, and never knows itself poor until riches stare it in the face, so it requires the fabulous fortune of a Solomon to ignite the fire of unrest among the accusers of wealth. The riches of Solomon, his concept on concentration of wealth in towns, called forth naked men from the countryside, reach in the voice of deprecation, and denunciation who, like Kabir fighting hypocrisy, raised the banner of class war in Israel. From Amos to Ezekiel and latter these prophets, the announcers, the Nabis, upbraid the wrongdoers and denounced injustice as men in history never did. For the period of about a thousand years the rocks and valleys from Gilgotha to the sea of Galilee, echoed and re-echoed the voice of the prophets deprectory of the wrongs that wealth denies to the poor. Amos had already made his debut with the words: "The landlord of Ephraim have sold the righteous for silver and the poor for a pair of shoes." And the voice had caught on. Prophet after prophet had unleashed his tongue and the rich had wavered and licked the dust.

Some of the prophets were gloomy recluses like Elizah, some lived in schools or monasteries near the temples. From this motley of recluses the prophets developed into consistent critics of their age and their people, magnificent street or Hyde-Park statesman—all thorough-going anti-clericals and the most uncompromising of anti-Semites, a cross between soothsayers and socialists. As the atmosphere of political disruption, economic war, social disparity and religious degradation grew, the Prophets became more socialistic and the first radicals arrived. Their predictions but hopes or threats or prognostications after the event. They came from the wild wastes and hurled damnation at the corrupt wealth of the towns and the ecclesiastical chicanery of the priests. Amos, for example had said: "For as much, therefore, as your trading is upon the poor, and ye take from him burdens of wheat; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them . . . woe to them that are at ease in Zion . . . that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lands out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall, that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David; that drink in bowls

and anoint themselves with the chief ointments ...” He was striking a new note in world’s literature when he declared : “And the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end”. Hosea struck a similar note when he cursed : The calf of Samaria shall be broken into pieces; for they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirl-wind.”

Isaiah, likewise, denounced in peak of world’s prose : “The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people and the princes thereof; for a have eaten up the vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your houses woes unto them that decree unrighteous decrees to turn aside the needy from judgment and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless.” Then he soothed the wounds and eased the smart of the poor by promising a better world, of universal brotherhood and peace when the Lord would appear. “With righteousness,” announces he, “shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth; and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth. and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a child shall lead them..... And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more”. This was before Mahavira and Buddha preached their messages of love and peace.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel were contemporaries of Mahavira. Jeremiah had betrayed his land and when Nebuchednezzar had captured and carried away the prophets and the people to Babylon—the event is famous as the Babylonian Captivity—the prophet lamented with profound remorse : “Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife, and a man of contention to the whole earth ! I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent to me on usury, yet every one of them doth curse me ..Cursed be the day wherein I was born”. Then he raised to heaven the un-answered, unanswerable question”; Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper ? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously?”

Ezekiel came from a priestly family driven to Babylon. While Mahāvira in Indian was preaching his anekantavada and Buddha the death of desire, and Confucius in China was formulating wisdom for his people, this “Second Isaiah” announced in majestic and luminous prose to the exiled jews the first clear revelation of monotheism and offered the a new God, kind and benign, without cursing the the people but bringing hope in their bondage: “The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain.... — . Behold, the Lord God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him.....He shall feed his flock like a shepherd; he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry them in his bosom and shall gently lead those that are with young.....”. “.....the wolf,” he goes on, “and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like a bullock; and dust shall be the serpent’s meat. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord.”

Nearer home Persia had built up a great empire sprawling from the Indus to the Aegian and from the Ararat to the Cataracts of the Nile. Cyrus had conquered the laud of the Gandharas, thus making Panini in the Yusufzai an Iranian citizen. And soon Darius extended his empire to the land to the easta of the Indus. Both Cyrus and Darius were Mahavir’s contemporaries, men off war. In their land of Persia there appeared a prophet, Zarathustra (60—503 B. C.), who changed the shape of things in that great country.

Persian legends tell us that several hundred years before Christ, a great prophet appeared in Airyana-vaejo, the ancient "home of the Aryans". Vishtaspa or Hystaspes is said to have accepted his faith. It is impossible to fix the date of Zarathustra with any certainty, which may be any time between the 10th and 6th centuries before Christ, but until the normal dating is disproved, we can put him to the seventh-sixth century B. C. Before he made his appearance in the land of Fars, Mithra, goddess Anaita and Hauma, the bull, were worshipped there. The new prophet rebelled against the gods and their priests the Magi and announced to the world One God—Ahura Mazda—of whom, he declared, all other gods were mere manifestations and qualities. It was perhaps Darius Dirius I who accepted the new doctrine and declared war upon the old cults and the Magian priesthood and made Zoroastrianism his state religion.

While the Indian contemporaries of Mahavira and he himself rejected God or was silent about him, Zarathustra conceived one as Ahura-Mazda who was "the whole circle of the heavens". Later he declared him to be the creator of the world which she ruled with imposing majesty. To him Ahura-Mazda was the sum-total of all those forces in the world that make for righteousness, and morality lay in co-operating with these forces. The world was pictured as the scene of struggle between good and evil, Man's duty, says Avesta, is threefold: "To make him who is an enemy a friend; to make him who is wicked righteous, and to make him who is ignorant learned." The greatest virtue, Zarathustra declared, is piety. Next to it is honour and honesty in action and speech. The worst sin is unbelief. Zoroastrianism did not tolerate idols, its altars were erected on hill-tops, in palaces or in the centre of the city and fire were kindled upon them in honour of Ahura-Mazda. Fire itself was worshipped as a God and Sun, the Undying Fire, was adored as the highest and most characteristic embodiment of Ahura-Mazda. The hearth-fire was maintained in every home and continuously tended so that it never be put out.

From the denouncing and deprecating prophets of Israel, Zarathustra's preaching, soft and sober and of ethical discipline, is indeed a welcome relief, nearer in character to the leaders of thought in India, away from violence, away from troubled politics and disturbing persecutions. The message of Mahavira and Buddha carried love and peace to the hilltop, to Udayana, Bancivan, Taklamakan, Turfan, and to Tun Huang while the legions thundered past, like the later voice of the Manichees which silenced the war cry of the Palatine Hill.



BUDDHISTS AND JAINS IN ORISSA —A BRIEF DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

J. K. Das

According to 1971 Census, the total population of Buddhists in India was 3,812,325 which constitutes 0.70 percent of the total population of the country. The sex ratio among them is 962 females per 1,000 males. Taking into account the total rural and urban population of the country, they constitute 0.65 and 0.88 percent respectively. Of the total Buddhist population in the country, as much as 85.62 percent live in Maharashtra. This is attributed to neo-Buddhist movement during 1951—1961 which resulted in overwhelming adoption of Buddhism particularly by the Scheduled Castes population in Maharashtra. It may be of interest to record that as against only 2,487 Buddhist in Maharashtra in 1951 the population of Buddhist shot up phenomenally to as many as 2,789,501 in 1961. As compared to Maharashtra with more than 85 percent of the total Buddhist population of the country, none of the remaining States account for more than 5 percent of the population.

Turning to the Jains, their population was recorded in 1971 as 2,604,646 which constitutes 0.47 percent of the total population of the country. The sex ratio among them was much lower as compared to the Buddhists with 940 females per 1000 males. They constituted 0.24 percent of the rural and 1.34 percent of the urban population. But majority of the Jain population belong to the urban areas while among Buddhists, majority belong to the rural areas of the country. Of the total Jain population of the country 27.02 percent are inhabitants of Maharashtra, 19.72 percent belong to Rajasthan, 17.34 percent to Gujarat and 13.25 percent live in Madhyapradesh.

As against the above basis population figure for the country as a whole, the objective of this article is to descend down to the State of Orissa in order to analyse the extent of inhabitants of both the religious communities in this State. It is far from one's intention to enter into the domination of Buddhists or Jains in this State during the past historical periods. It is borne out that early Buddhists prevailed in the territory of Utkal and Kalinga. In Kalinga, it received the royal patronage. Study of Asokan monuments and inscriptions discovered at Dhavli and Jaugada and remnant Stupas and railing and pillars found in Orissa imply very much the Progress of Buddhism in Kalinga in the post-Asokan period. Though Buddhism is stated to have begun as the religious movement confined to recluses and dwelling in monasteries which had very little to do with the existing social system and religious beliefs, historical proofs have gone to record progress of Mahayana and Tantrik Buddhism in Orissa. It has ever been reckoned that Buddhist culture of Orissa has had its proud heritage which deserves the deepest and most extensive field of research. Buddhist culture is presumed to have developed in this State through successive ages till new forces appeared and transformed it into Vaishnavite movement centering round Lord Jagannath. Shri N. N. Vasu in his "Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj, has discussed about modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa in which attention of the scholars has been drawn to a modified form of Buddhism that prevailed in Orissa from the 16th Century onwards. All said and done, this land is stated to have attributed greatly to the domain of Buddhist culture where Chandasoka was transformed into Dharmasoka. This event according to historical analysis was contributed to by the sacrifice of the people of Kalinga which led to a significant departure of the post-Asokan Buddhism from its pre-Asokan form.

With this background of all-India population of Buddhists and Jains and historical importance specifically assigned to this territory historically named UKKAL, Kalinga or Odisha (Orissa) towards growth and development of Buddhist culture, study of the population data reveals a fairly reverse and unhealthy feature during the last two decades from 1951—1971. Coming to Buddhists, only 969 persons were recorded as such in 1951 which constituted 0·01 percent of the total population of the State. After a long decade in 1961, it was further reduced to 454. In 1971, the bulk, however, stands enhanced to 8,462 which constituted 0·04 percent of the total population of the State. In India, as against 547·949 millions population in 1971, next to Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Sikh religious communities, the Buddhists and Jains receive next top priority. In 1971, they had 3·812 and 2·604 millions of people in the country as a whole which constituted 0·70 and 0·47 percent respectively of the total population. This is only to record that as against India, the portrait of Buddhist and Jain population in Orissa was far too small. As compared to the total population Buddhists in India out of which constitute 0·70 percent, they form only 0·04 percent in Orissa. If not Sikhs next to Hindu Muslim and Christian religious communities in the State, the scheduled tribes and castes topped the list of priority and Buddhist and Jains perhaps came down to the lowest tier of the population hierarchy. The reasons for such low data of population may be linked up with the growth rate. In Orissa, their population decreased during 1951—61, their growth rate therefore descended down to (—) 53·15 percent. During 1961—71 the percentage however, increased to 1763·88.

In the country as a whole, it may be of interest to note that as against percentage growth of 24·80 of the total population, the rate of growth of Buddhists was far too low which was 17·20 percent. Thus, there is no doubt that the growth rate of Buddhists in Orissa was very high as compared to all—India figures. But the fact remains that the total population of Buddhists in Orissa was very very low with an overall decrease between 1951—1961 despite increase during 1961—1971. It came over from 454 to 8462 only.

Switching over to Jains, it may be noted that the total number of Jains in India in 1961 was 2·027 millions i. e. 0·46 percent of the total population. The population increased to 2·604 millions in 1971 which from 0·47 percent of the total population. Their percentage growth rate was, however, more than that of the total population. In other words, 24·80 being the growth rate of the total population of India, that of the Buddhists was 17·20 and of the Jains as high as 28·48. Turning to the State of Orissa, the total Jain population was 1,248 in 1951 which increased to 2,295 in 1961 and then grew up to 6,521 in 1971. While the total Jain population in the State constituted only 0·01 percent of the total population both in 1951 and 1961, it increased to 0·03 percent in 1971. The growth rate of Jains during 1951 to 1961 in Orissa was 83·89 percent as against (—) 53·15 percent of the Buddhists. In the next decade 1961 to 1971 the percentage growth rate of Jains was 184·14 percent as compared to 1763·88 percent of the Buddhists.

It needs no reiteration that the growth rate of Buddhists during 1961—1971 might look fantastically high in Orissa but the fact remains that despite this, their total numerical strength came to mere 8462 in 1971 as against 454 in 1961. The inevitable inference is that growth of Buddhist population in the State during the last two decades has been far too unsatisfactory. While in the country as a whole, the percentage growth rate of Hindus during 1961—1971 (23·09) was lower than that of the general population (24·80), the same of the Muslims (30·85) the Christians (32·60), the Sikhs (32·28) was very much on the high side. The Buddhists, however, exhibited a very low growth rate of a mere 17·20. If the over-all growth rate of general

population in the country has been reckoned as too high to deserve thorough control, there is no doubt that the growth rate of Buddhists population of the country as a whole has been too low. In Orissa, however, as stated earlier, it shows some signs of change for the better.

The distribution of population of Buddhists in the country reveals that, as stated earlier 85.62 percent of their total population live in Maharashtra. West Bengal has 3.19 percent, Madhya Pradesh has 2.15 percent and except Nagaland where the population is recorded as nil, the percentage of distribution in the remaining States varies between 0.01 to 1.52 percent. Orissa has only 0.22 percent of total Buddhists in the country.

As regards Jains, Maharashtra also has the highest percentage of 27.02 per cent. Then comes Rajasthan with 19.72 per cent, Gujarat has 17.34 per cent and Madhya Pradesh has 13.25 per cent. In the remaining States, the percentage of distribution varies between 0.02 to 4.79 percent. Orissa has only 0.25 per cent of the total Jain population in the country.

Turning to the issue regarding district-wise distribution of population of these two religious communities, it may be of interest to record that majority of Buddhist population of Orissa belong to Cuttack district. Of the total population of Buddhists in the State, as many as 4,646 are inhabitant of Cuttack district. Next is the district of Ganjam which contains 2,762 persons belonging to this religion. The remaining districts contain very low population, hardly reaching a hundred persons and in some districts like Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Baudh Khondmals and Kalahandi the population is below 10.

The sex ratio of Buddhists which in other words means the total number of females as against 1000 males is rather low among Jains as compared to the Bhddhists. It is only 962 females per 1000 males among Buddhists as compared to 908 females as against 1000 males among Jains in Orissa. It needs emphasis that the sex ratio of both these religious communities are lower in Orissa as compared to that of the general population which is as high as 988. All are perhaps aware that the over-all sex ratio of the country as-a-whole has come down in 1971 to as low a figure of 930 females per 1000 males.

The city-wise distribution of Buddhist and Jain population is also rather low. The table below presents details.

Name of the city	Total Buddhist population	Total Jain population
1. Cuttack	71	362
2. Rourkella (Steel Township)	127	96
3. Berhampur	31	18
4. Bhubaneswar	29	25

This, however, brings no surprise in the context of the inference previously recorded that out of the small population of both these religious communities in Orissa, a very small percentage lies in the urban areas as compared to the rural areas.

During the decade 1961-1971, both these communities present a negative growth rate in many of the districts, as regards Budhists the population has phenomenally decreased during the decade in Mayurbhanj (-88.71), Balasore (-83.3) and Baudh Khondmals (-96.30). Similarly among Jains, a decrease in over-all population has been noticed in Keonjhar (-99.38), Balasore (-4.11)

Dhenkanal (—30·00) and Baudh Khondmals (—100·00). As against this percentage growth rate of Buddhists has been 55,140·00 in Ganjam, 2,720 in Dhenkanal and 3,393·23 in Cuttack. Similarly the growth rate of Buddhists during the decade 1961—71 was 1,796·55 in Sundergarh and 29,233·33 in Mayurbhanj districts.

The above brief presentation of demographic data lead one to the inference that throughout the country, particularly in the state of Orissa, their total population is all too low. The growth rate of Buddhists at the all India level during the past decade 1961—1971 is all too small when compared to other religious communities like Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. Though the growth rate of Buddhists in Orissa, during 1961-71 appears slightly high and belonging to a satisfactory trend the total population figures numbering a few thousands is no doubt very small. The reasons for their decreases by (—)53·15 percent during 1951—1961 in this State is hardly known. The sex ratio of Buddhists is 963 and that of Jains is 908 in this State as against 988 being ratio for the general population of Orissa as a whole. In the context of this unsatisfactory and pathetic rate of growth of population of these two communities in the country and in the State of Orissa, there is, indeed, ample scope for research and depth study in order to locate the specific factors responsible for such low trends. There is doubt that demographic data as presented on the basis of collection of population figures during various decadal censuses have not delved into these source-studies. But the precise statistical analysis and inferences as presented above exhibit adequate scope for depth study into such issues as dearth of parallel growth of the communities in tune with the general population in view of the fact that both these religions still retain top priority in the population list of all the religions in the country.



TRISALA'S DREAMS IN THE ART OF KHANDAGIRI AND UDAYAGIRI.

K. S. Behera.

The caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Orissa are important for the study of early Indian Sculpture and architecture. Ever since this discovery in the early 19th century, the sculptured reliefs of the caves have been discussed by a number of scholars¹ both Indians and foreigners with regard to this date, style, and subject matter. Even though the Hathi-gumpha inscription² of Kharavela (C. 1st century B. C.) makes it clear that the caves were meant for the Jaina ascetics, everyone who has studied their art knows how difficult it is to decide what was specifically Jaina about them and what was not. M. M. Ganguly³ thought that some of the caves, as for example Rani gumpha and Ananta gumpha, affiliated to Buddhism. Among the recent authorities Mrs. Debala Mitra observes: "As the caves were excavated for the residence of Jaina monks, it is reasonable to expect that their architecture and art would yield substantial information about contemporary religious beliefs and practices. That, however, is not the case: while the architecture of the caves only attests to the regours of Jaina ascetic life, there is no early relief which can be definitely regarded as indisputably illustrating Jaina mythology⁴". A close study, as we shall see, however reveals that its art was not altogether unrelated to the mythology of the Jaina religion. The early Buddhist art of Bharhut, Bodhagaya and Sanchi show how the carvings are intimately associated with the episodes from the Jataks and the life of the Buddha. Similarly in order to grasp the full significance of the sculptures of Khandagiri and Udayagiri it would be necessary to reexamine them in the light of the Jaina mythology. In this paper I have illustrated this point to invite attention exclusively on the dreams of Trisala. The other factors which conditioned the art were the cultural assumptions and legends of contemporary society⁵ career and achievements of emperor Kharavela⁶, art traditions of Madhya desa, etc.

The birth of Mahavira, the 24th Tirthankars is an important event for the Jainas. Legend embodied in the Jaina Kalpa Sutra relates that in the night in which Mahavira took the form of an embryo in the womb of Brahmani Devananda, she saw fourteen auspicious dreams viz, "an elephant (Gaja), a bull (Vrisa), a lion (hari), the anointing of the Goddess Sri (Sabbhiseka Sri), a garland, the moon, the sun, a flag (mahadvja), a vase (purnakumbha), a lotus lake (padma sara), the ocean, a celestial abode (vimanam), a heap of jewels, and a flame⁷". Subsequently the embryo of Mahavira was transferred from the

References

1. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, pp.311-15, Fergusson. Cave Temples of India, (Reprint) Delhi, 1969.
2. D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1942, pp.206-14.
3. M. M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains.
4. Debala Mitra, Udayagiri and Khandagiri, New Delhi, 1960, p.14
5. V. S. Agrawala, "Vasavadatta and Sakuntala scenes in the Rani gumpha cave in Orissa", JISOA, Vol. XIV, pp.102-09.
6. I H Q, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1951, pp.103-08.
7. S. B. E. Vol. XXI, p.209, Also see B. C. Bhattacharya, Jaina Iconography Lahore, 1939, p.51.

womb of Devananda to that of Trisala who gave birth to Mahavira. The transfer was carried on by Harinegamesi, the general of Indra, and on the night this was done, Trisala, in a state between sleeping and walking, saw fourteen auspicious dreams⁸. In her first dream Trisala saw a "fine, enormous elephant, possessing all lucky marks, with strong thighs and four mighty tusks, who was whiter than any empty great cloud, or heap of pearls or the ocean of milk, or the moon beams, or spray of water, or the silver mountain (vaitadhya); whose temples were perfumed with fragrant musk-fluid, which attracted bees, equalling in dimension the best elephant of the king of gods (Airavata); uttering fine deep sound like the thunder of a big and large rain cloud". The other dreams which she thereafter saw were. (2)"a tame lucky bull", (3)"handsomely shaped playful lions", (4)"Goddess Sri on a lotus lake anointed with the water by elephants", (5)"a garland charmingly interwoven with fresh Mandara flowers", (6)"glorious, beautiful resplendant moon", (7)"the large sun, the dispeller of the mass of darkness", (8)"an extremely beautiful and very large flag, a sight for all people of a form attractive to the beholders", (9)"a full vase of costly metal", (10)"a lake called lotus lake", (11)"milk ocean (12)"a celestial abode (vimana)" (13)"an enormous heap of jewels", and (14)"fire in vehement motion".

The "lovely dreams" which Trisala saw are highly auspicious, and it is said that every matter of Tirthankar sees these 14 dreams in that night in which the Tirthankar is conceived in her womb. For the followers of Mahavira, this legend had a special significance, and it also influenced the Indian art. An interesting slab of Lucknow Museum¹⁰ shows the transfer of the embryo of Mahavira from womb of Devananda to that of Trisala. The goat-headed male figure represented in the panel is identified as Naigmesin on the basis of the inscribed label on it which reads "Bhagava Nameso". In early Orissan Art some of the dreams of Trisala are illustrated in the carvings of Ananta gumpā (cave No. 3, Khandagiri) and Alakapuri gumpā (cave No. 4, Udayagiri). This shows that artists were familiar with legend, and they have drawn inspiration from it.

The tympana of Ananta gumpā are specially noteworthy for their carvings. Beginning from the left, the first tympanum shows in low relief a four tusked elephant flanked by attending elephants of which the left one is alone preserved. The elephant, which is shown profile, carries a lotus stalk and buds for the noble elephant in the centre. A lotus is held up similarly on right side, but the attending elephant is missing. This scene has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Alexander Caddy¹¹ suggested that the relief represents a scene from Chhadanta Jataka where the elephant king is shown with his two wives. Dr. N. K. Sahu refers to this suggestion but he is more inclined to identify the royal elephant of the first tympanum with the rain producing white elephant of the Vessantara Jataka¹², which averted drought and famine in Kaliuga. But in view

⁸. J. Stevenson, the Kalpa Sutra and Nava Tatva, London, 1848, pp.41-52; S. B. E. Vol. XXI, pp.231-238.

⁹. S. B. E. Vol. XXI, p.231.

¹⁰. Chhotelal 'ain Smriti Grantha, English Section, p.59.

¹¹. A. C. Caddy, "On two unrecorded sculptures in the Ananta cave", JASB, Vol. LXV(1), 1896, pp.272-74.

¹². N. K. Sahu, History of Orissa Vol.I, Utkal University, 1964, p.384.

of the Jaina affiliation of the caves it is to be identified with the elephant which Trisala saw in her first dream. The high status and sanctity of the elephant are brought out by its central position and the lotus worship offered to it. The four tusks of the elephant leave no room for doubt that the artist had in the mind the first dream of Trisala since it was in this form that the elephant appeared in the dream. Again cave No. 4 (Alakapuri gumphā) of the Udryagiri in its upper cell depicts a four-tusked elephant in one of the inner brackets of the verandah. The high status of the elephant is evident from the fact that it is attended upon by two other elephants, one holding a chhatra (umbrella) and the other a chamara (fly whisk). In this particular case also the elephant, distinguished by its four tusks, could be taken for the noble elephant seen by Trisala in her first dream.

The second tympanum of Ananta gumphā depicts a royal personage on a chariot drawn by four horses. In the back-ground are shown the sun and the moon. Scholars generally identify the figure with the Sun god¹³ but this interpretation is less certain since the sun god is shown in the disk form in the relief. Dr. N. K. Sahu justifiably doubts the identification. He observes: "The suggestion of taking the royal figure on the chariot as the sun god and the two female chauri bearers as his consort—Usa and Pratyusa, becomes *prima facie* untenable because of the presence of the sun in circular shape in very composition¹⁴". Therefore, it does not seem justified to associate this royal figure with sun-worship. It is possible that the main aim of the artist was to depict a vimana or an aerial chariot in the relief. The sun and the moon seem to indicate the stellar world. The Jains use the word 'vimana' in the sense of celestial abode. However the word 'vimana' for chariot is commonly used in the Buddhist literature. In the inscriptions of Asoka the same word occurs and it is generally translated as "aerial chariot"¹⁵, "ears of the gods". To take it as a celestial palace only is to limit its meaning.

Thus in the panel we get representations of the sun¹⁶, the moon and the aerial chariot. In addition the artist has shown a metal jar and a banner, for in the right hand corner a potbellied dwarf holds a spouted water jar in his left hand, and seems to carry a banner in the right hand. As already noted these are associated with the dreams of Trisala.

The subject matter of the third tympanum is the anointing of the goddess Sri and the lotus lake. In the relief Sri is shown standing on the lotus lake "anointed with the water from the strong and large trunks of guardian elephants". The lotuses in the lake are licked by gay birds.

The dooo-way arches at Ananta gumphā are relieved with lions and bulls chased by boys. Pilasters also carry bulls and lions as capitals. Thus it is possible to identify some of the dreams of Trisala in the art of the caves. The simplicity and directness of expression lend further charm to the scenes.

¹³. V. C. Srivastava, *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, 1972, pp.295-96; L. P. Pandey *Sun-Worship in ancient India*, Delhi, 1971, p.69 and p.268.

¹⁴. N. K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, Vol.J, p.385.

¹⁵. Romila Thaper, *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryās*, p.251, D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, (3rd edition), p.268.

¹⁶. The shining sun is also represented in the procession scene of the Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA ON JAINISM IN HARYANA

S. P. Shukla

The course of spread and development of Jainism in the region lying to the west of Yamuna-especially in Haryana is not clearly known. It might be due to lack of concerted efforts and study.

From Early Jaina literature we learn that Lord Mahāvīr considered Thūnā (or Sthuna identified with modern Thanesar adjacent to Kurukshetra) as the western boundary of the Aryadesa beyond which the Jaina Sadhus were advised not to roam. Further, the same text allows the monks living in the Kuru-Janapada of which the present day Haryana was the Western half, to wear even the costly garments which were otherwise forbidden. It might show that beyond Thūnā³ either Jainism had not spread or it did not find any patronage during early period. In subsequent centuries it seems to have become quite influential religion, and hence it could not escape the notice of Bāna who even refers to them as carrying peacock feathers while describing the life of people in this region. A Jaina work Kuvalayamālā Kahā, composed by Uddyotana in A. D. 779, throws welcome light on the activities of Jainas monks of the contemporary times.⁴ According to it Pavvaiya, situated close to the river Chandra bhaga (mod. Chenab in Pakistan), was the capital of Yavana King Toramana where resided the spiritual preceptor Harigupta whose disciples had propagated Jainism in Rajasthan and Gujarat. The very existence of a Jaina centre near Chandrabhaga shows how the entire region of Haryana had come under the influence of Jainism. The influence of Jainism had been on a such high peak in the 11th century that Asika (identified with mod. Hansi) could boast of having Jinaballabha Suri great disciple of Abhayadeva Suri.⁵ A man of dynamic personality as he was, he introduced a reformation called the Vidhi-marga in order to keep the religion free from all existing evils which had crept in the course of time. He abandoned his property and sight of Matha, garden and temple to propagate his new faith especially in Rajasthan.

The Jain sculptures have been discovered at several places in Haryana such as Jind Sirsa, Ata, Biwa, Sanghi, Asthal, Bohar, Gharaunda, Thanesar, Ratpur and Pinjore. These are datable between the 9th and the 12th centuries. Later examples, available at Hansi-Hissar, Amba, and a few sites in Gurgaon district have, however, been left out of the present study.

Early examples of Jaina images are perhaps from Jind and Sirsa. The Jind image presents the first Tirthankara Rishabhanatha in dhyana mudra seated on a Simhasana with all eight pratiharyas. His lanchana bull and the Sasanana devatas are also represented. A five lined inscription on its pedestal records the installation of the Pratima. Palaeographically it is assignable to the early 10th century A. D. 6. It is one of the most well-preserved, exquisitely modelled and elegantly carved Jaina sculptures discovered so far in this part of the country. To this period may be placed a pedestal meant for a colossal Jina image from Sirsa. It is made on black basalt stone. The pedestal contains two horizontally laid out sculptured panels separated by a projecting register bearing flower pattern and bordered by moulded margins-above and below. The slightly projecting central portion is occupied by a seated female divinity, in bold relief. On either side is shown lively lion seated and with one of its front paws raised in frightening attitude as if warding off evil spirits or warring mischief doers that be. The lower register depicts the wheel of law in the centre flanked by a deer and five female deities on either side. Each

leity is seated and having four arms. Like all others these are also badly damaged. But what little could survive here and there shows that the modelling was done masterly and elegantly. The whole state might have been such a finish that all surface were smooth and shining with a gloss which so typical property of the black basalt.

The Jaina sculptures related to later art tradition, the 10th-11th centuries, are numerous. Two small sculptures—one depicting an independent figure of Jina in meditation while the other containing seated Jina flanked by two other figures standing in kayotsarga-pose clad in 'dhoti' thus related to Svetambara sect, have been collected from Sirsa. The image from Ata⁹ (Gurgaon dist.) contains a figure of Ganesa by the side of the main image thus showing the superiority of Jainism on Hinduism. Another interesting image related to Svetambara sect comes from Siva near Ferozepur Jhirka (Gurgaon dist.)⁹ which shows the headless image of Tirthankara weaving 'dhoti' tied with a waistband. Four Jaina sculptures housed in the Nath monastery of Asthal Bohar, near Rohtak, are richly carved with minute details. They represent Sāntinātha Supārsvanāthā, and Pārsvānāthā recognizable on the basis of their respective 'lanchhanas' and 'Sasanadevatās'¹⁰. A colossal head of Jina has been discovered at Sanghi village situated near Rohtak¹¹. A solitary example of a Sarvatobhadrikā image comes from Gharaunda (in Karnal distt.) containing on its four faces the representations of Ādinātha, Neminātha Pārsvanātha and Mahāvira respectively with a bull, couch-shell, snake, and lion as their 'lanchhanas'. It is fascinating to note that a Jina head¹² discovered from Thanesar (ancient Sthanvisvara), an important centre of Brahmanical religion. This discovery presupposes the existence of heterodox shrine there connected with Jainism besides a few Buddhist monuments.

To this may be added the rich archaeological harvest from an ancient temple town of Pinjore (ancient Panchapura) on the foot of Siwalik hills, at a distance of 10 km. north-east of Chandigarh both Hinduism and Jainism flourished side by side.

Out of 120 sculptures presently housed in the Archaeological Museum in the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, thirteen pieces are related to Jainism. The images which may be identified with certainty are those of Ādināth and Nemināth. Adinath is identified either with his lanchhana bull (acc. No. 14) or hanging locks of hair falling to down the shoulders (acc. No. 15, 16, 17). The very presence of Yakshi Ambika and Gomeda Yakshi in one image (acc. No. 18) helps us identify it with Nemināth, the 21st Tirthankara. Four sculptures from Pinjore are in white marble, two of them contain Sanskrit inscriptions, one refers to Pandit Samakirti (acc. No. 22) and the other to Surya-kirti (acc. No. 21) who installed those images. The art style as well as the medium (the use of white marble) are suggestive of the fact that these images were important from Rajasthan. All these sculpture are related to Digambara sect. The evidence regarding Svetambara sect is exceedingly meagre. A solitary stone torso shown clad in 'dhoti' is the only evidence regarding Svetambara sect at Pinjore. If the available images of the Tirthankaras are any indications there might have been four to five Jain temples at Pinjore.

From the study of available archaeological data on Jainism in Haryana the following facts emerge:

- (i) that no remains preceding to c. 9th century A. D. have up till now been discovered in this part of the country although the tradition traces high antiquity of the faith.
- (ii) that c. 10th-11th century saw a brisk Jaina temple building activity which is evident from numerous images discovered from different sites;

- (iii) that Digambara Svetambara sects flourished hand in hand although former dominated the scene,
- (iv) that Jaina influence most probably reached through Mathura and Rajasthan region in Haryana.

References

1. Lord Mahavira declared at Saketa that "the monks or nuns may wander towards the east as far as Anga-Magadha, towards the South as far as Kosambī, towards the west as far as Thūnā and towards the north as far as Kunala." *Brhat-kalpa sūtra* (1.50) as quoted by J. C. Jain in *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina canons*, Bombay, 1937, p. 250.
- 2, op. cit. p. 343.
3. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. XLIII, for 2.
4. Mazumdar & Pusalkar (ed.) *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1962.
5. Dasarath Sharma, *Early Chauhana Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959, p. 223 ff.
6. Information from Shri R. S. Bisht, Department of Archaeology Haryana, Chandigarh.
7. New, House in the Archaeological Museum, Department of A. I. Hist. Culture & Arts, Kurukshetra University.
8. Summaries of Papers, All-India Oriental Conference, 27th Session, 1974, Kurukshetra, p. 388 ff.
9. Recently discovered by Shri D. S. Punia
10. *Indian Archaeology 1959-60—A Review*, p. 74.
11. It has wrongly been identified by Dr. Silak Ram as the head of a Buddha image.
12. In the collection of Dr. H. A. Phadake. Department of History, Kurukshetra University.
13. Summaries of papers, All-India Oriental Conference, 27th Session, 1974. p. 388.

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EARLY ROUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA

B. Jinananda

Asoka's dream of 'Dharma Vijaya' came true a few centuries later, when generations of Buddhist monks and scholars carried the message of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha to the biggest, most ancient and enlightened empire in the world. Emperors and Peoples of China received and honoured them most enthusiastically, built thousands of monasteries all over the country to shelter them, and were willing converts to the religion of the Buddha. The story of this great conversion is indeed a wonderful epic of missionary zeal and high endeavour. In the following pages a humble attempt will be made to trace the different routes followed by the early Indian and Chinese monks and missionaries in their cultural intercourse between India and China.

The story of the earliest contact between India and China is somewhat legendary. We are told that a golden statue of the Buddha was taken to China by a Chinese general in 121 B. C., who used to worship the same. We are further told that Emperor Mingti of the Han dynasty once saw a vision that a golden man came flying to his kingdom, and when the Emperor asked his courtiers about the meaning of his dream, he has told that it was the sage of the West called Fo-to or the Buddha. He was very much impressed by the dream, and in 65 A. D. he sent ambassador to India to bring Buddhist missionaries and sculptures. They subsequently returned to China with two Buddhist monks named Kashyapa Matanga and Dharmaraksa in 67 A. D.

In the records of the early Hans, India is called Shen-tu. A certain Chinese ambassador named Cheng-K'ien was sent by Hiao-Wu to Yueh-Chi and was taken prisoner by Hiung-nu or Huns. There he married a princess and lived among them for ten years. He was on his mission away from China from 139 to 129 B. C. Cheng-K'ien brought informations about Western Countries such as Ta-Yuan (Fergana), Nan-si (Parthia), Ta-hia (Bactria), etc. When Cheng-K'ien was in Aactria he was surprised to see that bamboo and cotton stuff from the south-western Chinese provinces of Yu-nan and Sse-chean were being sold in the local markets. These, he heard, were brought the "rich and powerful country of Shen-tu" (India).

EARLY ROUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA

In the annals of the Liang dynasty, it is recorded that during the time of Emperor Ho (89—105 A. D.) of the Han dynasty several embassies from India came to China through Centra Asian routes. Afterwards under Huan-ti (147-167 A. D.) the embassies from India came by the southern seas.

The first historical reference to the introduction of Buddhism is found in the Chinese work "Wei-tio" written about A. D. 239 and 265. It gives a general history of the western countries of China with brief account of Buddha's birth, and states that in the second century B. C. the Chinese Court was first presented with Buddhist texts by the Yueh-Che rulers.

The word Cina () might probably be derived from the name of a most influential and ancient ruling dynasty of China, the T'shin which reigned from B. C. 249 to A. D. 220 the word T'shin having many variations such as, China, Cina, Cina, Sin, Sinai (Sinae), Sin, Seres, Thinae (Thinae) and Thin. We have mention of the word China (Cina) in both Sanskrit and Buddhist Texts-although it is very difficult to say how and when the Indians came into contact with China and its people or when they knew of them. There is also reference to China in the

great epic Mahabharata Artha-Sastra as well as in the Milindapanha, a post-canonical work. The former speaks of it in connection with the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhisthira, the Pandavas meeting with king Subahu etc. while the latter in connection with India's sea-borne trade with China. Kautilya also mentions Cinapatta and Cinabhumī. The Pali Buddhavamsa speaks of China cloth (Cinapatta). In the Apadana China figures as a distant county (ara cina ratttha) from which traders and merchants came to India. The words Cina and Cinamsuka occur in the Reghuvansam Sakuntala and Kumarsambhava of Kalidasa. Caraka and Varahamihira tell us that the China people lived in the North-western part of India. The Jaina Haribhadreya Vriti (p. 89) records that "in year thirteenth, on the Kumara Hill, where the wheel of conquest had been well-revolved (i. e. the Jaina religion had been

Suvannabhūmim gacchanti. P. 359 ed. Trenker

5. Arthasastra, 11,11

6. Buldhapadana, Stanza 14.

preached) (he) offered respectfully royal maintainances, China clothes (silk) 'China Vatani' and white clothes to the monks.

It has already been stated that China probably came into contact with India as early as 217 B. C. and we are told that there were routes both land and sea which the Buddhist missionaries followed in their journeys to China to carry on their cultural activities there. Of them five principal routes and some sub routes are worth mentioning. We propose to give here a brief survey of the sea-route which the missionaries resorted to:

There was of course, so far as we come to know, no direct communication between China and India by sea as this route was so long that it was impossible to navigate by a single voyage. But there is plenty of evidences of direct communications with East-Indies, known also as Indian Archipelago, Indonesia, Asiatic Archipelago, Indonesia, Insuindia or Malayasia.

The position of Malayasia or East-Indies is geographically of high commercial importance as it was situated on the key position of maritime traffic between China on one side and India and other western countries Rome, Greece, Arabia etc. on the other side. We know that Malayasia has been well-known for centuries for its commercial commodities and as such it attracted various nations, and that India and China which were its nearest neighbours exchanged their commercial commodities is beyond doubt.

Thus it was in Malayasia that India and China came to know each other. This corroborated by the peri-plus which records that ships from Indian ports regularly sailed to Chryse (a name for Malayasia) and there was a brisk trade between the two.

We are told that among the ports of India Dantapura in Kalinga and Tamralipti in Vanga (Bengal) were the two well-known ports in the Eastern coast. Ptolemy states that the usual point of departure for the far East was near Dantapura. It should be mentioned here that the Chinese called Java and other island of Indonesia 'Kling' probably derived from Kalinga. All these tend to prove that Kalinga as a particular region was famous in Malayasia and China for its noted

2. Sabhaparva, 26. 9.

3. Mahabharata by Sorensen P. 176.

4. Sadhano naviko-Mahsamuddam Pavisuva vangam, Takkolam, China.

port of Paloura or Dantapura. Sailing either from Dantapura or Tamralipti vessels usually halted at Java or neighbouring island on their journey as there were no important halting places for them on the way to Java. But we learn from Ptolemy that the ships sometimes touched Andamans before reaching Java. Further from Fa-hien we learn that he followed the sea route on his way back to China from India. He started from Pataliputra (Patna) and came over to Champa (Bhagalpur). "Continuing his journey eastward he came to the country of Tamralipti, the capital of which bore the same name and was a great port. He embarked there on a large merchant vessel and went floating over the sea to the South-west. It was the beginning of winter and the wind was favourable. After sailing day and night for fourteen days he reached the country of Ceylon. Sailing from Ceylon he reached in ninety days Javadvipa where Brahmanical religion was flourishing. The ship took a course to the north-east from Java intending to reach Canton. The wind of the stormy sea did take them far away. More than seventy days passed and the provision and water were nearly exhausted. They used salt-water for cooking and carefully shared the fresh water. The merchants took counsel and found out that they had taken a wrong course. After twelve days' sailing they reached Shan-tun" On the way to Java, it is said, the ship leaked and it was repaired in a small island—it was most probably either Andamans or Nichobar islands.

The Hsing-Cha-Sheng-ian by Fei-Hsin records that Hindu civilisation spread to Java, one of the main centres of Sino Indian contact, as early as 56 A. D. There are a few more evidences apart from legends and traditions—which show that India and Java as well as some other portions of (Indonesia) Malayasia came into contact from a very early period. The Ramayana also refers to Java, Ptolemy mentions Java under the name of Iabalou (Yavadvipa) or Sabadious; "Island of Barley" the Sanskrit transcription of Yavadvipa. Further in the words of Ptolemy "it is said to be of extraordinary fertility and to produce very much gold, and to have its capital called Angyre (Silver Town) in the extreme west of it." Fa-hien gives us the most authentic account of the Hindu culture in Java. He observes, "Various forms of errors and Brahminism are, flourishing while Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning. Thus it is to be seen that Brahmanical religion was prevalent in Java and Buddhism could not make much headway there.

We learn that just after the departure of Fahian from this island. Gunavarman, another reputed Buddhist Missionary, came to this island. He came of a royal family of Kashmir and and after the death of the king of the country he was offered the throne, but he refused went to Ceylon and later on to Java. We are told that the queen-mother of this island during the previous night of his arrival dreamt a dream that a saint was coming to Java on the following morning. He arrived in the morning and thus the dream of the queen-mother was fulfilled. He was warmly received by the people and the queen-mother was converted to Buddhism and in course of time the whole island was converted by him.

Lastly, it will not be out of place to mention here that there was regular intercourse between Java and China before the fourth century A. D. For we learn from the history of the first Sung dynasty, that in A. D. 430 the kingdom of Ho-lo-lan, which ruled over the island of Java (Cho-po) sent to the imperial court ambassadors offering diamond rings, red-parrots, white Indian rugs and cottons, Javanese cottons and similar articles. In the later years in fifth century between A. D. 424 and 452 at least four ambassadors were sent to China by the Javanese court.

Thus, it is apparent that it was Gunavarman who popularised Buddhism among the people of the island and made a stronghold of it there. This is corroborated by the story of Gunavarman found in "Kao Sengtchouan" or 'Biography of famous monks', compiled in A. D. 519. Hence forth Java became a strong centre of Buddhist religion and culture.

We learn that from the seventh century onwards the name and fame of Java were on the wane and Sumatra or Srivijaya emerged as the name of an important centre of Buddhist culture. It also played an important role in Sino-Indian culture afterwards. We are told that Sumatra or a part of it was also known as Java. In the Buddhist Sutra "Che-eul-yeou-King", translated in A. D. 392, mention is made of Srivijaya. Though Srivijaya existed as an independent state from the beginning of the fourth century A. D. yet came into prominence towards the latter parts of the seventh century. Once Srivijaya rose to such a high dignity that it subjugated the whole of Malaya peninsula, Java and the adjoining islands. On the way to India I-tsing halted in Srivijaya for six months and on his way back to China for four years. He noticed there both Buddhist and Hindu culture flourishing side by side. The cultural language of the land was Sanskrit. But it was the centre of Buddhist learning in the southern sea.

I-tsing mentions that the court of Srivijaya possessed ships, perhaps to carry on trade between India and Srivijaya. We, further, come to know from his memoir that the city of Srivijaya was the chief commercial centre of trade with China and that there was regular navigation between it and Kwan-tung.

Thus, Srivijaya kept into close contact with India on the one hand and with China on the other.

There were some other kingdoms founded by Indian colonisers. Those were founded within a few centuries of the Christian era. They were Champa and Funan. In its flourishing days the boundary of Champa ran as far as the southern frontier of the great Chinese empire. It was connected with China by both sea and land. Influenced by Chinese religion and culture Champa became an important centre of Sino Indian contact.

It is at present difficult to ascertain the boundaries of Fu-nan. It consisted most probably of parts of Cambodia and Siam. The kingdom was founded by an Indian marrying the original woman ruler, names Ye-liu. It became a very powerful kingdom in the sixth century A. D. in consequence of fresh immigration from India. It played an important role up to the twelfth century A. D. both in politics and religion.

Cambodia was in constant communication with China and Buddhist missionaries also were sent there.

It was mentioned before in the previous pages that there was regular intercourse by sea between Java, Sumatra, Cambodia and other parts of Malayasia and India on the one hand and China on the other. Tonkin, it is said was the most important center of embarkation for all ships sailing from India as well as Malayasia. But it was abandoned later on and Canton became the principal port by the imperial mandate. From Ptolemy, we learn that there was another important sea-port of the name of Kattigara on the Tonkinese coast, for all ships bound for China-but it is a pity that Kattigara still remains unidentified. We are told that merchants and missionaries preferred this route to others as it was shorter and less arduous. Further it became the only route left for exchanges between and India when China lost its supremacy over Central Asia.

We have already given a bird's eye-view of the sea routes followed by merchants and missionaries in their voyages to China Via-Malayasia. We propose to give here a brief survey of the land routes followed by them.

There were several overland routes to China from India in by-gone days. Of them four attract our attention most. They are, (a) one through Central Asia via Kabul Valley, Hidda, Nagarahara, (b) one to Central Asia through Gilgit (Kashmir), Yashin Valley Darkot Pass, Upper Oxus valley, Barogil Pass, Wakhzir Pass, Tashkurgan and Kashgar, (c) one through Assam and Upper Burma, and (d) the last one through Nepal and Tibet.

(a) This route started from North-West India, passed through Kabul valley, Hidda, Nagarahara (Jalalabad) and reached Bamiyan. Bamiyan was surrounded on all sides by the Hindukush. 'Far-yen-na' is the Chinese name of Bamiyan. It was very cold and the people were harsh and rude. People had their own written language and they resembled the people of Tokhara but differed in their spoken language. It was an important centre of Buddhist culture and a place of rest for pilgrims going to Central Asia and China. It contained a large number of monasteries with several thousands of monks—all adherents of the Lokottara sect of the Hinayana school. Further, some fragments of Buddhist literature written in India scripts belonging to the Kushan and the Gupta periods have been found in the cave around Bamiyan.

From Bamiyan the route crossed the Hindukush and ultimately reached Bactria (Balkh) called Fa-ho by the Chinese, and Balhika by the Indians. We know that Buddhism was introduced into Balkh as early as the first century B. C., if not earlier. There were many monasteries, with a large number of monks—all followers of Hinayana school. Among the monasteries, Navasangharama built by a former king of the country deserves special attention. This was the only Buddhist establishment north of the Hindukush in which there was a constant succession of Masters who were commentators on the Canon. But it was destroyed by the Muslim invaders and the priests had to embrace Islam. It was the junction of the two main routes to Central Asia and China. One passed through Sogdiana, crossed the Jaxartes and reached Uch-Turfan through Tine-shan passes and the other passed through the country of Tokharians (Tu-ho-lo), crossed the Pamir passes and reached Kashgar.

Kashgar, better known as Su-lo to the early Chinese writers, played an important role in the cultural relation between China and India. It stood on the junction of two main routes to China. The missionaries as well as the traders had to stop at this place after their arduous journey over the hills on their way to China. The missionaries were, it is said, well-provided in the monasteries there. From Hsuan-Tsang's account of Kashgar we learn that the people there were Buddhists and there no less than thousand monks of the Sarvastivadin school. They used Indian alphabets with slight modifications.

We have seen before that Kashgar was situated on the two main routes to China. One passed along the north and the other along the south. There were a few prosperous and important places on the northern route viz. Bharuka or Po-ju-kia, Kucha or K'iu-tso, Agni or Yenki, Karashahr and Turfan.

Bharuka, commonly known as Po-lu-kia by the ancient Chinese was an important centre of Buddhist culture. There were a large number of monasteries with more than thousand monasteries with more than thousand monks—all followers of the Sarvastivada School. The inhabitants of this country resembled those of Kucha in general characteristics, but their language differed slightly.

Kucha, known to the Chinese by different names such as Kiu-tse, Ku-chih, Kuci, etc., lying to the west of Karashahr was a prosperous country in the second century B. C. It yielded rice, grapes, pomegranates, wheat, etc. It produced also gold silver and the like. The people were simple and honest and they dressed themselves in woollen clothes and used coins of gold and silver. They had great love for music and were skilled in wind and stringed musical instruments. Buddhism, we are told, brought Indian music to Kucha. It became a very important place as it was situated on the trade routes to Kashgar.

From the Ts. in annals we learn that it was encircled by a triple wall and consisted of a thousand Stupas and Buddhist emblems as also a palace for the King. Kumarajiva, the great exponent of Mahayana, was converted to Mahayanism here. From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims we learn that the monks of Kucha knew Sanskrit. This also finds a corroboration in the fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts found in Kucha.

Karshahr (Agnidasa) also played an important part in the dissemination of Buddhist culture in China and neighbouring regions. Fragments of Buddhist literature and art bear testimony to it.

Turfan played a less important role in the dissemination of Buddhist culture in China than its neighbouring regions, as it was situated almost on the borders of China.

On the southern (Tarim basin) route from Kashgar to China there were also a few prosperous and important places, such as Yarkand, Khotan, Niya, Dandan Ulik, Endere and Miran etc. all these comprising the Khotan territory. Khotan was known to the Chinese as Yu-tien, in Sanskrit as Kustanna and to the Tibetans as Li-yul. It extended east to west about 300 miles. The account of Hiuan-Tsang as well as Tibetan scriptures record that Khotan was founded by two streams of colonization coming from China and from India, the latter being somehow connected with Asoka. It also played an important part in the dissemination of Buddhist culture. There was a large number of monasteries with many monks—all belonging to the Servastivada school. From Hiuan-Tsang we learn that the people were fond of music and their language differed from that of other countries. Mahayana was the prevailing religion there. The Gomati Vihara was the biggest Buddhist establishment in Khotan. We learn that Chinese pilgrims stopped in Khotan sometimes for special studies in Buddhism before coming to India. (b) A journey through this route was difficult and arduous—although it was the shortest route from India to China through Central Asia.

This finds corroboration in the account of Che-mong (A. D. 404) who records that only nine of his fourteen companions could ultimately reach Kashmir the rest did not continue their journey due to the difficult nature of the route.

We are told that Hiuan-Tsang and Marco Polo used this route in their journeys, and a Chinese expedition under Kao-Hseon-chin (747 A. D.) invaded the territories of Yasin and Gilgit held by the Tibetans.

(c) This route started from Pataliputra (modern Patana) and proceeded through Champa (Bhagalpur), Kajangala (Rajmahal), and Pundravardhan (North Bengal) and reached Kamarupa (Gauhati) in Assam. We know that there were three routes to Burma: (i) one through the Brahmaputra valley, (ii) another through Manipur and (iii) the other through East Bengal and Arakan ranges—all these routes met near Bhamo in Burma. From Bhamo the route reached Kunming, the principal city of southern China, passing over mountains and river valleys. From Chang-Kien we learn that articles of merchandise of South-Western China were carried through this route by Indian merchants. It was probably the route used by the Buddhist monks in coming to Southern China to preach the message of the Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Although the great Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang had knowledge of this route, still he spoke something of it: "To the east of Kamarupa, the country is a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached to the South-West barbarians of China hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao".

(d) This route was opened during the reign of Srongbtsan-Sgam-po who embraced Buddhism in the seven century A. D. Since then a large number of Chinese pilgrims came to India through Tibet. We have no detailed description of this route from reliable sources. The little we know is first from the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Chgo who had been to India in 627 A. D.

It is to be remembered here what the last two routes were difficult to the travellers due to the Paucity of eatables and drinks; unsound nature of the countries passed through and insecurity of life, as these countries were usually inhabited by uncivilized nomadic hords.

RELIGION OF ASOKA

—Nguyen Thanh Kuinh

Asoka's contribution to the religious history of India is very great. Strange stories are told about his conversion from ancient Brahmanical religion to the Buddha's religion of non-violence and love. It is told that he killed his ninety-nine brothers to become the sole master of the Magadhan Empire. One cannot say how much of it is fact and how much is fiction. We have some facts about this King engraved on Rocks and Pillars. These are unerring sources for the religion which Asoka preached and practised. These facts had been engraved by the King himself for the posterity.

The King forbids religious sacrifices that were prescribed by the Vedas for the attainment of heaven. In the very first Edict he says that animals must not be killed for performing sacrifices. In one of the inscriptions the King speaks of the Kalinga war; he says that several hundred thousand people were killed, wounded and detained in that war. The King felt great remorse on this account and he determined to give up once for all the instruments of injury not only to human beings but to all living beings. In the very first edict, he says that previously many hundred thousand animals were killed for soup in the royal kitchen but he reduced the number to three only and promised to exempt these too in future. At one place, he says that he was not zealous enough during one and half years in which he had been a lay-devotee of the Buddha. But since he approached the Buddhist Sangha, he had become very zealous. In one edict, he names several Buddhist sutras that are identified with different portions of Tripitakas. He pays respect to the Buddha and the Samgha. All these facts go to prove that there was a sudden change in Asoka and he gave up one way of life and adopted another. In the new way of life which he adopted; there was the predominance of non-violence and love. In his old way of life he did not abstain from killing. So one can conclude that his old religion was the Brahmanical one that preached religious sacrifices and his new religion was Buddhism.

The inscriptions of Asoka contain a lot of moral teachings. They underline obedience to parents and elders and respect and proper behaviour to Brahmanas and Sramana. Most of these teachings are general rules of morality and they do not bear the stamp of any particular religious sects. Of course the emphasis is on non-violence and kindness to all living beings. The King frequently says that all the religions sects should live in peace and harmony. They should not interfere with one another. They should not indulge in bitter criticism of one another. He has exposed the fallacy that one might devote one's religion by paralyzing that of the others. This religious toleration is a kind of non-violence in thought. There could be no better application of the Jain doctrine of anekanta in practical life as we find in this King's attitude to different religions, sects of his time. Practice of ahimsa in politics is evident from his renunciation of war; he did not only renounce war but replaced the war-drum with the drum of morality. He did his utmost to promote mutual understanding between different tribes and kings. He adopted a policy of friendship to all his neighbouring kings and tribes. In those days of expansionism it was the practice of big powers to subjugate the smaller

ones. Asoka renounced it, he said that he wanted only friendship and confidence of the neighbouring tribes. He was ready to forgive the minor offences of the forest dwellers and to extend to them his hand of friendship and protection. This active practice of non-violence in politics is a very important fact. The great pioneers like Buddha and Mahavira, in spite of all their emphasis on the practice of ahimsa or non-violence could not openly denounce the wars frequently waged by the kings of his time, some of them were their faithful followers. So Asoka's renunciation of war is a great step forward in the practice of non-violence.

In preaching a strict abstinence from injuring the living beings he seems to lean on the side of the Jainas. In fact, some Scholars also claimed that he professed Jainism; others believed that the edicts were not his but of the Jaina king Samprati. The king, does not stop at claiming that the living beings should not be killed at all. He says one living should not be fed upon another—"Jivena Jive nopuritaviye". On these evidences it is very natural to conclude that the king leans on the side of the Jainas in his practice of Ahimsa. The truth is that though himself a Buddhist he never tried to impose his personal religion upon his people. He takes what is good in all the religions and wants his people to practice it.

He wants religion to be meaningful. He avoids all abstractions and speculations and concentrates on the practical aspect of religion. He employs religion for the redemption and well being of society as a whole. Both Buddha and Mahavira wanted religion to be like this. They found that there was a schism between the religious practices on one hand and society on the other. The Vedic monarch performed the expensive sacrifice and thus reserved berths for themselves in the heaven. They gave gifts to the Brahmanas and attained merit. These religious practices were beyond the reach of the common men. Religious practices had become almost the monopoly of the higher classes specially of the Brahmanas. The Vaisyas, the Sudras and the women had no free access to it. The great saviours, Buddha and Mahavira brought the religion to the common mass. Buddha has expressly said that his religion is for all and sundry. It brings just immediately at hand to any man who could satisfy himself about its utility then and there. The religion that Asoka taught to his people and which he himself practised were of this kind. It was purposeful and consisted primarily of service to the suffering human if this religion was particularly Buddhistic one can very well hazard the conclusion that Buddhism constitutes the essential core of the present Hindustan, nay of all religions. If one assesses the Hindu religion of today vis-a-vis Yajurvedic the ancient sacrificial cult and the Sramanic cult of non-violence and truth one finds that it is more akin to the latter than to the former.

IS JAGGANNATHA BUDDHISTIC ?

K. C. Misra

It is a perplexing problem to find out the decree of Buddhistic influence on Lord Jagannath.

Authorities of different opinions on the subject and scholars view that Jagannatha originally was a Buddhist deity, the idol of Jagannatha contention tooth of Buddha, the Rathayatra of Jagannatha is in the line of Buddhist traditions and the three deities of Jagannatha Balabhadra and Subhadra stand for the three Ratnas of Budhasim. In addition to these contentions it is also argued that the bathing festival of Lord Jagannath the making of half finished images are in line with the Buddhist rituality. (I)

These are the reasons why many scholars believe that Jagannatha is another projection of the Buddha. The confusion arises because of the flexible nature of Buddhism in its long course of history. In fact Buddhism was never an established religion in the conventional use of the term. Professor A. L. Basham (II) has pointed out that what Ashok preached Buddhism was actually a simple Indian sect. Asoka did not preach even Buddhism, the Dharma was only a system of morals consistent with the tenets of the sects of the empire and calculated to lead to peace and fellowship in this world and heaven in the next.

Lack of definite outlines both in quality and extent led Buddhism to be flexible and to be capable of being absorbed in any other religion. At the highest point of its growth it became over dominating and extended its influence on other deities including that of Jagannatha.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (III) has gone to the extent of telling that Buddhism through Jainism might have influenced the cult of Jagannath. Festivals Rituals, writings, traditions and other religious influences of Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism intermingled themselves to such an extent that it becomes difficult to point to what extent Jagannatha belongs to what religion. According to Wilkin, Jagannatha possibly had connections with Buddhism but the local influence was overwhelming. It could be just possible that Jagannatha was an aboriginal deity engrofted into Buddhistic influence and in course of time was known as a Hindu God (IV).

It may be possible that Jagannatha contains influences of Buddhism and Jainism but it is purely a Hindu deity. Because there are some Buddhistic influences on Jagannatha we cannot say that Jagannatha is Buddhistic. There are many instances of Hindu influences on Jaina and Buddhist shrines but this does not justify to super-impose Hinduism on these religious. Similarly we cannot say that Jagannath is non-Hindu.

I (a) History of Orissa—Mahtab pp. 522

(b) Antiquities of Orissa—R. L. Mitra Vol. II 135

(c) Hunters Orissa Vol. I pp. 131—132

(d) The Festival in Cylone—Indian Antiquary Vol. III 1874, pp. 250—254

II The Wonder that was India—by Basham pp. 56-57

III Hints on the significance and history of Jagannatha—OHR J. Vol VII No. 1 pp. 2-3.

(IV) The cult of Jagannatha, p. 25

The idea that Jagannatha consists of three images is not correct. Actually they are four. They represent Chaturbhyas of Parovoratra Agam namely – Vasudev, Sankarsan, Pradyumna and Anirudha. They are regarded as four padas or mantras of pranva which is the root of world sounds i. e. Para paryanti, Madhyana and Vhaikari (V) The Agni Padma, Brahmanand puran bears witness to it. In Buddhism there is no caste system whereas in the Jagannatha temple the Caste system is accepted. Again the idea of a Buddhist tooth being worshipped is not acceptable by the Hindus. It may mentioned here that the tooth of Buddha was taken away by Guasiva to Cylone. Therefore there was no chance that Jagannatha would have contend the truth of Buddha or resembled as miniature Chaity. (VI)

Again the argument that certain Buddhistie traditions are accepted by Jagannatha temple may be a matter of coincidence and are not sufficient to prove that Jagannatha is a Buddhistie deity. The Ratha Yatra of Jagannatha has no comparjson in Buddhism. It is open to people of all classes and castes some of whom have no entrance to the Jagannatha temple. Had Jagannatha been a Buddhist deity then such an annual open show of the God should hav. been unnecessary. Similarly the bathing festival of Jagannatha is held on the Jyestha Purnima [full-moon day of Jyestha (June)] whereas Buddhist observe Buddha Jayant on Vaisakh Purnima [full-moon day of Vaisakha (May)].

Jagannatha is essentially a Hindu deity and at its beginning phase it was very simple without much rituals and worshipped by the Sabaras. It is important to note that Buddhism was also at its initial stage simple and ritualless and adopted by the lower rank of society. This striking similarity of Buddhism and Jagannathaism is a historical fact not much noted of. This may be the most important reason for the Buddhist scholars to claim that Jagannatha is a Buddhist deity.

Historically Buddhism did not have great influence on Orissa. On the other hand the Jainism during the time of Kharavela had tremendous influence on Orissa. If Jagannatha could be a Buddhist deity then there should have many more Buddhist shrines at Puri or near about Puri. Strikingly we have no evidence of such deities of any degree or number near about the ocality or at the sea-shore. On the other hand the period of Jagannatha temple was busy in building some of the finest temples of country including that of the immortal Bhubaneswar and Konarka why then such builders of Orissa did not erect any Buddhist temples following that of Jagannatha or even earlier? We cannot say that the Buddhist did not want this because that the same period in Bihar and Central provinces significant and sufficient Buddhist shirnes and monuments were erected. Even the relics of Khajuraho which has significant parallel comparison with that of Konark has Buddhist images (VII). These are pertinent questions which sufficiently prove that influences of Buddhism on Jagannatha was either nil or very minor. Whatever little influence is alleged that Jagannatha has Buddhist influences as a result of historical growth which is a inevitable consequence of different religious leaving close to each other surviving for centuries.

For common observor the images of Buddha and Jaina throughout the world wherever they are found are an object of beauty. The image of Tathagata has been both poetic and spiritual. But the image of Jagannatha stands no comparison to this. Moreover there is a comparison between the stories of the creation of the Jagannatha imges and that of Buddha.

(V) The cult of Jagannatha Chapter on theology.

(VI) M. M. Ganugli; Orissa and Her Remains P. 405.

(VII) Khajuraho sculptes—Urmele Agarwalla

That *Maitraya Buddhisattava* came in the guise of a Brahmin and created the deity is questionable (IX). The story of Brahma appearing as the the guise of a Divine carpenter (Viswakarm remained confined in the temple is found in the Puranas (X). The Buddhist scholars might have heard about this and it could be just possible that the stories were twisted to suit to their design.

The Navakalevar ceremony of Jagannatha is a unique ritual the parallel of which is not found in any religion of the globe less so in the Buddhism. Jagannath's wooden images usually change every twelve years particularly when there shall be two months of Asara in one year. The Buddhist images does not undergo any change. The Buddhist images are all either made of metal or stone. They are never made of wood or any special type of wood (XI).

Buddhism is essentially a humanistic religion and Buddha never believed in rituals. On the other hand Jagannatha is based on elaborate rituals the kind of which is not found anywhere in the world. The idea of wooden images as in Jagannatha and the name of the deity have references in the Rig-Veda and Atharv-Veda, the Ramayana and Mahavarat (XII). This is significantly unique for Jagannatha.

Though there are certain influences on Jagannatha and His rituals which are usually associated with Buddhism they are the results of historical process and coincidence. This would never prove that Jagannatha was Buddhistic in origin as pointed out by some historians.

(IX) R. L. Mitra, "Buddha Gaya" Ch. 1, pp. 10—12

(X) K. C. Misra, The Cult of Jagannath—Ch—Jagannatha tradition—pp.—31—71

(XI) The Cult of Jagannath "Jagannath in Tradition"

(XII) The Cult of Jagannatha—pp. 71—74

NATHISM AND BUDDHISM

Dolagobinda Shastri

Introduction—

Buddhism had its origin in India. It flourished in India. In course of time it spread towards the whole of South-East-Asia and till now all countries from Japan to Burma, from China to Sri Lanka, had embraced Buddhism as their national religious faith, whereas it has gone out of India outwardly. Now it remains in India in some ancient shrines, stupas, inscriptions and some Pali scriptures. No where in India excepting a few thousands in Orissa and Ladakh we find Indian nationals as Buddhists. The Buddhists in the Cuttack District of Orissa call themselves as “Rangani Buddha Sampradaya.” They still observe Buddhist festivals with social pleasure and reverence.

Cause of Extinction—

The main cause of the extinction of Buddhism in India is that it denied the Vedic scripturer, Vedic culture, Vedic rituals very openly and rigidly. No branch of religio-philosophical thought had thrived in India with open and practical antagonism to the Indian Vedic culture. Contrary to Buddhism, Jainism, has, till today, been deep-rooted in Indian heart and enjoying peaceful co-existence with other branches of Hindu philosophy and worship, whereas, prior to independence of India from the foreign rule, Buddhism was ignored so to say.

Since the ninth Century A. D. Sankar, Kumarila, Ramanuja and many other advocates of Vedic schools of philosophy, directly and openly challenged Buddhist philosophy and in many cases they converted the Buddhist followers into their own faith. This process of conversion continued till Chaitanyadeva in the sixteenth century A. D. An incident of discourse between a Buddhist Acharya and Chaitanyadeva is narrated in the ninth chapter, Madhya Lila of Chaitanya Charitamrita by Krishna Das Koviraj, where the Buddhist Acharya was defeated in argument and he, along with his followers, accepted Vaishnavism.

The story of Mandan Misra and his wife Ubhya Bhārati on one side and Sankaracharya on the other, is well known to most of the spiritual preachers in India.

The result of the discussion so far, proves that Buddhism was banished from India outwardly. But in spirit, this great philosophical thought never vanished from India. Actually in course of time it merged into Indian Vedic culture and religion, only losing its name and the Buddhist connotation of the main Buddhist terminologies. Lord Buddha in Hinduism, is no longer a mere preacher of anti-Vedic religious sect. He is the ninth Incarnation of Vishnu. In the Nata Mandira of Lord Jagannatha an ancient painting of Ten Incarnations of Vishnu still exists with Lord Jagannatha in the ninth place, i. e., the place of Lord Buddha. Jayadeva the lyric Sanskrit poet of Orissa, has evoked the mercy of Lord Buddha as the ninth Incarnation in his Dasa-Avatara Stotra as follows—

“NINDASI YAJNA-BIDHERAHAHA ŚRUTIJATĀM.
SADAYAHHRUDAYA-DARŚITA-PAŚUGHATAM.
KESAVA DHRUTA BUDDHA-ŚARĪRA
JAYA JAGADISA HARE.” (GĪTA-GOVINDA)

The above two points show that Buddha and Buddhist philosophy have been totally assimilated into Vedic Hindu religious thought. Buddhism is no longer regarded as a separate branch of philosophy away from the Vedic Culture. According to the Hindu culture and Hindu religion-philosophical concept, Buddha only discarded the violence and slaughter of animals sanctioned in the Vedic sacrificial rituals of Jajña Bidhi. Towards the period of Jayadeva, i. e. round about twelfth century A. D., the marriage between Hinduism and Buddhism was complete.

Now the question arises, who were the actual exponents of this idea of assimilation. It is the Siddhāchāryas of the Nātha-Cult and mainly Matsyendranāth and Gorakhnāth, the two stalwarts of Nātha-Panth started and spread the idea of assimilation of Buddhism into Vedic Indian culture.

The Nātha Siddhas were Vedic in spirit, but very liberal and catholic in practice. They accepted the Upanisadic Yoga of 'Prajñā' or Omkāra Sādhana, which has been very clearly established in Kaṭha, Maṇḍuka, Māṇḍukya, Taittirīya, Iśāvāsya, and other Upanisadas.

Unlike the Buddhists, the Nātha Siddhas worshipped Iśwara, Śiva and His Śakti Durgā with Her other forms. They accepted and practised the Vedic rite of wearing sacred thread and initiation to Sāvitrī Dikṣhā or Brahma Gāyatrī. They accepted the theory of Atmā (Individual Soul), Paramatma (Supreme Soul), which the Buddhists did not.

Yet the Nātha-Siddhas like Matsyendra and Gorakh, did not consider the Buddhists as unacceptable, though all other Vedic philosophical exponents did. The Acharyas of sankhya, Nyaya Vaisesika, Vedānta, Mimamsa and the Vaishnavism vehemently opposed and refuted the non-vedic principles of Buddhism in their commentaries of *Brahma-Sutra*, *Gita*, and other scriptures. But the Nātha-Siddhas, on the contrary, instead of engaging themselves in fight with the Buddhist schools, cordially accepted the main two fundamental theories of Buddhist philosophy, i. e., the principle of Void (Sunya-Tatva) and Sahaja-Saddhana and other Buddhist terminologies, but with their own Upanisadic interpretations.

This union of the two apparently opposed branches of Indian philosophical thought was so much favoured by each other that the Buddhists accepted and worshipped Matsyendranāth as Padmapāni-Avalokitesvar, the fourth Incarnation of Lord Buddha and the (1. Cultural Heritage of India-Page-286) followers of Nātha-Cult also began worshipping Matsyendranāth in the same Padmapāni form in their Mathas and shrines.

The Padmapāni statue of Matsyendranāth is still worshipped in Siddhāchal-Mrigasthali near Kātmāndu. This is the site where Gorakhnāth was engaged in penance for long twelve years in order to see his Guru Matsyendranāth, causing absence of rainfall and draught in Nepal for twelve years, and at last Matsyendranāth came down from Potala of Tibet and gave *darsan* to his disciple Nepal was again blessed with heavy rainfall. Since then Siddhāchal Mrigasthali has been regarded and preserved as one of the holiest shrines of Nātha cult. Matsyendranāth and Gorakhnāth have been till today worshipped as the *Rastra-Devata* of Nepal Kingdom. The coins and currency notes of Nepal still bear the name of Gorakhnāth and the Nepales are known as Gurkhā or Gorkhā, i. e. followers of Gorakhnāth.

The same form of statue of Matsyendranāth is now also being worshipped in the Nāth Math at Derābisi-Rājnagar forest in the Kendrapārā Sub-Division, and in Kāla-Vairab Math of Trilochanpur under Salepur P. S. of Cuttack District in Orissa.

The statue worshipped in the Nātha Math in Derābisi-Rājnagar forest is of special importance so far as the union of Nāth Cult and Buddhist Cult is concerned. The statue is in sitting posture on a lotus with *Jata-Mukuta* on the head, circular earring, Rudrāksha, sacred thread, Kamandalu and begging bowl at the feet under the seat, all signs of a Kanghat, Yogi of Nātha Cult.

To the left corner of the stone plate, there is a small statue of Lord Buddha sitting in Dhyana Mudra on a lotus. Five lines of inscription (Buddhist dharani) run from right to left keeping the statue in the middle. The reading of the lines carved follows as thus—

Ye Dharma Hetuprabhava

Hetu Tesam Tathagato Hyavadat

Tesam ch yo Nirodhah

Evam vadi Mahashramanah

This statue and the statue of Kala-Vairah Math at Trilochanpur, resemble in all aspects excepting that the former has five Dhyani Buddhas carved in the *Jata Mukuta*.

The statue worshipped at Siddhachal Mrigasthali at Katmandu in Nepal and many other ancient shrines of Natha Cult resemble in almost all aspects.

The inscription on the statue of Derabisi-Rajnagar Math is in *Kutila Lipi* which had been used in Orissa before the present Oriya script was evolved and this has been dated to ninth century A. D. Consequently it is evident that, towards that century, Matsyendranath had already been worshipped as a Deity Incarnation of both Lord Vishnu and Buddha in the remote rural villages of Orissa. That means, towards ninth century A. D., Natha Cult had been very much popular in Orissa and the idea of assimilation of Buddhist Cult and Nath Cult had been an well-accepted fact in even rural Orissa. Moreover, most of the Natha Siddhacharyas of Orissa including Luipa Kanhu-pa, Birupa, Bhusuku-pa and Saharipa had been included in the 84 Siddhacharyas of Buddhist Cult, Jaina Cult and Natha Cult.

Therefore, it is evident that, to call Nathism an offshoot of Buddhism is basically wrong. In principle, religious and social practices, philosophical fundamentals and spiritual rites, both the cults were distinctly different. And inspite of these sharp differences, the liberal and catholic views of the Natha-Siddhas, the assimilation and peaceful co-existence of Buddhism, Nathism and Jainism was possible in Indian Culture.

CONCLUSION

The Natha yoga cult of Matsyendranath, Gorakhdontha and their ardent followers regarded exclusion of Buddhism from vedic Hinduism as un-called for and against the basic philosophical concept of Vedic Indian Culture. They differed little from the positive aspects of Buddhism as taught by Lord Buddha and fully agreed with his universal ethical and yogic teachings, but disassociated themselves from the latter's negativist attitude towards Iswara and Atma, the soul of the Universe and souls of the individual bodies, and his revolt against the authority of the Vedas which was a strong tie of union among all religious, philosophical doctrines, different races of Bharatvarsa since time immemorial.

The Natha-Gurus interpreted the Buddhist principle of Void or Sunya as "Pranava" from which every creation evolved and 'Sahaja-Sadhana' as easier as breathing i. e., 'Anabatnad'.

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ON THE DATE OF CHANDRAGOMIN

Mark Tatz

A. Delineation of the Issues

The problem of Candragomin's date is bound to that of his identity. Tentatively, he can be distinguished as a Buddhist master (ācārya) at Nālandā, well known to Tibetan tradition as a Sanskrit litterateur and grammarian, a scriptural commentator and philosopher in the lineage of Asanga (4th Century A. D.) and belonging in particular to the Mind-Only (vijñāna-vāda) school of Sthiramati (c. A. D. 560).¹ He is regarded as having been erudite and skilled in a number of arts and sciences, including logic, metrics, medicine and painting. He was one of the first masters to elaborate and systematize tantric practice, working especially in the Kriyā-tantra, and from the evidences which survive, this seems to be his only claim to doctrinal originality. Among the sixty-odd works attributed to him in the Tanjur (bstan-'gyur)², most deal with tantric ritual meditation (sadhana) or praises of divinity (stuti, stotra). CG was an especial devotee of the great compassionate Bodhisattvas Tara and Avalokitesvara, and the Tibetan tradition has it that he was reborn in their celestial abode on Mount Potala.³ His major surviving non-tantric works describe the course of the bodhisattva on its lower levels,

CG is considered to have been the foremost Yogācāra master of his generation at Nalanda. To indicate his importance to later writers (but without comment on the historical validity of this tradition), it may be mentioned here that the Tibetan historians describe a fierce rivalry between him and the Madhyamika philosopher Chandrakīrti. The two are said to have debated over a period of seven years.⁴ So widespread was interest in the dispute that even the local villagers took sides, singing:

Oh the works of the noble Nāgārjuna,
To some are medicine, to some poisonous;
The works of Ajita (and) noble Asanga,
Are the very nectar for all creatures.⁵

Modern scholars have known of CG from the end of the 19th Century when several Sanskrit texts attributed to him were discovered in Nepal. A controversy developed on the matter of his date.....based on these texts, the account of Tāranātha (in Schiefner's translation) and some references in the Record of I-Tsing.

Wassilief and Kern, basing themselves on the account of Taranatha, dated CG's stay at Nalanda at A. D. 630—640.⁶ Minnaev, publishing the Śisyaleka ("Letter to a Student") in 1889, placed its author in the Fourth, or early Fifth Century.⁷ Liebich, who in 1902 published the first of the grammatical treatises ascribed to CG, dated them A. D. 465 or 544 on internal evidence.⁸ Winternitz and Sten Konow, discussing the Lokānanda drama (extant only in Tibetan), placed him c. 600 and post-650 respectively.⁹ Sylvain Levi, following the account of the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing, concluded that CG lived towards the middle and latter half of the Seventh Century.¹⁰ Levi's argument was joined by Liebich and Takakusu, who held out for an earlier date.¹¹

This discussion, which flared for some years at round the turn of the century, produced no decisive conclusion. From our perspective, the issue clarifies itself into two conflicting sets of evidence. The grammatical works seek a date earlier than the kavya, and the difference could be reconciled. Levi, who had come to his Seventh Century date by glossing over some arguments

based on the *vyakarana*¹², remained unconvinced by the rebuttal, and stuck to his conclusion in later years.¹³ Among other scholars, those who accepted Levi's dating, have done so with some hesitation.¹⁴ Those rejecting it have considered only the evidences of the grammar, and so must also remain doubtful.¹⁵

In undertaking a broad investigation into CG's life and works, it is imperative that one come to grips with the question of his date. The development of the school of *Yogācāra* and description of its major figures has become one of the central concerns of buddhist scholarship. By examining new evidences, and employing a more modern and critical methodology¹⁶, we make bold to reopen the question and suggest an hypothesis.

B. Evidence for a Seventh Century Date

(1) Tibetan histories

The *chos-'byung* are as detailed on CG as on any other figure, and supply most of our knowledge of his life. The meager gleanings from Chinese and Sanskrit sources, as well as from CG's own works and the commentaries to them, are that much the more valuable however, for the Tibetan histories by themselves are not reliable. The earliest, that of Bu-ston (c. 1322) was written more than six centuries after the fact. His sources were, to a great extent, the contemporary Indian tradition. Given the general absence in India of a tradition of chronicling contemporary events, these traditions can be regarded basically as legend. What is most believable in them is generally the least significant of details. So for example we can accept Sumpa's statement that CG first studied with the *ācārya* Asoka, for the latter is otherwise little known. But this tells almost nothing of value. Associations between important figures on the other hand, such as that between CG and *Candrakīrti*, must be substantiated by other sources. In later times it is common, when the names of fewer personages are remembered and there are gaps in the lineages, or the survivors to be associated with one another, as teacher-disciple or as rivals, by means of legendary account or apocryphal anecdote. In addition, two authors bearing the same name are often assimilated to one another.

In light of these and other difficulties of interpretation, the more substantial accounts given by the Tibetan histories will be used sparingly in context of this discussion of CG's date, and in context of other evidence. Let it suffice to say at this point that they place CG in the Seventh Century.

(2) CG's and related works in the Tibetan Canon

Similar difficulties ensue regarding the ascription to CG of the many works in the Tanjur under his name, and in utilizing the clues to his date which some of them provide. The colophons naming him as author are the additions of the translators and later editors. Most of these works were translated during the "latter spread" of the Dharma into Tibet (Tenth Century plus). A number are obviously related on stylistic grounds, as for example the *kāvya*: the letter and drama mentioned above, and several among the *stotra*. So the tantric works cannot be excluded as a class from those authored by him. Several canonical texts provide clues to events of his life which are elaborated in the histories, but without having any direct bearing on his date.

There is also found in the Tanjur an anecdote concerning the rivalry of CG with *Candrakīrti*. But this piece was translated and incorporated into the Tanjur (Zhwa-lu edition) by Bu-ston himself, as related to him by the Kashmiri paṇḍit Sumanasrī. This is evidently one of Bu-ston's sources for his life of CG and, being taken from contemporary Indian oral tradition, is not by self definitive.

Another reference to the rivalry of the two masters is found in Vairocanarakṣita commentary (pañjikā) to the "Letter to a Student". The epistle was written, it says, to a wayward monk named Ratnakīrti, who was Candragomin's follower. But this commentary is Eleventh Century. The other commentary (the vṛtti) by the Eleventh Century Prajñākaramati, states that the "Letter" was written by CG to "his own disciple". One is only justified in concluding that by the Eleventh Century the Indian tradition had identified CD and CK as Seventh Century rivals at Nālandā.

There exists better evidence to vouch for CG's doctrinal ties with Asaṅga (Fourth Century and Sthiramati (dated c. 560 from an inscription). CG's *Bodhisattva-saṃvara-viṃśaka* is a summary of the *Sūla-parivarta* of Asaṅga's *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. The connection with Sthiramati is evident in CG's short "Defense.

There exists better evidence to vouch for CG's doctrinal ties with Asaṅga (Fourth Century and Sthiramati (dated c. 560 from an inscription) CG's *Bodhisattva-saṃvara-Viṃśaka* is a summary of the *Sūla-parivarta* of Asaṅga's *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*. The connection with Sthiramati is evident, in CG's short "Defense of Logic" (the *Nyāya-siddhy-ālokā*. Otani 5740) translated into Tibetan in the Ninth Century. In its terminology the *Ālokā* agrees with Sthiramati's description of the functions of a logician (the *yuktārtha-paṇḍita* of Maitreya-Asaṅga) in the *Madhyānta-vibhāgaṭīkā*. Sthiramati mentions

itos pa dang bya ba byed pa dang/ 'thad pa dang/ chos nyid

kyi rigs. . . / (apekṣa-karyakarana-upapatti-dharmata-yukti. . .)

..cha'i sbyor ba (avayava-sambandhah) ³⁰

which corresponds to CG's

ehos nyid bya byed ltoṣ 'thad sgrub/ /

de yi cha yis khyab pasna/ ³¹

In this case also CG has summarized a Yogācāra treatise. Sthiramati, as has been mentioned is given in the histories as OG's teacher.

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Other works which can be reasonably attributed to CG are those which make internal reference to him: the *Lokaṇanda-nataka*, "Letter to a Student", and the *Deśanā-stava*. The first of these will be discussed below. The latter two make only an allusion; in each the closing verse makes mention of the moon (candra), which the commentators point out to be the author's signature. For he is like the moon in some respect.³² Santarakṣita's Seventh Century commentary to *Vimśaka* also mentions CG as the authors.³³ In general, translations of his works into Tibetan during the "early spread" of the Dharma (Eighth to ninth Centuries) may also be attributed with confidence to him. These include the *Vimśaka*, the "Letter", several stotra and minor works including the "Defense of Logic". These are mentioned in the *Ldan-dkar* catalogue of translations completed by about A. D. 800.³⁴ These early translations do not include the grammatical works, as Liebich mistakenly believed.³⁵

CG can thus be identified as (at the least) a poet, tantrist, and follower of Asaṅga and Sthiramati. Now it remains to examine the evidences bearing directly on his date.

(3) References of I-Tsing

The records of Chinese pilgrims are the most reliable of literary documents, and second only to inscriptions in their value for historical investigation. This is especially true of events contemporary to the authors. They were careful observers, concerned with drawing a clear

picture for their readers of buddhist culture in India. The inaccuracies discovered in their accounts concern figures already past. I-Tsing for example states that Bhaṭṭhāri died some forty years before—that is, about 651. On the basis of a citation by Dignāga, this figure is now dated c. 450-510. ³⁶ Descriptions of a past author would naturally be based on hearsay.

CG however is known to I-Tsing as a contemporary. The pilgrim refers to him twice in context of his travels, and once in a separate text.

In the first place, I-Tsing says: "In Eastern India there lived a great man (*māhasattva* named Candra (*yue-kouan*) (the translator adds parenthetically: literally moon-official, it may be Candradāsa.' But this can also be restored to Candragomin³⁷), a Bodhisattva, endowed with great talents. When I arrived in that country, he still lived". ³⁸ I-Tsing then quotes a famous saying of this personage, which corresponds words-for-word with a verse of CG's 'Letter':

Between poison (*visa*) and sense-objects (*Visaya*),
There is a great distance;
Poison kills (only) when eaten,
Sense-objects when merely considered. ³⁹

This verse is included in the *Subhasitavali*, the medieval (Twelfth-Fifteenth Century) Compendium, along with two others one from the same "Letter". attributed to "Candragopin". ⁴

Based on this passage in I-Tsing's *Record*, Levi fixed CG's date as late Seventh Century. Leibich however questioned the identification of *Yue-Kouan* with CG: it can no means be restored to "Candragomin", he mistakenly asserted, and is based on an emendation besides. But even if we accept "Chandradasa" as the equivalent of *yue-kouan*, this can be shown to refer to CG. In the prologue to the *Lokānanda*, the director (*sutradhara*) introduces the author and his play thus:

(4)
The poet Candradasa having composed
The *Lokānanda-nāṭaka*,
An original play,
Today I present it to the audience.
He is a true poet.

(5)
From the eastern Jatukarana clan,
Though unable to bear the weight
Of the divine queen's ambition,
He became famous as her son.

Moreover—

(6)
With the adornment of {scholarship,
and broad banks of skill in poetry and prose;
His speech on any particular subject
with inexhaustible in its abundance;

And having composed a vyakarana,
short, but clear and complete us well,

He destroyed great hosts of mundane attachment and worldly obscuration, 41

There is no doubt, even aside from these verses, that authorship of the play is to be ascribed to C G. He is named in the colophon to each act, which indicates that these colophons were found in the original Sanskrit, and is further named in the last verse of Act Three as Candragomin. The play, having been translated by contemporaries of Bu-ston, constitutes one of the historians's sources on the life and works of CG.

Why the name Candradasa in the prologue? The author's aiven name is simply Candra. Levi has shown that gomin is the epithet of an upāsaka of high rank. 43 To his argument we subscribe the attestation of the Mahavutpatti (1961) that gomin indicates guru (bla-ma) as applied to a layperson; it is the equivalent of the Monastic title bhadanta, and both gomin and bhadanta are translated btsun-pa. In the last verse of Act Three and in other places, " Candragomin " is translated btsun-pa zla-ba, " the Reverend Candra " Sampa and Taranatha indicate that it was an ordination title:

There (at Candradvipa) he was called by Avalokitesvara.

Having been made the lay adherent " Gomi ", he went to Singala Isand⁴⁴

From this point he is called " Candragomin " in the histories. In one colophon he is referred to as " the great upasaka Candra ".⁴⁵ His given name being Candra, he may have been known also as Candradasa, whereas the initiation-name Candragomin became fixed in tradition.

I-Tsing's second reference to CG comes in context of a discussion of religious poetry.⁹ Having described Harsa's dramatization of the Jimutavahana-jataka in the Nagananda drama he says: " Mahasattva Candradasa, a learned man in Eastern India, composed a poetical song about the prince Visvantara (Ch. Pi-yu-an-ta-ra), hitherto known as Sudana, and people all sing and dance to it throughout the five countries of India ".⁴⁷

Visvantara is not the hero of the Lokananda; it is Manicuda. Nonetheless, both are sudana, " excellent patrons ", and illustrate the perfection of generosity, as LVP puts it, to a most " unreasonable " extent.⁴⁸ Even in Tibetan tradition the two are sometimes confused. Furthermore, in the Pali version of the Manicuda-jataka, Visvantara is cited by the hero as his exemplar.⁵⁰ Since only Visvantara was known in China, and was in fact quite popular there, it is reasonable to suppose that I-Tsing has confused them, or has made an intentional substitution so as " to dispense with long explanations " to his readers.⁵¹

A third reference by I-Tsing to CG has been discovered by Noel Peri. In the Preface to his translation to Vasubandhu's commentary on the Vajracchedika-sutra, the former pilgrim refers to another commentary to it, written by a layman and pandit of Eastern India whose name is Yue-konan Candragomin). This commentary was written, he says, subsequent to the commentary of Simhacandra. The latter was contemporary to Hiuan-Tsang, who resided in Harsa's dominions A. D. 635—643.

Hiuan-Tsang does not know of CG, although he studied Yogacara philosophy at Nalanda and mentions such masters as Sthiramati. 53 CG's reputation must have been made between the time of his visit and that of I Tsing. A. D. 671—695. I Tsing's phrase " This man was still alive would seem to indicate that CG was near the end of his span of years.

A comparison of the dramas of Harsa (whether composed by the monarch himself or a member of his court)⁵⁴ with that of CG. also indicates that CG came later. Both major plays are based on Jatakas, and are found in the section of the Tanjur bearing that title, along with the Jataka-mala of Arya-sura, who is probably of the Seventh Century as well. This seems to have been an age for elaboration of bodhisattava birth stories. I Tsing discusses the three works together,⁵⁵ and the two plays may have appeared together in eighth Century Japan⁵⁶

In style and imagery the two plays are much alike. The opening verses, for example elaborated a conceit involving the Buddha's temptation by Maras daughters.⁵⁷ Such parallel passages in Lokananda are more elaborated, a sure sign of imitation on CG's part. Levi in fact has maintained that imitation is the principal talent of Candragomin, (who is) a facile writer but without originality, ingenious and brilliant rather than creative.⁵⁸ A look at CG's stotras will dispel this literary misjudgment. In the Lokananda however, he is clearly elaborating the form of the Nagananda.

Harsa's era saw a revival, under his patronage, of Jataka literature, and of the arts in general Hiuan-Tsang mentions literary recitals and contests which were held at his court at which the Nagananda and other dramas were played.⁵⁹ CG. comes shortly after Harsa, on the crest of this literary wave. Taranath places him under the reign of Harsa's son Sila.⁶⁰

Although Sila is not known to Indian historical sources, it being generally held that Harsa's empire crumbled on his heirless death,⁶¹ the period indicated by Taranatha agrees with the evidence adduced so far.

C. CG. as Grammarian: the Tibetan and Indian Traditions

Arguments counter to this Seventh Century date for the Candragomin are based on the presence of Candracarya, the founder of Candragrammer, in grammatical tradition preceding Bhartrhari (C. A. D. 450—510). Works of Candragrammer are found in Tibetan translation, and several Sanskrit texts have been discovered in Nepal dating from late medieval times. They are attributed by the colophons to Candragomin, and this ascription is borne out by the Tibetan histories.

1) The Tibetan histories

The Tibetan sources describe different circumstances and aims regarding CG's composition of grammar. According to Bu-ston CG authored the grammar along with the Letter to a student in order to guide the Nalanda student Ratnakirti back to moral conduct. Bu-ston's imputation of an ethical aim to him vyakarana hints at an almost brahminical conception of the virtues of studying Sanskrit grammar.⁶² Taranatha and Sumpa, however place its composition early in CG's career shortly after he was ordained a Buddhist. This accords better with the unanimous tradition that CG claimed mastery of Panini's system upon his arrival at Nalanda.

The two latter historians identify Candragrammer as commentary on that of Panini intended to supplant the Mahabhasya Patanjali. Taranatha says of CG

Latter, he returned (from Sri Lanka) to the south of Jambudvipa (that is, to South India) Staying in the temple of the brahmana Vararuci, he saw an image (of Vararuci) listening to the grammar of the Naga (Patanjali) and a commentary on Panini done by Sesa-naga⁶³.

Sumpa refers to Patanjali as the son of Sesa naga (klu nor rgyas), wealthy dragon; it is not an uncommon designation for a pandit. We know that Patanjali is meant because he specifies the hundred thousand verse Mahabhasya commentary on Panini,⁶⁴ written by the son of Sesa-naga.

Tāranātha continues: "Whereas a 'commentary' should be small in words (but) great in meaning, unrepentive (but) complete, this Nāga is quite stupid, (for his work is) verbose (but) small in meaning, repetitive (but) incomplete. Having (so) deprecated (Patanjali), he composed the Candra-vyākaraṇa, together with its auxiliaries, as a commentary to the sense (as opposed to a word-for-word exegesis) of Pāṇini. Even to call that work of (CG) "short, clear and complete" is an (implicit) insult to the Nāga".⁶⁷

The historian's description "short, clear and complete" is taken from the introductory verse of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sūtra;⁶⁸ it is also found in the Lokānanda verse 6 cited above (B. 3). The "attachment and confusion" referred to in the latter verse as destroyed by CG's grammar, would thus refer to the work of Patanjali. Alternatively, however, Ratnakīrti's fall from his vows, which was supposedly rectified by the grammar, could also be the object of the allusion. Following Bhartṛhari's account of the origins of Cāndra grammar (as described below), the "attachment and confusion" would belong to inferior grammarians who had neglected the Maha-bhāṣya. There is no doubt however that in the later histories, Patanjali is intended as the object of CG's improvements.

"Sesa-naga" is in fact no mere scholarly epithet. Further in his account of CG, Tāranātha describes his voyage to the island of Dhanasrī. A storm arose out at sea:

"Bearing a grudge for past insults to Sesa-nāga, great waves (caused by dragons) threatened to sink the boat. From within the sea, came a voice: 'Throw out Candragomin'. He (CG) prayed to Tārā. The chief āryā and (her) retinue of five came (flying) through space, mounted on a garuda. The nāgas fled in terror, and the boat arrived safely in Dhanasrī".⁶⁹

Patanjali was evidently considered to have been reborn as a nāga.

CG's grammar, then, is said to have been written at Nalanda for the wayward Ratnakīrti and, in the same sources, before CG's arrival at that university, to improve upon Patanjali's Mahā-bhāṣya. Furthermore, the same historians refer to it as an aspect of CG's rivalry with Candrakīrti. Sumpa writes:

"Gom, seeing (that there existed) at Nālandā the grammar (called) Samantabhadra written by Candrakīrti, and deeming his own grammatical work to be not (so) good, threw it (his own) into a well. At that, Tārā and Avalokitesvara said (to him):

"Because of the arrogance of that (other) scholar Candra, (his work) will eventually be suppressed. But your, being wholly inspired by benefit for others, will be of future benefit to creatures'.

"So he brought it up, and that (place) is famed at 'Candra's well'. If one drinks its water, one's intellect is sharpened".⁷⁰

Aside from this anecdote, no grammar is known to have been written by Candrakīrti. Considering the discrepancies in the histories in the treatment of Cāndra grammar, one cannot rely upon their ascription of its composition to CG.

(2) Ascription of authorship by the extant texts.

The Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sūtra with its auxiliaries⁷¹ was translated into Tibetan during the Latter Spread of the Dharma. The sūtra itself was done twice; the edition found in the Derge canon was translated by Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan (Toh. 4269), known as one of "the founders of philological studies in Tibet"⁷², and re-done by Blo-gros brtan-pa⁷³, whereas that of the Peking edition (Ol 5767) was done by Jetakarna and Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan, the latter a teacher of Bu-ston and abbot of Snar-thang monastery at about A. D. 1312.⁷⁴ The latter pair translated most of the minor works of the Cāndra school of Sanskrit grammar, including a commentary to the Varna-sūtra ascribed to Dharmapāla.⁷⁵

All the primary works of Cāndra grammar, Sanskrit and Tibetan editions alike, are ascribed by their colophons to Candragomin. None, however, makes internal reference to him. Two commentaries to the main sūtra are reported by the Tibetan historians⁷⁶. Both have been discovered in Sanskrit (neither was translated into Tibetan). The vṛtti of Dharmadāsa, called CG's uncle by the histories, is perhaps the most important text of the school. Added to the colophon is the statement that "this is the work of the glorious ācārya Dharmadāsa".⁷⁷ That the statement is written "by another hand" lead Liebich to doubt of its authenticity⁹ he believed the work to be that of Candra himself. The Tibetan notices of Dharmadāsa, and internal evidence as well, contradict this view.⁷⁸ The sub-commentary is Ratnamati's *ṭikā*? This writer is said to be Dharmadasa's disciple.⁸⁰

Aside from their colophons, which were appended by translators or scribes, the texts of this school refer to themselves only as Candra or Candra (*tsandra-pa*) grammar. This means, "of the school founded by Candra". The picture of the author at the head of the Tanjur section of grammar (Derge edition) is also subtitled *tsandra-pa*, rather than "Candragomin".

These facts seem to indicate some uncertainty within the tradition itself as to whether the grammarian Candra is identical to Candragomin the philosopher-poet. Outside of these grammatical treatises, reference is almost invariably made to "Candragomin", and never as simply "Candra"³². "Candra" by itself could refer to any number of historical personages. At some point the two figures became identified in Indian-Tibetan buddhist tradition. To illustrate this process, it is necessary that we separately examine the brahmanical and buddhist traditions regarding the grammarian Candra, and the function of Candragomin as grammarian in buddhist historical works.

(3) Candra's place in grammatical tradition

(a) *Brahmanical*—Bhartrhari (c. 450—510), in a well-known set of verses near the close of the second chapter of the *Vakyapadiya*, surveys the history of grammatical science in terms of his own lineage.

When the *Samgraha* (probably of Vyadi), a predecessor of Panini had ceased to be studied, Patanjali composed the *Mahabhasya*, correcting a tendency among unscientific grammarians to abridge the systems. (Compare the Tibetan attitude to his prolixity, section C. 1 above). His work contains all the seeds of traditional methodology. But being too profound and full of doubtful points, some scholars (three are named) attempted to rely on their own sterile reasoning to study grammar. The oral tradition, having thus escaped Patanjali's descendents, remained for a time, as far as the south was concerned, extant only in texts. But "then again the tradition, obtained from the mountain by Candracarya and others, who cultivated the seeds of the *Bhasya*, was guided to a flourishing (lit. "many-branched") state (that is, became the basis of several schools)."⁸³

Punyaraja, commenting on this passage, notes that some ascribe the revival of Patanjali to Candracarya, others to Vasurata.⁸⁴ As we shall see, this refers to buddhist versus brahmanical accounts. Vasurata is identified by the commentator as Bhartrhari's *guru*. Vasurata, he asserts, was the only one truly comprehending the *Mahabhasya*. Thus, after Bhartrhari, Candra is expelled from the "valid" tradition of grammar according to the brahmins.

The various traditions, as Thieme points out, all indicate that Candra received his system as a revelation, in a mountain temple.⁸⁵ The tradition of Bhartrhari and Punyaraja locates it in a Siva temple on (the legendary) Trikuta mountain. Kalhana, in a related narrative of the Twelfth Century, places the mountain in Kasmir:

"Candra and others, having received from that place (the Siva temple crowning the hill of Abhimanyapura) its tradition, developed the *Mahabhasya*, and he composed his own grammar."⁸⁶

Taranatha, one will recall, places the event in South India, in Vasurata's temple.

(b) *Tibetan*—Bu-ston and Sumpa accord special treatment to the history of grammatical science, apart from their treatment of acaryas such as CG.⁸⁷ They are in general agreement. At the head of the tradition is the Buddha, he compiled the first linguistic treatise among the Thirty-three vedic gods.⁸⁸ (Likewise the Candra-vyakarana-sutra begins with homage to "the Omniscient One".)⁸⁹ Then Indra, "his disciple" (Sumpa) composed the *Indravvyakarana*. Whoever the author, texts of this school are extant.⁹⁰ Bu-ston explains that the Buddha's grammar, having been neglected by the Gods, was lost without ever reaching the human plane.

Indra grammar was expounded to humanity by the rishi Brhaspati. Then by the grace of Mahadeva (Siva) or of Avalokitesvara according to the Buddhists (Bu-ston is remarkably impartial on this point), Panini composed his important treatise. The naga king, or his son (Sampa) wrote the *Mahabhasya* to it.

According to Sumpa, the Candra grammar follows. Bu-ston places it at a distance first dealing with Sarvavarman's Kalapa system and its commentators: the brahmanal Vararuci, pandit Durgasimha, and pandit Yasobhuti. Commentators to Candra's grammar are Dharmadasa, Ratnamati and Purnachandra. Then pandit Rajasri combined the Kalapa and Candra systems. Sumpa goes on to describe Sarasvati grammar.

The Tibetans are thus ambivalent regarding Candra's relationship with Patanjali. The brahmanical origins of grammar on the human plane are undeniable. Yet the science is said to originate with the Buddha. Panini's inspiration is suggested to be Buddhist and embarrassing connections are covered over.

Sumpa's "lineage of Candra grammar" ends intriguingly: "Manjusri, the divine Padmapani (-Avalokitesvara), the divine Sarvajna (-the Buddha), the brahman Panini, and so forth".⁹¹

Nonetheless, the accounts agree on one essential point with that of the brahmanical schools: Candra followed Patanjali, rather than opposing him.

c) *Internal evidences*. There is no statement in Candra grammar regarding Patanjali, pro or con. As is correctly indicated by the several traditions, it re-casts Panini's system—condensing it, modifying the terminology and inventing some additional rules. These additions are incorporated, without attribution, by Vamana and Jayaditya into the *Kasika-vrtti* (mid-Seventh Century)⁹². Probably, as Bhartrhari suggests, Candra must have followed the oral tradition (of the worth) which devolved from Patanjali in order to have understood Panini's work at all.

Following the *Vakyapadiya* with its commentaries, Candra's date is guessed to fall one or two generations before Bhartrhari (c. 450—510), depending on whether he preceded or associated with Vasurata. Liebhich has tried to determine a more specific date, either A. D. 465 or 544, based on evidence from the *vrtti*. But upon examination, it fails even to date whoever authored the *vrtti*, for it depends upon a dubious emendation. Here the commentator, illustrating the use of the imperfect to relate a contemporaneous event of which one may have been witness, offers, as an example,

ajayaj japto hunan 93

"Japta vanquished the Huns".

The example follows Patanjali's famous *arunad yavanah saketam*: "He arrested the Greeks at Saketa". (which has likewise been the basis of attempts to date the author). Liebhich would emend *japto* to *gupto* to indicate, he says, a date for Candra (whom he assumes to have authored the *vrtti*) contemporaneous with Skanda-gupta (c. 465) or Yasodharman (who defeated Mihirkula in 544).

The proposed emendation, lacking a paleographic basis and the only such one which would be made to the Sanskrit text, is doubtful also on other grounds. "Gupta" is a strictly dynastic name (unless it would mean Sri Gupta, who founded the dynasty but vanquished no (Huns), whereas a monarch's personal name would be expected here. Both Huns and Guptas, furthermore, endured for several centuries in several dynasties.⁹⁴

Kielhorn suggests that *japto*, be read *jarto* as an ancient form of *jat*. But there is no evidence for his suggestion that Yasodharman was a *Jat*.⁹⁵

More recently it has been shown that the commentator to the Candra sutra was different from the author, that in fact there may have been more than one commentator, and, most importantly, that the commentary may have been influenced by the *Kasika*, which came after the sutra itself.⁹⁶

* * * * *

We have already identified the author of the commentary to the *Cāndra-Sūtra* as Dharmadasa. He is described by Tāranātha--consistently, and in a number of different contents--as a disciple of Asaṅga and roughly contemporaneous with Dignāga.⁹⁷ This is of course no sure indication of his date; it is significant however that he is placed before CG in this history. Even in Tāranātha's occasionally lax manner of associating figures, the two are quite far apart. But he is also called CG's maternal uncle, in context of being described as a commentator to the grammar. Ratnamati, the second-generation commentator, is placed at about the same time as CG.⁹⁸ Two divergent traditions seem to be present in this history. Candragomin, the Seventh Century contemporary of Ratnamati and Candrakīrti, and the disciple of Sthiramati, has been assimilated to the earlier figure of Candra the grammarian.

(4) Candragomin as grammarian in Buddhist historical tradition.

The formal science of Sanskrit grammar is in its beginnings a domain of the brahmanical schools. In principle it ascribes an ontological importance to Sanskrit, as the vehicle of vedic "revelation", which the Buddhists, emphasizing the impermanent nature of words (as of all conditioned things) do not accord it. For the Buddhist Sanskrit is merely the predominant literary language of India, and it is sufficient that a text composed in it be clear and comprehensible, without necessarily conforming to all the subtleties of Pāṇinean grammar.

With the development in Gupta times of classical Sanskrit literature, and a simultaneous emphasis on linguistic studies, the Buddhists came under attack for the "ignorance" of Pāṇinean grammar. In Paramārtha's (Sixth Century) account of the life of Vasubandhu, the *Abhidharmakosa* is criticized by Vasurāta, a brāhmaṇa "well versed in grammar", on these grounds. As Takakusu translates.

"This *tīrthika* criticized, by the principles of the *vyākaraṇa* treatise, the construction of words and sentences of that work (the A'K)".⁹⁹

Takakusu takes *vyākaraṇa* as a reference to the *Candravyākaraṇa*,¹⁰⁰ with which Vasurata, as has been shown, is sometimes associated.¹⁰¹ There is no good reason however for this identification, and in fact it obscures the real issue. As Takakusu himself points out, the "32-chapter treatise" at issue fits that of Panini but not that of Candra, which contains twenty-four chapters.

In actuality, Candra's sutra is given in the Tibetan histories as having contained thirty-two chapters.¹⁰² Possibly the Buddhist commentators eliminated the final two books (of eight chapters) on vedic grammar. Nevertheless, the tradition of Panini and Patanjali may be supposed to have provided the standard for Vasurata's criticism. Vasubandhu is being accused of ignoring the rules of classical grammar, not those of Vasurāta's contemporaries. Rather than denying the relevance of this accusation, as an earlier buddhist might have done, Vasubandhu attempts to disprove it:

"If I did not understand the *vyākaraṇa* treatise, how could I understand the more profound truths of Buddhism ?"

Thereupon he composed his own grammatical treatise which, the biographer states, came to supplant the other.¹⁰³

No grammar is otherwise known to have been composed by Vasubandhu. If anything, Candra's grammar could be identified with this work. For Vasubandhu's composition plays the same role in this Chinese narrative that CG's performs vis-a-vis Patanjali in the Tibetan tradition, Bhartrhari's commentator, it will be recalled, places Candra and Vasurata in a similar opposition. In all these cases, the personal confrontation between buddhist and brahmanical pandits serves to indicate a general rivalry of the respective schools. The Chinese and Tibetan historians use Vasubandhu and Candragomin to indicate that the buddhists, when accused of an ignorance of grammar, proceeded to invent their own superior system. Both Bu-ston and Paramārtha, being translators and themselves well versed in linguistic science, were especially keen on making this point.

Twentieth Century scholars, in attempting to reconcile the buddhist historical accounts with literary developments, have been only vaguely aware of this process of srefication. Levi says:

"In fact, Buddhist Sanscrit tended constantly to emancipate itself from the immutable rules outlined by the grammarians to assimilate with the actual speech (of the people). Two or three centuries after Asanga, the sanskrit grammar of Candragomin marked the capitulation of Buddhism, subjected henceforth to the laws of brahmanical purism".¹⁰⁴

From the opposite point of view, Sastri writes: "In fact from this period (of CG) the Buddhist sramanas began to write in correct Sanskrit. All Buddhist works before this time were written in what is called Buddhist Sanskrit, i. e., ungrammatical Sanskrit". ¹⁰⁵

Both these extremes commit the error of accepting the traditional accounts of CG's grammar at face value. In an important sense, CG is a legendary a historical figure. He destroyed the great dragon Patanjali and established the Buddhist science of grammar on an equal footing with its brahmanical counterpart. But he could just as well be called "Vasubandhu". The Buddhist histories of both Tibetan and Chinese tradition do not aim at communicating historical "fact", in our sense of the term, but the understanding of issues; they stage the development and resolution of religious conflict in the form of confrontations between pseudo-historical figures. In this case, Vasubandhu and Candragomin, and their adversaries Vasurata and Patanjali, illustrate the convergence of buddhist and brahmanical thought in philosophy, logic, ritual and literature as well as grammar, during Gupta times. For the Sixth Century translator into Chinese, aware that his readers were almost entirely unfamiliar with Sanskrit grammar in any case, the essential thing was to show that the Buddhist's development of the subsidiary sciences came partly in response to brahmanical criticism. So rather than introduce the otherwise unknown Candracarya, Paramartha pits Vasurata against Vasubandhu (the two names being conveniently similar).

Candragomin and Candrakirti likewise, in later Indian and Tibetan histories, become rival representatives of the philosophic trends within Buddhism. Not much else being known of CG, he becomes merged with the grammarian Candra. CG's "life" in Taranatha is in fact not much more than a series of oppositions. Even within the histories, we find clues to this process. Discussing grammar, Sumpa says: Acarya Candragomin, basing himself upon it (the Mahabhasya, composed the Candra-vyakarana (p. 133). Discussing CG (p. 95), he describes his rejection of it.

D. Conclusion

Candra is found in several listings of the major Indian grammarians¹⁰⁶. Only once is he called Candragomin in such context, and this is in a commentary of unknown date to Hemacandara's Eleventh Century grammar.¹⁰⁷ Candra is almost certainly to be dated before the sixth Century, and probably the best guess would be the Fourth. Candragomin the Yogācāra literature seems just as certainly to have lived in the latter three quarters of the Seventh Century. The only bases for indentifying these two figures are late: the colophons of text. Tibetan historical tradition, and so forth. The only substantial evidence that they are the same is the statement, common to the *Lokananda* and the *Vyakarna sutra*, that CG's grammar is "short, clear and complete". To this we can only suggest, following Handurukande,¹⁰⁸ that the former verse may be a late interpolation: its meter is different from the two verses preceeding it in the drama, its content does not necessarily follow from them, and it praises the author rather too broadly to appear to have come from his own hand.¹⁰⁹

We would hypothesize that CG did, like other poets, write a grammar, but that it was not lengthy. This would be the work which he found inferior to that of Candrakirti, and which gave cause for the historians to identify him with the grammarian Candra. But this does not seem to be the sutra which has survived as the basis of Candra grammar, for the sutra commentators are earlier than CG.

The suggestion that CG is not the grammarian Candra is not new¹¹⁰. To make it one must sacrifice his reputation as a grammarian, on which most of his fame among moderns has been based. But considering the depth and breadth of his as yet unexplored works which survive in Tibetan, this is no great matter: Candragomin himself, if we are to believe the tale, was more than willing to toss it into a well.

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NOTES

1. This account is abstracted from the three major Tibetan histories dealing with Buddhism in India: (a) the Chos-'byung of Bu-ston (c. 1322), ed. Lokesh Candra, *The Collected Works of Buston*, part 24 (Ya), New Delhi 1971; English tr. by E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, Heidelberg 1931, repr. Suzuki Research Foundation; (b) Taranatha's Phagsyu¹ chos-'byung (1908), ed. Sarnath 1971 (abbrev. Tar.); Engl. tr. Chimpa/Chatto Padhyaya, *Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India*, Simla 1970; and (c) the Dpag-bsam ljon-bzang of Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal-byor, ed. S. C. Das, Calcutta 1908 (abbrev. Sumpa).

2. A more precise number of works will be determined after further research. This tentative enumeration comprises the Peking and Derge editions of the Tanjur; several texts are not included in both.

3. Oral communication, Sde-gzhung Rinpoche, Seattle 1974. The view of some scholars that the Candragomin the grammarian, logician, philosopher, etc. cannot be the same as the tantric practitioner, on the grounds that the tantric Buddhism is a late and/or morally degenerate form of the religion, reflects an outdated and immature approach to Buddhist studies and need be considered no further. That several at least of the tantric and non-tantric works ascribed to CG were written by the same hand, with congruent aims, will be made clear in the studies to follow. On the date of the early tantras see Alex Wayman, "Early Literary history of the Buddhist Tantras, especially the Guhyasamaja Tantra". Golden Jubilee Volume of the (Annals of the) Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1968, pps. 99-110.

4. Cf. Candrakirti's refutation of Sthiramati (*Madhyantavibhanga-tika* I. 1, 10) in the *Madhyamkavatara* Ch. VI (to be discussed also in a following chapter).

5. Ajita, "the Unvanquished", refers to the Bodhisattva Maitreya. kye ma 'phags pa klu sgrub gzhung// la la'i sman la la la'i dug// mi pham 'phags pa thogs med gzhung skye be kun la bdud rtsi nyid Tar. p. 141, cf. tr. p. 205; Sumpa p. 96.

6. H. Kern. *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Straasburg 1898, repr. Delhi 1974, p. 130 & refs. n. 3.

7. I. P. Minaev, "poslanie kuceniku", *Russkoe arhaologicheskoe obschestvo*, Leningrad. Vostochnoe otdelenie. *Zapiski* 4, pp. 29-52 (1889). Reviewed *Indian Antiquary* (abbrev. IA) XIX (1890), p. 319.

8. B. Liebich, candra-vyakarana, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XI. 2, Leipzig 1902; candra-vrtti, *Leipzig* 1918; both repr. On Liebich' dating see "Das Datum des Candragdmin" in *wieners Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XIII, wien 1899, pp. 318-315. The evidence is the grammarian's reference to Hunas, of sect on C. 5 below.

9. Winternitz, *Gechichte de indischen Litteratur* II, pps. 259, 379; III. 399; konow, tr. Ghoshal, *The Indian Drama*, Calcutta 1969, p. 115.

10. S. Levi, "La date de Candragomin" *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* (abbrev. BEFEO) III (1903), pp. 38-53.

11. Liebich, *Das Datum Candragdmin's and Kalidasa's* Breslau 1903.

12. Levi, "La date de Candragomin", pp. 49-50

13. Levi, "Kaniska et Satavahana", *Journal Asiatique* (abbrev. JA) 1936, pp. 111ff.

14. L. Feer, rev. of Liebich' *Das Datum*, BEFEO III (1903), pp. 681-82; L. de la vallee poussin (abbrev. VP), *Dynasties et Histoire de L'Inde*, 1936, pp. 63-5.

15. P. Thieme, for example, refers to CG (in context of an allusion by the grammar to the game of chess) as "3rd Century", but then notes: "we can only say that Candragomin was older than the Kakyapadiya and the kasika. *Indological Studies in honor of w. Norman Brown*, New Haven 1962, p. 215; of *journal of the American Oriental Society* (abbrev. JAOS) 76 (1956), p. 120 n. 48. (Other evidences point to a Seventh Century origin of chess of. Stewart Culin, *Games of the Orient*, U. Pennsylvania Press, 1895, p. 76.)

Some other materials stemming from the controversy are: rev. of Liebich' resume of the Candra-vyākaraṇa, IA XXV (1896), pp. 103-5; rev. of Liebich' published edition of same, BEEEO II (1902), pp. 404 by L. Feer; rev. of same by Macdonnell, IA XXXII (1903), pp. 379-80; S. C. Vidyābhāṣana, History of Indian Logic, Delhi 1121, pp. 333-36; S. K. De, "Candragomin", Indian Historical Quarterly (abbrev. IHQ) XIV. 2 (1938), pp. 256-60; H. P. Śastri, Descriptive catalogue of sanskrit MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI (vyākaraṇa), Preface pp. XLVIII-lix; L. M. Joshi, Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India, New Delhi 1967, pp. 195-96.

16. We follow the guidelines laid out by Frauwallner in his two Monographs: "On the date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu", Serie Orientale Roma (abbrev. SOR) III (1951); and "Landmarks in the history of Indian Logic", Wiener Zeitschrift (abbrev. WZ), Band V (1961), pp. 125-48.

17. Cf. Frauwallner, "Landmarks", pps. 125-26.

18. See for example the discussion of CG and CK in section B. 2 Below.

19. Frauwallner, "Landmarks", p. 127.

20. Sumpa I. 96-17. On Asokācārya see Shastri, ed., Six Nyāya Texts; Kajiyama, Indogaku Bunkyo.

21. Frauwallner, "Landmarks", pp. 126-27. So there are two Nāgārjunas, Candra-kīrti's, etc., and possibly two Vasubandhu's. See Frauwallner's study of the latter, op. cit. n. 16 above).

22. See the next chapter for a detailed examination of CG's place in the Tibetan accounts of Buddhism in India.

23. An illustration to both statements is the Śrī-mahā-tārā-stotra (Tohoku 3667), an ornate kāvyā along the lines of the Lokānanda and written, it is said, as part of the rivalry with Candrakīrti (Tsandra gomi' lo-rgyus, Toh. 4340; of. Tar. tr. p. 208).

24. Ibid. Not found in Peking edition.

25. So indicates the Catalogue of the Zhwa-lu Bstan-'gyur, Bu-ston, Collected Works. Vol. 26 (La). But the Derge (Mdo Ngo 155a. 1) and Narthang (Mdo Go 391a) name Vinayasrī as the informant.

26. O. 5691, Peking Tanjur Sprin-yig Nge 362b.

27. On Vairocana-rakṣita see Blue Annals (Deb-ther sngon-po. abbrev. BA), tr. Roerich, pp. 844-45, 1024. This is probably not the Tibetan Vairocana-rakṣita of the Early Spread.

28. P. Sprin-yig Nge 389b.

29. So states the commentary to the Viṃśaka discovered at Tun Huang; LVP Catalogue of Tibetan Manuscripts in the India Office Library, Oxford 1962, 633.

30. P. Sems-tsam Tshi 93b.1; Pandeya ed. p. 98.

31. P. Gtan-tshigs rig-pa Ze 198a. (Verse 7cd).

32. Vairocanarakṣita's Pañjikā to the "Letter", P. Sprin-yig 389a.2. But the commentary of Prajñākaramati has no such statement. See also Buddhasānti's comment P. Bstod-tshogs Ka 229b) to the Desanā-stava (O. 1159, P. Ka 206b). For reference to CG in the Lokānanda see R. Handurukande, Mañicūḍāvadāna and Lokānanda, Pali Text Society (abbrev. PTS) London 1967, p. 203.

33. O. 583, just after the initial laudatory verses.

34. Ed. M. Lalou, *Journal Asiatique* (abbrev.) Ja) 241 (1953), pp. 313-53. On the date of the Ldan-dkar catalogue see my paper, "T'ang influences on the Early Spread of Buddhism in Tibet", *Dcp't Religious Studies*, University of British Columbia, 3-July-1975, n. 180.

35. Liebach argument rev. in *IA XXV* (1896), p. 105. On the translation of Cāndra grammer into Tibetan see below C. 2.

36. Frauwallner, "Landmarks", p. 134.

37. Leon Hurvitz, oral communication, 26-April-1974.

38. After Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India* (A. D. 671-695), by I-Tsing, Oxford 1896, pp.183ff; of also Levi, "Date", pp.38-9

39. Verse 72 of the Skt. ed.

40. Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhādeva, ed. P. Peterson, Poona 1961, verses 3368, 3384, 3449. On the date of the collection see L. Sternback, in *Melanges Renou D'Indianisme*, pp.684ff. On the ascription to "Candragomin" see *IA XX* (1890), p.85n.

41. Lokānanda ed. *Handurukande*, p.210, re-edited from the Derge edition. /dga' byed kyis mchod pa'i mtha' las mdo 'dzin pa'o// (verse 4:) snyan ngag tsan dra dā sha ya// zlos gar 'jig rten kun tu dga'// sngon med zlos gar rab sbyar bas// de ring tshogyla bdag gis ston// de ni nges par snyan ngag nyad// (5:) shar phyogs dxa tu ka ra na'i rigs las, ni// lha mo rgyal ma yid kyi shing rta las// gang 'khrungs khur ni 'khur bar mi nus kyang// de'i bu zhes rab tu grass pa thob// gzhan yang/ (6) rab 'byam rgyan dang bcas shing tshings bcad rkyang pa mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs rgya chen rmas// gang gis dugos po gcig gi brjod byas le yang rgya chen zad par mi gyur dang// gand gis byā ka ra na n; nyung zhing gsal yongs rdzogs gzhan yang mdzad gyur nas// 'jig rten chags dang jig rten mun pa'i tshogs chen rab tu 'joms mdzad gyur//

42. Tr. by the pandit Kirticandra and Yar-lunns lotsava Grangs-pa rgyal,mtshan, c.a A. D. 1280 (of BA I.281 etc. , s. v. index).

43. Levi, "Date", pp. 42-4.

44. *Handurukande* ed. p. 251. As another example, the title *Candragomi-pranidhan* . (Toh. 4386) is translated *btsun-pa zla-ba' l soman-lam*. In one colophon BG is referred to as *slob-dpon dgal-btsun zla-ba* (*Acārya-sri-Candragomin).

45. Sumpa 95.19. /dea spyān ras gzigs kyis bskul te go mi'i dge bsnyen mdzad singgā la'i gling dn byon te.../ Cf. Tar. ed. py. 138-39, tr. p. 202. & ibid. n. 3. BA 1.297 suggests that gomi refers to a celibate laopersonl, which corresponde to the description of CG given by gde-gzhung Rinpoche (oral communication).

46. *Dge-bsnyen chen-po Zla-ba*. O. 3544.

47. Takakusu tr. , *Record* p. 164.

48. LVP, *Dynasties*, p. 64.

49. As for example in the story of Dri-med kun-Idan, cited by *Handurukande* p. xxxi.

50. Ibid. p. xviii.

51. Levi, "Data" p. 42.

52. Novel Peri, "A propos de la data de Vasubondhu", *BEFEO XI* (1911), pp. 343n., 388n

53. For H. T. on Tagacara masters see Samuel Beal tr. , *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London 1884, repr. Delhi 1969, II.171.

54. On the authorship of Harsa's plays see Joshi, Studies, Appendix 1.
55. Levi, "Date" p. 41.
56. Handurukande p. 204.
57. At this point he was still of course a bodhisattva. Lokananda p. 209 verse 2; Nāgārjuna, ed. V. Baattacharya, Calcutta 1957, pp. 1-2, tr in Sri Harsa's Plays, Bak Kun Bae, Delhi 1964, pp. 51-2.
58. Levi, "Date" p. 42
59. Beal Buddhist Records I.210n.
60. Tar. Ch.24; tr. pp.196ff.
61. R. C. Majumdar, Ancient India. Delhi 1964, p. 256; LVP, Dynasties, p. 73.
62. Bu-ston tr. II.133.
63. Bu-ston himself studied Cāndra grammar in his youth. Cf. BA II.793: "At first he studied with Thar-pa Lotsāva the Grammar by Candaagomin and mastered the work of a translator".
64. The passage is obscure. /slar yang dzam bu gling gl lho khang phxogs kyi rgyud (sic) du ongs / bram ze mchog sred kyi lha khang na kln la sgra uyan pa'i bkod pa dang/ klu she sas byas pa'i panipa'i grel pa dug pa yang gzigs pas/ Tar. p. 139; of. tr. pp. 202-3.
65. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary (abbrev. MW), pp. 1088-89. Mkhas grub-rje (A. D. 1385-1438), relating a similar account, calls pananjali by the designation Nagaraj, - tr. Lessing & Wayman, Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantrhs (abbrev. Mkhas) 1968, pp. 76,77.
66. Sumpa I.95.23-4.
67. Tar. op.cit., of. Sumpa. op.cit.
68. Namo vagisvarara/ siddham pranamyā sarvajnam sarviyam jagato gurum/ laghuvir. pastasampurnan ucyate sabdalaksanam// ed. Liebich. The Tibetan (O. 5767) reads: / ngag gi dbang phyug la phyag 'tshal lo// rtoggs dang kun phyir gro ba i lha// thams cad mkhyen la phyag tshal te// nyung zhing rnam nsal yang dag rdzogs// sgra yi mtshau nyid brjod bya ste// P. Mda-grel Le la.
69. Tar. p. 144, of. tr. p. 208.
70. Sumpa I.96.11-14.
71. Listed by Bu-ston. tr. II.133; for a listing of Cāndra grammar in the Tanjur after Liebich, see IA XXV (1896) Pp.103-5.
72. BA II.786. 792
73. Colophon Derge Tanjur Sgra-mdo Re 29a-6-7
74. BA I.102. 283
75. O.5770
76. Bu-ston tr. II.169; Mkhas pps. 76.77.
77. Srimadacaryadharmadasasya krtir iyam. Vrtti ed. Liebich, Pp. 513ff
78. See Section C3:C below
79. Sastri. Cat. VI 4413
80. Tart tr. p. 198

81. Derge ed. Sgra-mdo Re i. a. On the left is Manjusri on the right Chandra, under whom is found the inscription legs sbyar gtam gyis m r ' dug gi/log smra tshar good tsandra pa/" Chandra destroys the tirthikas' falsehood,/with appropriateness of expression".

82. See Section B.3 above & n. 44,46. Vairocanaraksita refers to him as Sri Candragomin and then as Arya Candra, P. Sprinyig 389a.

83. /parvatad agamam labdhva bhasyabijanūsaribhih/sanitobahusaktvam candracaryadibhih punah/Vakyapadina II.478-83, Poona Sanskrit Series. Of Kielhorn, IA III.286-87; P. Thieme "Panini and the Paniniyas", JAOS 76 (1956), pp.18—20; Iyer, Bhattachari pp. 2-3.

84. Sastri, Cat. VI. 1.

85. Thieme, "Panini" p.20n.

86. /candracaryadibhir labdhva desat tasmāt tadagamam/pravartitam mahabhasyam krtam Kalahana's Rajatarangani. ed. M. A. Stein 1892 (repr. 1960), I.176.

87. Bu-ston tr. II. 166-69; Sumpa I.135, 138.

88. /dang per sum cu rtsa gsum du lba thams cad mkhyen pe zhes pas sarba dzna na bya kara na brtsams/Sumpa I. 135. 16-17. Obermiller misconstrues the corresponding passages of Bu-ston translating "god named Sarvajnana." But "the divine omniscient (Buddha)" is intended.

89. See note 68 above.

90. Kielhorn, "Indragomin and other grammarians", IA XV (1896), pp. 181-83; Sastri Cat VI, pp. vi, lii.

91. Sumpa I. 139.

92. Kielhorn, "The Chandra-vyakarana and the Kasika-vrtti", IA XV (1886j. pp. 183-86; Sastri, Cat, VI, pp. xlix-1.

93. Liebich ed., (1918), I. 2.81.

94. For a detailed examination of Liebich's argument see Levi, "Date", pp. 50ff.

95. Kielhorn, Ac. de Gottingue 1903, p. 105 (of Levi. Dynasties, p.64).

96. R. Birwe. Ist Candragomin der Verfasser der Chandra-vrtti?", in Melanges Renou d Indianisme.

97. Tar. tr. 177, etc. (see Index s. v.).

98. Tar. tr. p. 198.

99. After Takakusu, "Life of Vasubandhu by Paramartha" (A. D. 499—569). T. oung Pa" (abbrev. TP) 1904, p. 288.

100. Takakusu, "A study of Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date of Vasubandhu" Journal of the Royal Asiatic Societic (abbrev. JRAS) 1905, p. 45.

101. See note 84 above.

102. Bu-ston tr. II. 133; Sumpa I.135 n. 1; Mkhas p.77

103. After Takakusu. "Life", p. 289

104. Levi, Mahayana-sutratmkara, (tr.), Paris 1911, p. 13 L, refers to CG's date as Seventh Century.

105. Sastri, Cat/ VI, Preface p xlix; he refers to the Fifth Century as CG's date

106. For example that of Vopadeva, cited Sastri, Cat. VI.xlviii; of Alberuni's Indla, tr. Sachau, Lahore 1962, I.182.

107. Kielhorn, "Indragomin", pps.181-82

108. Lokenanda p. 204

109. Of notes 41A (Verse 6). 68 above

110. Of Handurukande, pp. 206-7; Sastri VI. li; Vidyabhusana, History of Indian Logic pp.335-36 (the latter wishes to sever CG the logician, from both CG the poet and CG the Grammarian.

PART II

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

BUDDHISM AND JAINISM IN THE EMERGING WORLD CIVILIZATION

Archie J. Bahm

In megalopolitan global society, crises have been accumulating faster than they can be dealt with. Part of the reason is that governing officials, as well as most other persons, give so much attention to short-range and local problems that long-range and world-wide problems continue to be neglected. If over-population and over-rapid consumption of resources trends continue, extinction of mankind is in prospect. The imposition of these trends upon problems of poverty, maldistribution, pollution, rising crime rates, over-kill arms races, and rising expectations from increasing education is producing a "critical mass." Explosion can be expected unless we deliberately change our course in more intelligent directions.

The Emerging World Civilization

Life has become more intricately interdependent and complex. So simpler solutions no longer suffice. Traditional philosophies and religions no longer serve with sufficient adaptability to deal with our explosive problems. What is needed is a quantum leap to a new philosophy adequate to guide the new ways of thinking and behaving needed for solving our problems. As Warren Wager puts it, "The inescapable task before mankind at the present juncture in its history is the formation of a new civilization, constructed from the viable and compatible components of all of its dying local societies, and scaled to the new dimensions" of our global civilization.¹

Not only is a world civilization in fact emerging, but one adequate for organizing human co-operation on a planetary scale able to deal with rapidly increasing complexities is needed for human survival. Facing the question, "What are its significant components?" one naturally asks what role will traditional philosophies have in it. Not only is it too late in history to convert all of mankind to Christianity, or Buddhism, or Jainism, or Hinduisim, or Islam, but also some ancient doctrines in each are actually detrimental so far as helping mankind to survive today.

The critical problems are so complex that a philosophy equally complex is needed to grapple with them. A philosophy centering about the concept of organic growth of mankind presented in *Mankind at the Turning Point*², begins to qualify. Another work, still in preparation *Interexistence, The Positive Option for Mankind*³, stresses interdependence to the point of claiming that people and things exist partly within each other. I hope to contribute a volume *The Philosophers' World Model*, to this series; but much work remains to be done.

It is not my purpose here to explore the philosophy needed to deal effectively with current crises. Instead, I wish to ask what role may be played by Jain and Buddhist ideas in the development of such a philosophy. There is some truth in all philosophies, and the philosophy serving mankind should incorporate all such truths. I have not tried to survey the world's philosophies to select from each those doctrines that seem both true and currently relevant. But in Jainism and Buddhism I find two outstanding candidates: syadvada and what I call "Gotamavada".

Jainism

Syadvada is peculiar to Jainism, so far as I know. To me, it appears to have originated as an intentional contradiction of the principle of four-cornered negation which became central to Buddhist thinking. According to the principle of four-cornered negation, ultimate reality neither is a, nor is non-a, nor is both a and non-a, nor is neither a nor non-a. This is the principle of the negation of all negation.

Syadvada negates this principle. It asserts positively that ultimate reality is a (any definite characteristic), is non-a (has at least one more characteristic from among all of the rest of the definite characteristics), is (therefore) both a and non-a, and is such that there is more to it than can be described) since a and non-a exhaust all definite, i. e., describable, characteristics, there is something more to it, i. e., which is neither a nor non-a, than can be described, hence it may be described as indescribable.⁴

Although syadvada is not a complete logic, so far as I know, it does involve a basic principle that seems to me to be essential to the kind of philosophy needed to account for, and to deal with, the complexities of our emerging world civilization. The two-valued logic developed, for example, in *Principia Mathematica*⁵ presupposes the principle of excluded middle as most basic. x is either a or non-a but not both (because a and non-a are contradictories). The dynamic, dialectical, organic unities inherent in the increasingly intricate interdependent organizations constituting our emerging world require a more dynamic, dialectical organic logic than is presently available. Despite the fact that the two-valued logic employed to program computers used to put men on the moon has immense practical values when used judiciously, it is still not adequate to account for all of the vital developments in human society.⁶

I have begun to develop an organic logic incorporating syadvada principles.⁷ But my work on it is far from complete. I hope to find that Jain logicians have explored organic as well as non-absolutistic applications of syadvada to metaphysical problems.

Buddhism

The name "Buddhism" applies to a whole history of philosophies all attributed directly or indirectly to Sidartha Gotama, Prince of the of the Sakya clan. The variety of claims, some of which are contradictory, attributed to Gotama led me to make my own study of the Pali Pitakas in Rangoon University during 1955-56. My conclusion about the philosophy of Gotama, "Gotamavada," is that it consists in a single psychological principle, which, once we understand it, compels acceptance: Desire for what will not be obtained ends in frustration (*dukkha*). Therefore, to avoid frustration, avoid desiring what will not be obtained. The "four noble truths" are explanatory steps and the "eight-fold path" exemplifies the extensive areas of application of this principle.⁸

Too often interpreters forget that Gotama called his principle "the middle way." It is not merely a way between debauchery and mortification. It is a way between desiring too much and desiring too much stopping of such desiring too much. I cannot here review the dialectical subtleties inherent in applying the principle. But the middle way turns out to be a complete willingness to accept things the way they are or are going to be, including such desires as one has for wanting them to be different.

I do not see how any one who clearly understands Gotamavada can fail to accept it. This does not mean that one immediately achieves nirvana. For to live is to desire, and desire normally becomes desire for more than we will obtain; so normally some frustration is in prospect ("all is suffering"). But once we understand the principle, then we can use it to reduce our suffering, provided we do not want to reduce it more than we can succeed in reducing it.

I recommend Gotamavada as an essential principle for our emerging world civilization. We need a willingness to accept the complexity, the interdependence, the multi-leveled multi-dimensional, as well as multi-cultural intricacies, the rapidly changing and the dialectically

developing organizations and institutions necessary to guide personal and global living if mankind is to escape predicted doomsday. We need a willingness to abandon the obsolete, to adopt what is new when it works better, and to accept personal and groupal responsibilities for collective actions necessary for human survival. The excessive desirousness dealized by many Western philosophies must be moderated. Acquaintance with Gotamavada should prove helpful.

In closing, permit me to put a question that I have already put to persons representative of other religions (e. g., Roman Catholics and the [Protestant] World Council of Churches) If it is too late to convert all mankind to Jainism, or Buddhism, would it not be better to devote some efforts to contributing those elements in each to the emerging world civilization which are significantly relevant than to try to propagate the traditional doctrines of each?

I am no final judge of what will be required for an adequate world philosophy. My present judgments may be wrong. My guess is that Jain ideas of eternal souls, tapas, checking and shedding of bad karmas, Theravada ideas of impermanence and no-soul, and Madhyamika ideas of sunya ("Absolute Nothingness") have little to contribute to the philosophy presently needed for human survival. But I believe that, if Jains and Buddhists become more fully aware of seemingly inexorable trends now threatening us with doomsday, they may succeed in contributing more that is vital to the needed world philosophy than if they persist in promoting orthodoxies that have become obsolete.

(Footnotes)

1. W. Warren Wager, *Building the City of Man*, Grossman Publishers, N. Y., 1971
2. Mihajlo Mesarovic and Eduard Peste, E. P. Dutton, N. Y., 1974
3. Ervin Laszlo, director of a "third generation" Club of Rome project
4. See my "Does Seven-Fold Predication Equal Four-Cornered Negation Reversed?" *Philosophy East and West* Vol. VII, Nos. 3 & 4, October, 1957 & January, 1958, pp. 127—130. My notes, following, all contributed to the Voice of Ahimsa, are relevant: "An Appreciation of Syadvad Logic," Vol. 1, No. 1, January, February, 1951, pp. 15-16. "Jaina Logic and World Peace," Vol. 1, No. 5, September, October, 1951, p. 3. "Jainism and Organicism," Vol. V, No. 8, August, 1955, pp. 235-236. "Philosophies of East-West Culture," Vol. V, No. 9, September 1955 p. 270. "Meanings of Negation," Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1956, pp. 12-13. "Does Seven-Fold Predication Equal Four-Cornered Negation Reversed?" Vol. VIII, No. 11, November 1958, pp. 371—373. "More about Four Cornered Negation," Vol. VIII, No. 12, December 1963, pp. 285—288.
5. By Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell, three volumes, 1910, etc.,
6. See my "Systems Theory; Hocus Pocus or Holistic Science" *General Systems*, Vol. XIV, 1969, pp. 175—177 and, "General Systems Theory as Philosophy," *General Systems Bulletin*, Vol. IV, No. 2, September, 1973,, pp. 4—7
7. See *Polarity, Dialectic, and Organicity*, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Ill., 1970. For applications, see *Metaphysics, An Introduction*, Harper and Row's Barnes and Noble Books, N. Y., 1974.
8. See my *Philosophy of the Buddha*, Harper and Brothers, N. Y., 1958 (the Rider and Co. edition is extremely defective), Collier Books-, N. Y., 1962, and Putnam's Capricorn Books, N. Y., 1969. For a summary and comparison with the traditional Theravada interpretation, see my *The World's Living Religions*, Ch. 5, Dell Publishing Co. N. Y., 1964, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, and Fefter and Simon, London and Amsterdam, 1971 A Hindi translation is being prepared by the Haryana Hindi Granth Akademi, Chandigarh.
9. See "How Can Buddhism Become a Universal Religion" *The Eastern Buddhist*, New Series. Vol. III No. 1, June, 1970, pp. 147—149.

KRIYAVADA AND THE EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL

K. R. Norman

INTRODUCTION

1. The fourteenth chapter of the Uttaraśhyayana-sūtra contains a dialogue between a Brahman purohita and his two sons, who wish to leave home and become (Jain) sramanas. During the conversation the purohita tries to dissuade his sons from their proposed course of action by indicating that their action would be useless and there would be no profit in going forth and adopting the Jain religion because the soul is not eternal¹.

THE BRAHMANICAL VIEW

2. The relevant verse (Utt. 14.18) reads as follows in Charpentier's edition:—

jahā ya aggī araṇī asanto
khīre ghayaṃ tellam ahā tilesu,
em eva, tāyā, sarīraṃbi sattā
saṃmucchaī nāsai nāvaciṭṭhe.

3. Jacobi translates (SBE. 45, p. 64)

“As fire is produced in the Arani-wood, as butter in milk, and oil in sesamum seed, so, my sons, is the soul produced in the body; (all these things) did not exist before, they came into existence, and then they perish; but they are not permanent”. In a footnote to his translation “soul” he states (p. 64 n. 1):—

“Sattā in the original; it is rendered sattva by the commentators. Perhaps sattā is the Prakrit for svātmā; at any rate the context of the next verse proves that the soul is intended”.

4. The text of the verse in the edition which is accompanied by Devendra's commentary differs slightly in the first pāda:—

jahā ya aggī araṇīu santo

The commentary on the verse reads:—

yathaiva asyāvadhāraṇārthatvāt ‘agniḥ’ “araṇīu” ti araṇītaḥ
agnimanthanakāṣṭhāt ‘asan’ avidyamāna eva saṃmūrcchati, yathā kṣīre
ghṛtaṃ tailam atha tileṣu, evam eva he jātāu! śarīre sattvāḥ
“saṃmucchai” ti ‘saṃmūrchanti’ pūrvam asanta evotpadyante. tathā
“nāsai” tti nāśyanti “nāvaciṭṭhamti” na punar avatiṣṭhante śarīra-
nāse tannāśāt, iti sūtrārthah.

5. It appears that Jacobi's translation is based upon the commentary explanation, but it is clear that there are considerable difficulties in this explanation. Although araṇī in Charpentier's edition is not easy to explain, araṇīu in Devendra's lemma and the equivalent araṇītaḥ in the explanation, i.e. a quasi-ablative glossed agnimanthana-kāṣṭhāt, is also inappropriate, since in the context with the locatives khīre and tilesu we should expect another locative. Secondly, the commentator's belief that sattā is the Prakrit equivalent of sattvāḥ leads him to take saṃmuccha

and nasai as plurals, i. e. as the equivalents of sammūrchanti and naśyanti. It is, however possible to overcome the first of these difficulties by dividing Charpentier's text as araṇṇā'santo and assuming that this has replaced the expected Ardha-Māgadhi locative form araṇṇē'santo because of the existence of the word asan in the commentary.

6. A possible solution to the second of these problems can be found if we refer to the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, another old canonical Jain text, where we find a comparable point of view put forward by another non-Jain, a sramana or brahman. The text reads:—

se jahāṇāmae kei purise tilehinto tellaṃ abhinivvaṭṭittā naṃ uvadaṃsejjā ayam, āuso tellaṃ ayam pinnāe, evaṃ eva n' atthi kei purise uvadaṃsettāro āyam, auso, āyā iyaṃ sarīraṃ se ahāṇāmae kei purise araṇṇo agiṃ abhinivvaṭṭittā naṃ uvadaṃsejjā ayam, āuso, araṇṇi ayam aggī, evaṃ eva jāva sarīraṃ, evaṃ asaṃte asaṃvijjamaṇe jesiṃ taṃ asaṃte asaṃvijjamaṇe tesiṃ t.ṃ su-yakkhāyaṃ bhavati, anno bhavati jīvo annaṃ sarīraṃ (II. 1. 96=Suttāgame I, pp. 137-8).

7. Jacobi's translation, which is somewhat condensed, reads as follows (SBE 45, p. 341) :—

“As a man presses oil from the seed of Atasī, and shows the oil and the oil-cake separately, so nobody can show you the soul and the body separately. The same applies also when fire is churned from Arani-wood. Those who believe that there is and exists no soul, speak the truth.”

8. It is clear when we compare this passage with the one quoted earlier from the Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra that there are important differences between the ideas which are expressed in the two. In the Sūtrakṛtāṅga passage the speaker is saying that it is possible to separate oil from oil-seed or make fire from a fire-stick, and show the two separately, but it is not possible to show the soul separate from the body. In the Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra passage, if we follow Jacobi's translation, the speaker is saying that oil is not in the seed, nor fire in the fire-stick, nor the soul in the body. In short the two passages are contradictory.

9. This contradiction can be resolved if we assume that we should not read araṇṇā' santo, as we decided earlier, but araṇṇā santo, and translate “like fire being in the fire-stick, etc.”. It looks very much as though the Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra reading, with a negative asanto' or santo, and Devendra's explanation of this, is in fact passed upon the Sūtrakṛtāṅga passage. The former passage states that the soul is in the body, just as oil is in the seed and fire is in the fire-stick, and if you destroy one you destroy the other with it. In the latter passage it is stated that it is possible to take oil from the seed and make fire with the fire-stick and show them separately, but this cannot be done with the soul and the body.

10. There is nothing strange about the use of the same illustration to serve a different purpose. The same is true of another illustration which occurs in the same passage of Sūtrakṛtāṅga.

se jahāṇāmae kei purise muṇjāo isiyam abhinivvaṭṭittā naṃ uvadaṃsejja ayam, auso, munie iyaṃ isiyam (II-1-16=Suttāgame I, p. 137). Jacobi translates (SBE 45, p. 340)

“As a man draws a fibre from a stalk of Munja grass and shows it, saying ‘Friend, this is the stalk and that is the fibre.’, i. e. it is another illustration of the fact that it is possible to separate the two, but not the soul from the body. The same illustration is found in Buddhist literature:—

se imambhā kāyā aṇṇaṃ kāyaṃ abhinimmināti rūplāṃ manomayaṃ sabbaṃ gapaccaṅgāṃ ahīnindriyaṃ. seyyathāpi, mahārāja, puriso muṇjambhā isikāṃ pavāheyya. tassa evaṃ assa : avāṃ muṇjo ayam isikā, aṇṇo muṇjo aṇṇā isikā, muṇjambhā tv eva isikā pavāhā ti seyyathāpi pi pana, mahārāja, puriso asikkosiyā pavāheyya. ahiṃ karaṇḍā uddhareyya . . . (Dīgha-nikāya I 77=Majjhima-nikāya II 17).

11. Rhys Davids translates this (Dialogues of the Buddha I, pp. 87-8):—

“ He calls up from this body another body, having form, made of mind, having all (his own body's) limbs and parts, not deprived of any organ. Just, O king as if a man were to pull a reed from its sheath. He would know, ‘ This is the reed, this the sheath. The reed is one thing, the sheath another. It is from the sheath that the reed has been drawn forth’. And similarly were he to take a snake out of its slough, or draw a sword from its scabbard. He adds in a foot-note : “ The point is the similarity ”.

12. The same illustration is also found in brahmanical literature, in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa:—

Yatheṣṭikāṃ muñjād vivṛhed evaṃ sarvasmāt pāpmano vyavṛhañ yan māhendram grahaṃ agṛhṇaṃs tatho evaisa etan yeṣṭikā vimuñjā syād evaṃ sarvasmāt pāpmano nirmucyate yan māhendram grahaṃ gṛhṇāti (IV. 3.3.16). Eggeling translates this (S B E 26, p. 338):—

“ The gods plucked him from out of all evil, even as one might pluck a reed from its sheath. And even as the reed becomes leafless, so is he thereby freed from all evil ”.

13. We see, then, the same illustration used for three purposes:—

- (a) The Jain use : to illustrate a contrast, since the body and soul cannot be separated in the same way as the reed can be separated from its sheath.
- (b) The Buddhist use to illustrate similarity, since if a reed is pulled from its sheath, the one exactly fits the other and is a direct replica of it.
- (c) The Brahmanical use : to illustrate separation, since taking a man away from evil is just like taking a reed from its sheath.

14. To return to our discussion of the passages in Uttarādhyayana-sūtra and Sūtrakṛtāṅga, we can see that Devendra, or his predecessors, did not realise that one illustration could be used to illustrate two different ideas, and consequently failed to understand the contrast between the two passages. He did not see that the point of the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra passage was that the fire was in the fire-stick, and so he amended the text to read araṇṇi i. e. a quasi-ablative, because of araṇṇi in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga passage. Because the latter passage had asaṃte, he interpreted the word samto in the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra passage as standing for samto=asamto, which he consequently explained as asan.

15. The third and fourth pādas of Uttarādhyayana-sūtra 14.18 also have a parallel in the doctrine ascribed to the śramaṇas and brahmins in Sūtrakṛtāṅga:—

Uḍḍhaṃ pādatalā ahe kesaggamatthayā tiriyaṃ tayapariyamte jīve esa āyāpajjave kasine esa jīve jīvati esa mae no jīvai, sarīre dharamāṇe dharai viṇaṭṭhaṃmi ya no dharai, eyaṭṭaṃ jiviyam bbavati (II.1.15=Suttagame I, p. 137). Jacobi translates (S B E 45, p. 340):—

“ Upwards from the soles of the feet, downwards from the tips of the hairs on the head, within the skin's surface is (what is called) Soul, or what is the same, the Atman. The whole soul lives ; when this (body) is dead, it does not live. It lasts as long as the body lasts, it does not outlast the destruction (of the body). With it (viz., the body) ends life. ”

16. We can now see how to take the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra verse. Our proposal to read samto for, samto is confirmed by dharai, which is parallel to it in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga passage. We need a locative singular to parallel sarīre dharamāṇe, and it is clear that it must be sammucchāi, which like dharamāṇe is a present participle. Such a locative singular form, derived from the historic form of a present participle in ant, i. e.—ati, is very rare in Middle Indo-Aryan. Pischel (§396) quotes only two such forms, viz., sadī

◀sati and himavai◀ himavati, and it was probably because of the rarity of the ending that the commentator did not recognise it, and hence took it as a finite verb. For sammucch—in the sense of “come into existence, be born” we can compare samseyamti sammucchamti asam vasamti va (Bhagavati-Sutra=Suttageam I, p. 499) and also sam-murchima-manusya. quoted in Doctrine of Karman p. 57.

17. There is now no difficulty in seeing that the last two words in the Uttaradhyayana-utra passage, viz., nāsai nāvacitthe, are parallel in meaning to vinatthāṃmi no dharai in the other passage, and we can therefore deduce that nāsai is another example of the locative singular of a present participle in—ai —ati. We can now translate the whole verse:—

“Just like fire being in a fire-stick, ghee in milk, and like oil in tila—seeds, in just the same way, my children, one’s own soul is in the body while it has form; it would not remain when it (=the body) disappeared.” I follow Jacobi’s suggestion that satta s for svatma for reasons which I shall return to later.

The Jain view

18. To the purohita’s brahmanical view of the soul, his two sons give the Jain view of the soul as a rejoinder. In Charpentier’s edition of Uttarādhyayana—sutra it reads as follows:—

no indiya—ggejjha amuttabhāvā
amuttabhava vi ya hoi nicco.
ajjhatthaheum niyayassa bandho
sam̐saraheum ca vayaṃti bandham (14·19).

Jacobi translates (SBE 45, p. 64):—

“(The soul) cannot be apprehended by the senses, because it possesses no corporeal form, and since it possesses no corporeal form it is eternal. The fetter of the soul has been ascertained to be caused by its bad qualities, and this fetter is called the cause of worldly existence”.

19. The edition with Devendra’s commentary differs from Charpentier’s edition only in pada c where it prints:—

ajjhatthaheum niyaya ‘ssa bandho

instead of Charpentier’s niyayassa. The commentary explains:—

‘no’ naiva indriyagrāhyah sattva iti prakramah, amurttabhāvāt, tatha amurttabhāvad api ca bhavati nityah, tathā hi—yad dravyatve sati amurttam tad nityam ākāśavat. na caivam amurttatvad eva tasya sambandhasambhavaḥ, yataḥ “ajjhatthaheum niyaya ‘ssa bandho” adhyātmasabdena ātmasthā mithyātvādaya ihocyante, tatas taddhetuḥ—tannimitto niyataḥ—niscito bandhaḥ—karmibhiḥ samslesah, yataḥ murtasyāpi nabhaso murtair api ghatadibhiḥ sambandha evam aṣyapi karmabhir murtair api na virudhyate, tatha sam̐sarahetum ca vadanti bandham iti sūtrarthah.

20. We can assume that in the first pāḍa indiyaggejjha is metri causa for—gejjho, to agree with nicco. The subject of the sentence must be the same as in the previous verse, i. e. satta, which there fore proves that satta must be masculine and singular, and most likely stands for svatma. The commentator assumes that the subject is the same, i. e., sattva, but because the verb is singular he decides that the subject too must be singular, . e., sattvah.

21. In the third pada *niyaya* as read by Debendra, must also be masculine, to agree with *bandho*, but there seems to be no reason to read *niyaya* instead, of *niyayo*, since the syllable would be long in any case with *ssa* following it. It would seem that a better division of the words would be *niyay'assa*, i. e., to assume that the final-*o* of *niyayo* has been elided before *assa*. Jacobi, taking *niyayassa* as a genitive singular, translates it as "of the soul", although this meaning does not seem to be attested elsewhere for *niyaya* or *nijaka*, from which he presumably thought *niyaya* was derived. If we follow Devendra's explanation, and assume that *niyaya* 'ssa *bandho* stands for *niyatan* (-niscito) *bandah asya*, we can translate "its binding is fixed, determined, settled." The rest of Jacobi's translation of the third pada seems to be an interpretation rather than a translation since he takes *ajjhatthaheum* as meaning "caused by its bad qualities," which seems to depend on the commentator's explanation: *adhyatmasabdēna atmastha mithyatvadaya ihocyante, tataḥ taddhetuh tannimitto*. Jacobi, however, seems to be translating—heu rather than—heum, i. e. assuming that the word agrees with *bandho*. There seems to be no objection to keeping Charpentier's reading, and taking it as an adverbial accusative. We can therefore translate, "because of the things connected with the soul."

22. All the doctrines in this verse are standard Jain beliefs, and can be paralleled from other Jain texts of all periods. For the sake of convenience I shall refer to the late Apabhraṃsa text *Paramatmaprakasa*, since a reprint of Dr. Upadhye's admirable edition of this text has recently become available, and as Upadhye states (p. 1), "the discussions (contained in *Paramatmaprakasa*) are not at all sectarian: so it is studied by all the Jain monks, though it is more popular with those of the Digambara section."

23. To parallel the first pada of the *Uttaradhyayana-sūtra* we may quote:—

mutti-virahiu cimittu

appa imdiya-visau navi (I. 31)

"The soul is devoid of corporeal state, is pure thought, and does not belong to the field of activity of the senses." The second pada has a parallel in:—

appa davva-sa'ave niccu (I. 56)

"The soul with reference to its nature is eternal."

24. The doctrine outlined in the third pada is explained by R. D. Jain in his translation of *Paramatmaprakasa* (p. 14):

"By coming into contact with the soul, matter produces attributes similar to its own, in the soul, and the manifestation or *raga* and *dvesa* is the result. *Kama*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *mana*, *maya* all other passions and affections arise from *raga* and *dvesa*. *Raga* and *dvesa* are called the *bhava-karmas* (thought-karma). These bonds forged by matter are attracted towards the soul, and go to make its bonds." For a parallel to the last pada we can refer to:

bamdhai bahu-viṭa-kamada jem samsaru bhamei (I. 77)

"It (the soul) binds many different sorts of karma, whereby it wanders in the *samsara*."

The *kriyavada*

25. The Jains were able to talk about the soul being eternal because they were *kriyavadins* promulgating the view that actions had their consequences. The two views, of belief in action and belief in the soul, are stated side by side in an early Jain canonical text, the *Acaranga*:

se aya-vai loga-vai kamma-vai kirya-vai ya (I. 1. 1. 4).

Jacobi translates (SBE 22, p. 2) :—

“ He believes in soul, believes in the world, believes in reward, believes in action ”. In a footnote to his translation “ soul ” he adds (p. 2 n. 1) :—

“ i. e. in a permanent soul, different from the body ”. Belief in the soul is expressed elsewhere in the same text :—

n'eva sayam logam abbhāikkhejjā, n'eva attā ṇam abbhāikkhejjā (I. 1. 3. 2.).

Jacobi translates (p. 5) :—

“ A man should not deny the world, nor should he deny the self ”.

26. It was because of such statements which he found in the old Jain texts that in the succinct account of Jainism, which Jacobi gave in the Introduction to his translations of Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra and Sūtrakṛtāṅga, he stated that the Jains were kriyāvādins (SBE 4, p. xvi). In view of his clear statement to that effect, his subsequent references to the doctrine in the same volume are somewhat surprising. They deserve discussion and correction here because, although they were made many years ago and should by now have long since been corrected and superseded, the amazing thing about Jain studies in the West is that no other complete translation of Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra and Sūtrakṛtāṅga has ever appeared in English, and in fact, as is well known Jacobi's translations have been reprinted in recent years, without any reference whatsoever to the errors in them. Our knowledge of these very important texts is, therefore, still based upon translations which could be considerably improved.

27. In the eighteenth chapter of the Uttarādhyaṇa-sutra we find :—

kiriyaṃ akiriyaṃ viṇayaṃ annā ṇaṃ ca, mahāmuni,
cehiṃ cauhiṃ thā ṇehiṃ meyanne kiṃ pabhāsai (18.23).

Jacobi translates (SBE 45, p. 83) :—

“ O great sage, the man of limited knowledge talks foolishly on these four heads, viz., the existence of the soul, its non-existence, idolatry, and the inefficiency of knowledge ”. He adds in a footnote (p. 83 n. 2) :—

“ The commentators explain kriyāvādinah ‘ Those who believe the soul or ātman to be characterised by the verb to be (i. e., by a permanent and unchangeable existence), and ascribe to it such qualities as ubiquity or non-ubiquity ’. This they treat as heresy ”.

28. In the same chapter we find :—

kiriyaṃ ca royai dhīre; akiriyaṃ parivajjāe (18.33).

Jacobi translates (pp. 84—5) :—

“ A wise man believes in the existence of the soul, he avoids the heresy of the non-existence of the soul ”. He adds in a footnote (p. 84 n. 4) :—

“ The Jainas do not deny the existence of the soul, but the unalterable character of the soul. Hence they object to the kriyāvāda ”. It is quite clear that Jacobi has fallen into a major error here, because of his habit of translating kiriya as “ the existence of the soul ”. Whatever the precise nature was of the soul which the Jains believed in, it makes no sense whatsoever to say that the Jains object to the kriyavada, when kiriyaṃ ca royai dhīre can mean only “ and a wise man approves of the kriyāvāda. ”

29. Not only did Jacobi's misleading translation of *kiriya* lead him to make incorrect statements of this kind, but it also confused him as to the difference between *kiriya* and *akiriya*. In the tenth chapter of the first section of *Sutrākṛtāṅga*, for example, we find:—

je kei logaṃmi u akiriyaāyā³

anneṇa puṭṭhā dhuvam ādisamti (I. 10. 16).

Jacobi translates (S. B. E. 45, p. 308):—

"Questioned by somebody who maintains the unchangeable character of the soul, he should expound the true (doctrine)." He adds in a footnote (p. 308 n.):—

"akiriyaāyā = akriyātmān."

30. The commentary explains:—

'je kei' ityādi, ye kecana asmin loke akriya ātmā yeṣāṃ abhyupagame te' kriyātmānaḥ—Sāñ khyāḥ, teṣāṃ hi sarvavyāpītvād ātmā niṣkriyāḥ paṭhyate, tathā cōktam—'akertā nirguṇo bho ktā, ātmā Kapiladarśane' iti, tu-śabdo viśeṣaṇe, sa caitad viśiṇaṣṭi—amūrttatva-vyāpītvābhyām ātmano 'kriyatvam eva budhyate, te ckāriyātmavādinō' nyenākriyatve sati bandhamoḥsau na ghaṭete ity abhiprāyavatā mokṣasadbhāvaṃ pṛṣṭāḥ santo 'kr'yāvādadarśane' pi 'dhūtaṃ' mokṣam tadabhāvaṃ (ca) 'ādisamti'—pratipādayanti.

31. It is quite clear that Jacobi has completely misunderstood these two padas, and has failed to take *akiriyaāyā* as the subject and has translated *ādisamti* as though it were a singular optative. Since we are dealing with a heretical (non-Jain) view, *dhuvam* is not likely to mean "the true (doctrine)". As the Buddhists were included by the Jains among the *akriyāvādins* (see Jacobi's note on *Uttarādhyaṇa*—sūtra 18:23 (SBE 45, p. 83 n. 2), and since the Buddhist used *dhuvā* as an epithet of *nirvāṇa* (see the Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary, s. v. *dhuvā*), these pādas probably mean:—

"Questioned by another, the *akriyātmans* teach the constant thing (= *nirvāṇa*)."

32. Because he has failed to understand the first two pādas of the verse, Jacobi accordingly fails to understand the connection with the last two pādas:—

āraṃbhasattā gadhiya yā loe

dhammam na jāṇamti vimokkhaheum (I. 10. 16).

He translates (pp. 308-9):—

"Those who engage in works and are held in world in worldly bondage, do not know the Law which leads to Liberation." The commentary explains:—

te tu pacanapācanādike snānārtham jalāvagāhararūpe vā 'āraṃbhe'—sāvadye 'saktāḥ'—adhyupapannā grādhās tu loke mokṣaikahetubhūtaṃ 'dhammam'—śrutacāritrā khyam 'na jānanti'—kumārgagrāhiṇo na samyag avagacchantiti.

33. It is clear that the last two pādas of the verse refer to the same subject, viz. the heretics, as the first two pādas, and we must accordingly translate:—

"They (the *akriyatmans*) being attached to (harmful) undertakings, and enmeshed in the world, do not know the doctrine, the cause of release."

34. The twelfth chapter of the first section of *Sutrākṛtāṅga* is devoted to a discussion of the same four doctrines as were dealt with in *Uttarādhyaṇa*—sūtra 18:23:—

kiriyaṃ akiriyaṃ viṇayaṃ ti taiyaṃ

annānaṃ āhamsu cauṭṭham eva (I. 12. 1).

Later in the same chapter we find:—

dukkham ca jo jānai nijjaram ca
so bhasium arihai kiriyavayam (I. 12. 21).

Jacobi translates (SBE 45, p. 319):—

“He who knows misery and its annihilation, he is entitled to expound the kriyāvāda.”
He adds in a footnote (p. 319 n. 2):—

“It is evident that the Jainas considered themselves kriyāvūdis. I had overlooked this passage when penning the note on p. 83.” One might have thought that so important a correction might have been added to the note on p. 83, or at least placed with the other correction on p. 451.

35. The inadequacies of Jacobi's translations are not confined to passages discussing the kriyavada and the existence of the soul. We may refer to a verse which follows on after the statement of the Jain belief about the soul in the fourteenth chapter of the Uttarādhyapana-sūtra;—

jahā vyaṃ dhamman ajānaṃ ānā
Pāvaṃ purā kammaṃ akāsi mohā
orubhamānā parirakkhiyaṃtā
tāṃ n'eva bhujjovi samāyārāmo (14.20).

Jacobi translates (SBE 45, p. 64):—

“Thus being ignorant of the Law, we formerly did sinful actions, and through our wrong-mindedness we were kept back and retained (from entering the order). We shall not act again in the same way.” The commentator explains:—

yathā vyaṃ ‘dakmaṃ’ samyagdarsanādikanajānānāh ‘pāpaṃ’ pāpahetuṃ ‘purā’ pūrvam
‘karma’ anuṣṭhanaṃ ‘akāsi’ tti‘akārṣma’ kṛtavantah ‘mohāt’ ajñonah ‘avarudhyamanah’ nirgamam
grhād alabhamānāh ‘parirakṣyamanah’ anujivibhir anupalyamanāh ‘tat’ papakarṇa naiva ‘bhuyo
‘pi’ punar api samācarāmah, yathāvad viditavastutvād iti sūtrārthah.

36. A comparison with the Pāli Hatthipāla jātika (Jātaka No. 509) shows us the correct way to take this verse:—

ayaṃ pure luddam akāsi kammaṃ
svāyaṃ gahīto, na hi mokkh ito me
orundhiyā uṃ parirakkhissāmi
māyaṃ puna luddam akāsi kammaṃ (J IV 480).

We can see that pāda b of the Uttarādhyapana-sutra version has been incorporated into a verse with a plural subject, although it originally referred to a singular subject. This explains why the commentator has to explain akāsi as a plural verb. We can also see that orubhamāna and parirakkhiyaṃtā do not refer to the past, as Jacobi takes them, but to the future. We may therefore translate:—

“As formerly we did evil because of our delusion, not knowing the doctrine; being restrained and guarded we shall not do it again.”

Conclusion

37. It is noteworthy that in the incorrectly translated passages which I have discussed, and there are many more which could be mentioned, Charpentier makes no attempt to correct Jacobi. In fact, he inserts a note (p. 344 of his edition) drawing attention to Jacobi's note on p. 84 of SBE 45 (which, as I have pointed out, Jacobi himself corrects on p. 319) stating that the Jainas object to the kriyāvāda. It is one of the purposes of this paper to point out that progress in the study of Jainism can only be made if it is based upon accurate translations of Jain texts

and accurate descriptions of Jain beliefs. It is very clear that we do not as yet have sufficient of the former and I would end with a plea for a careful re-assessment of the source materials for our knowledge of Jainism, and for a planned programme of new editions and translations of Jain texts.

NOTES

1. I read through the relevant portions of the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra in Cambridge during the Ester Term, 1974 with Dr. R. F. Gombrich of the University of Oxford. The remarks I make here are the result of the discussions we had together, and reflect my thoughts on the subject, as influenced by Dr. Gombrich's comments upon them. I am entirely responsible for their present form.

2. Sacred Books of the East, Volumes XXII and XLV were reprinted in India in 1964.

3. The metre shows that *akiriyaāyā* should rather be read as *akiriyāyā*, and scanned as *akriyāyā*,

4. There are many points of similarity between this Jātaka and the fourteenth chapter of the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra. They have been discussed by—J. Charpentier, "Studien ueber die indische Erzählungsliteratur" ZDMG LXII (1908), pp. 725—47.

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Buddhist Philosophy of Language and its Doctrine of Apoha

G. Misra

Buddhist Logic is a vast literature and so also the number of Buddhist Logicians. In this paper my purpose is to show what kind of Logic it is the Buddhist logicians were interested in. In talking about Buddhist logicians I shall be concerned mainly with such authors as Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Dharmottara, Shantaraksita and Kamalasila. In this paper my aim is to show that these logicians were not interested in developing any system of Logic strictly on formal lines. They were not interested in exhibiting the rules of different inferential patterns. They were Logicians in the sense in which the contemporary logical analysts are Logicians. But even here their field was quite specific and delimited. They were not concerned with piecemeal analysis of concepts for exhibiting their logical behaviour and clearing away the misunderstanding that might arise from the violation of the rules of their use. They were a kind of descriptive metaphysicians and were busy in exhibiting the structural differences and their mutual relations in the different areas of our language. They were pursuing a kind of depth grammar and not surface grammar. They were engaged in exhibiting pervasive features of the underlying linguistic structure.

In *Pramana Samuccaya*, Dignaga definitelystates that Logic is a separate discipline having no metaphysical axes to grind. Logic cannot afford to take sides either with the realists or with the idealists; it cannot take sides either with the subjectivists or the not-subjectivists. Whatever may be the metaphysical presupposition of a school, it must admit that judgements are the elements of our knowledge. The analysis of judgements, therefore, can be pursued purely objectively without committing either to this or to that metaphysical view. Logic, therefore, has an independent subject matter of its own. It has its own independent kingdom where its own laws reign supreme. It is not subordinate to any metaphysical domination nor does it tolerate any metaphysical interference. Keeping this end in view he takes care to define sense-perception in such a manner that the definition will be acceptable both to the realists as well as to the idealists. Sense-perception is defined neither in terms of the internal nor in terms of the external. It can never be wrong and for that matter it cannot be regarded as right. To talk in this context of illusiveness is nonsignificant. For that reason to talk of it as non-illusive is equally meaningless. It is defined only in terms of its contrast from the judgemental knowledge, which can be significantly called right and for that reason can significantly be called wrong. Since the sense-perception is neither right nor wrong it is not constructive and thought-dependent, whereas judgemental knowledge which can be both right and wrong is constructed and thought-dependent. This definition of sense-perception is equally acceptable to both the realist as well as to the idealist and is therefore, metaphysically non-committal. It does not take issues with the question as to whether the objects of sense-perception are internal or external. This definition also serves a further significant purpose or demarcating judgements from sense-perception. A judgement is that which can be both right as well as wrong. Here again the Buddhist Logician is careful to avoid such terms as true or false which may involve metaphysical issues. Since knowledge is the condition of right action, the rightness or wrongness of knowledge is defined in terms of suc-

cess or failure in action. Arthakriyakaritva or capacity for successful action is the mark of right knowledge. In this respect, the Buddhist is out and out a pragmatist.

Having given a definition by which judgements can be marked off, the Buddhist Logician then proceeds to analyse the judgement itself. According to Buddhist Logicians, every cognitively significant judgement contains two parts, a referring and a descriptive one. The purest instance of referring words is 'this' or 'it'. According to the Buddhist Logician the function of a referring word can be understood only by contrast from the function of the descriptive words. The function of the referring word is just to refer and do nothing else. With regard to referring word neither negation nor, for that matter, affirmation is significant. It makes no sense to say that "this is not". Since "this is not" is not significant, "this is" is redundant and therefore non-significant. To use the word "this is" to have achieved a referent. The referent here is the bare logical referent. The referent is always an existent thing. It is a bhava vastu. Since it does not carry the supposition of its negation it is a svalaksana. As a bare logical referent it is a bare particular, devoid of all characters. Stcherbatsky and all subsequent writer's in Indian Philosophy have translated the svalaksana as the point-instant. The word 'point-instant' is misleading. In fact Stcherbatsky himself has been misled in talking of it as existing in one moment of time and then disappearing, giving rise to a subsequent svalaksana. Since the svalaksanas are constantly changing reality is regarded as constant flux, but the Buddhist Logicians have clearly stated that the svalaksana has no spatio-temporal determination at all. Spatio-temporal determinations are the work of the intellect and go along with the names and imaginations. The logician is concerned only with logical referent, the bare particular. A logical referent is neither in space nor in time. The change and flux of which the logician is talking here is logical change and logical flux, not temporal change and temporal flux. The word 'this' in its referring role may refer differently on different occasions of speech. Its referents go on changing in different linguistic situations in which the judgement is formed. The change that is talked of here emphasizes the capacity of the referring word to refer to different referents on different occasions of its use. It does not speak anything whether the svalaksanas are constantly changing in a temporal series. Whether the ultimate reality is an eternal being or a constant flux, language will have its use, communication will be carried on. The logician will survey and point out different functions of different types of expressions, their differing rules and their mutual contrast. Any change in the metaphysical domain will not throw the logician out of employment, since his occupation has absolutely no point of contact with the metaphysical domain. That Stcherbatsky has been misled by his own rendering of the term svalaksana into point-instants becomes clear when he talks of Pratitya Samutpada in the context of svalaksanas. According to him the svalaksanas are characterized by causal efficiency and that a subsequent svalaksana is causal efficiency and that a subsequent svalaksana is causally dependent upon, though not produced by, a preceding svalaksana. But since the svalaksana of Buddhist logicians is a bare particular, a pure logical point, nothing positive can be said about it except showing their contrast from thought constructions or the universals. The Buddhist Logicians have clearly and outrightly disclaimed this by pointing out that the law of causal dependence (this being, that arises) is applicable only to the sphere of the temporal. It is only in the empirical level that we speak of causation. According to Buddhist Logicians, this causation is not a necessary connection but a mere regularity of succession. The later Buddhist philosophers who did not want to bring metaphysics into logic disclaim any metaphysical significance of the theory of dependent origination even though it was preached by Buddha himself. According to these logicians Buddha talked of Pratitya Samutpada only for the mediocres. In the realm of logic, where time is no consideration at all, there is no scope for talking about actual causation. The logician talks of causation only as concept and tries to unravel its logical behaviour. In discourse, causation, production and dependence, belong, therefore, to the descriptive part and have no place in the referring part. While we

are discussing the function of referring words we cannot raise discussion about what belongs to descriptive part of language since the two are distinguished by contrast. The sentence "this being that arises" may be both affirmed and denied in different contexts. This being that may not arise. If the rise of that can be significantly affirmed in the context of this, that can also be significantly denied in the context of this. A causal statement may be either true or false and whatever can both be and not be, belongs to the work of intellect, the descriptive part of language. It cannot belong to the svalaksana which is discussed in the context of referring part of language. It is in this sense that svalaksana is bereft of any causality, not in any metaphysical sense. Causality belongs to the world of relative only in the sense that any causal statement can both be affirmed and denied without contradiction and that is the mark of descriptive language.

Now, we come to the logicians, exploration of the descriptive part of language. Let us take a word like 'cow'. The two statements "this is a cow" and "this is not a cow" are equally significant. The word 'cow' can both be significantly affirmed and denied. This characteristic of descriptive words makes them relative. They are both positive and negative. Their affirmation and negation are both significant. They are not-self-contained and therefore are not svalaksana. Here we come to the Buddhist theory of Apoha. The theory of Apoha has been translated by one and all as the doctrine of nominalism. But this seems to me to be an obvious mistake. The Buddhist in advocating the doctrine of Apoha is denouncing alike the doctrines of realism, conceptualism and nominalism. This is the problem of universal which the Buddhist logician is trying to solve in definite terms. According to the Buddhist logician there are five types of universals. Descriptive words signify either a substance, an attribute, or an action, a name, or a class. (Dravya, Guna, Karma, nāma, Jāti). All these five kinds of expressions belong to the descriptive parts of language. All of them are relative. Their affirmation and denial are both significant. They do not stand for any universal in the world. Contrast is the basis of their application. Unlike the words like 'this' or 'it' they do not name entities. They are not names of either mental or non-mental entities. The condition of the application of the word "cow" is not any similarity or identity present in the different individual cows brought under the class cow. The class word 'cow' does not denote any similarity. The different individual cows are absolutely dissimilar. This group of dissimilar individuals are brought under the class 'cow' by reason of their contrast from all those which are called non-cows. As absolutely dissimilar individuals, viz., horses, goats and buffaloes can be brought under the class 'non-cow', so also the absolutely dissimilar individuals called 'cow' are brought under one class. The absolutely dissimilar individuals are brought under a class by reason of our overlooking the differences (bhedāgrahāṭ) among them. According to the Buddhist logician, Sārupya or similarity does not signify any common bond or identity in the world. They were not prepared even to admit any loose similarity or family resemblance in the Wittgensteinian sense. This is another instance of their anxiety to keep logic absolutely independent of any metaphysical implication. Analysis of language should be strictly confined to language itself and can be conducted without referring to the non-linguistic. But even though the Buddhist logician avoids strictly any realistic account of the universal, he does not for that reason embrace either nominalism or conceptualism. For him, meaning of a word is not something over and above a word, as the body of a statue is not something over and above the statue itself. As the body of the statue is not another entity, so also the meaning of a word is not something different from the word. The word is not a mere noise nor is it a mental concept in addition to it. The Buddhist logician repeatedly points out that words are inseparable from meaning and so also meaning is inseparable from words. According to him Sabdāḥ Vikalpa yonayah, vikalpah sabda-yonayah. This formulation of the word 'meaning' makes meaning non-different from words on account of their common difference from meaningless words like 'God' and 'soul' which (latter words) are mere noises according to them. These words have no meaning because they cannot be combined with any referring words, in the

form of the sentence, "this is God". By saying that Vikalpa or meaning is not something other than the word, the logician is steering clear of conceptualism and by saying Sabdāḥ vikalpa yonayah, (the words derive their existence from meaning) he is also steering clear of nominalism. Meanings are derived from their use and contrast is the basis of this use. The same word 'cow' would not be applicable to a group of dissimilar individuals unless we intended to discriminate these individuals from those called non-cows and unless we decided to overlook their differences. Differentiation and assimilation is the basis of a class-word getting a foothold in our language structure. Both these differentiation and assimilation are related to human purpose. Arthakriyākāritva or successful action is the mark of right use of language. Language is conventional, it is coeternal with human life and the mark of success of language in its capacity to enter into forms of human living. In this respect, the Buddhist logician is a Wittgensteinian, but his radicalism goes far beyond Wittgenstein's. As an anti-metaphysician in his logical operation, he makes differentiation the basis of all meaningful employment of language. But he makes this differentiation far more radical in as much as he applies it systematically to the entire sphere of language. Referring words are marked off on account of their contrast from the general words and the general words are marked off on account of their contrast from the referring words. Any affirmative significant proposition implies the significance of its corresponding negative one. Class-words derive their significance by discriminating. Difference is the basis of unification. Even an erroneous judgement like 'this is silver' is possible because of silver and nacre being discriminated from non-glittering things. And erroneous judgement can be corrected by further discrimination of the brightness of nacre from that of silver. It is contrast which is the basis of both the erroneous and correcting judgements. The theory that contrast is the basis of all linguistic use is called by them 'the Apoha vāda'. The meaning of the root 'Uha' in the word Apoha is vitarka or supposition of the other. So apoha means anything necessarily implying its other. It simply means difference is the basis of meaning. So the Apoha theory is not a theory of nominalism nor is confined only to use of general words. It is a theory which propounds difference as the basis of all linguistic use. It is a philosophy of language as a whole and not simply of any of its parts.

According to Buddhist Logician, an ordinary proper name is a class-word and even here difference is the basis of identification, which identification again is based upon overlooking our differences among the absolutely dissimilar phases in the life history of an individual. In his anxiety to avoid any seeming reference to the non-linguistic, the Buddhist logician picks out proper names which are not used to refer to persons. Instead of the name 'Devadatta' which is frequently used by Indian Logicians, he invents a name Dittha for the purpose. The use of the word Devadatta in the context of logical analysis may create the impression that the logician is talking about the persons in the world. The Buddhist Logicians' Dittha is similar to Quine's Pegasus, who is as much interested as the Buddhist logician, to show that ordinary proper names belong to descriptive part of language.

We can now explain the Buddhist doctrine of exclusion of others and overlooking the difference among dissimilar as a function of class words among our language structure. Let us consider the meaning of the sentence "wait a little outside". I can use such a sentence when a man enters into my room when I am doing some confidential work. But what does this statement mean? By saying that you should wait a little outside I have meant that he should not run away, nor should he stand inside the room, nor to engage in hot debates with others or sing songs by which I will be disturbed. These are surely the negative implications of the meaning of the statement in the context. And these are very dissimilar things from one another. So, exclusion of the dissimilar is surely according to the Buddhist logicians is a part of the function of the expression in the context of the mode of life in which they are used. But this according to him, is not all that is to be said here. One may ask whether the

expression has no positive meaning apart from the negation or exclusion. When I have asked a man to wait a little outside, I have not simply asked him what he should not do. But I have also asked him what he should do, namely that he should wait. But the Buddhist logician does not agree with this contention. According to him, the man has not been told positively as to exactly at what point in the corridor he should wait. How long he should wait there. Whether he should lean against the wall or stand erect. He may do any of these things in any manner he likes and yet he may wait outside all the same. So sentences used in different contexts, do perform their duties perfectly well both by excluding others and overlooking differences among dissimilars. They serve their purpose in assisting in the transaction of the life's business rather than stating anything definitely about reality. Language according to them has been devised not to depict or to reveal the nature of reality but to assist in the practical conduct of life. Discourse is not meant to report about the ultimate nature of reality but to make human life and its actions useful and fruitful. Metaphysician's endeavour to find out the nature of reality as such by analysing the forms of speech and their meaning is a misguided enterprise. According to these logicians, Buddha's silence over the ultimate questions of life and reality was not a mark of his failure but a mark of his rejection of these questions as non-sensical.

Now the question may be asked how metaphysics of the picture of the supernatural, the mystical and the transcendental world came in if we credit descriptive words in our language with definite positive meaning. If the word 'cow' does not signify anything positive one would not know how to use it. To the second question, the Buddhist answer is that we are able to apply a class word to different members of a class just because we overlook the difference. If we insist on knowing all the particulars, all the definite conditions, in order that a general word can be applied a complete list of these conditions can never be given and language can never be capable of being used. The different things that can be called cows have no one thing or a group of thing common in them all. I require a cow for domestic milk supply, and if I insist that the exact quantity and consistency of milk, the exact period to the minutes details of days, hours and minutes for which the cow has to give milk etc., must be clearly stated in the meaning of the cow, have never succeeded in acquiring one. So it is possible to use language and use successfully just because our expressions do not have exact meaning. If descriptive expressions in our language were straight jackets, they would not fit to anybody at all. The purpose of language is not to reveal the form of the body but to cover its irregularity and to give it warmth and to protect it from heat and cold.

To the first question the Buddhists' answer is as follows. Suppose all cows have a common essence which the word cow signifies and similarly, with regard to goats, horses, snakes, birds, rabbits etc. But all of them come under the larger class animals or living things. Therefore, these class essences will merge in the class essence of the higher class and ultimately all of them will merge in the class essence of the highest class, which alone will be said to be ultimately real. So the idea of ultimate reality is bound up with the idea of positive meaning of descriptive and class words. Thus the road to metaphysics, the transcendent and the mystical, opens wide. with the wrong assumption that words in our language have definite meaning and once the people gaze at the universal and search for the transcendent and the mystical they will be completely indifferent to realities of life, its difficulties and sufferings. This is the state of affairs which Buddha found in his contemporary world by his doctrine Nairatmy Vāda. He only preached, that words phrases and sentences do not mean anything definite and positive Vāda. The doctrine of the positive meaning of words creates a negative attitude towards life and lures man towards the myth of the transcendental world. Buddha wanted man to be more human and take interest in human affairs rather than wasting his time over speculation about a transcendent, a world beyond.



JAINISM : A SPIRITUAL MELIORISM

M. G. Dhadphale

To begin at once and to be precise it is my view that the Jain World-view (*Weltanschauung*) can be best styled as a Spiritual Meliorism. Meliorism (fr. L. *melior* better+ism) is a doctrine of progress and perfection through sustained human efforts. As a world-view it steers clear between the extremities of Pessimism and Optimism which, if interpreted in the light of their etymologies, imply that the world is the worst of all possible worlds and is the best of all possible worlds respectively. As an intermediate doctrine Meliorism believes that the world can be made better by rightly-directed human endeavour.

It is not necessary to discuss here the unreasoned (or popular) and instinctive versions of Pessimism and Optimism. The philosophic and the reasoned doctrines should only engage our attention. Central to all the three world-views, viz. Pessimism, Optimism and Meliorism is the problem of evil. Pessimism considers the world and existence as essentially evil; the modified version limits itself to speak only of the preponderance of Evil over Good. Optimism on the other hand contends that the world and the existence are essentially good, that the Good at any rate is preponderant and the Evil is either illusory or is only to be viewed as a partial good. Empirical studies launch to draw out catalogues of Good and Evil in the world. It is clear that whatever the result—if at all obtainable any time – be the Jainism is bound to receive it with its characteristic smile of *Syādvāda*. Take the instance of thorns which may make a person bleed and which may also form a food for camels. Now, whether they are to be counted as unpleasant and listed as evil or to be counted as pleasant and listed as good depends on who experiences them and under what condition. By their nature they are neither good nor evil. And the world, it must be remembered, does not comprise exclusively either, men or camels but consists of a vast variety of beings of varied faculties (*ekendriya*, *dvīndriya*, etc.). Thus, according to *Syādvāda* a thing may be pleasant, may not be so, may be both and so on. The *Syādvāda* thus shows how futile it is to expect any 'hedonistic Calculus' or a balance sheet of pains and pleasures. No mathematical estimation of worldly experiences is possible.

James Sully (*Pessimism: A History and Criticism*. London 1877. P. 5) chooses to accept any theory as Optimistic if it 'distinctly attributes to the world and to human life decided worth representing it as something good, beautiful or pleasant, the opposite of this will naturally form the pessimistic doctrine'. In the light of this generous interpretation it is really painful to find that scholars like Mackenzie and Mrs. Stevenson should find it so difficult to speak about Jainism in terms of Optimistic doctrine. Mackenzie feels (p. 111) that though Jainism is zealous in recommending the preservation of life it takes no account of the quality of life which is to be preserved. This remark is unfortunate for the fact is that Jainism has spoken about the quality of life. In fact it should have been obvious that if it recommends the preservation of life it is precisely because life is considered as valuable and as worthy to be lived. Jainism also speaks of the grades of life and their varied capacities. The only thing that might be appearing strange to such critics is that it does not denounce certain lives as lower in the sense that they can be killed in the interest of the higher grades. Jainism respects

life as such and not this or that particular life. In fact it thinks it to be very presumptuous to sit in judgement over the worth of lives of the so-called lower-forms and to attribute them the only purpose of being useful for the higher forms. The souls, according to Jainism pass through many a vicissitude and at every stage of their migration they have an opportunity to progress further in the ultimate direction. And if any one wants to know the ultimate direction or the highest value that Jainism has set on life it is the infinite consciousness, power and absolute bliss that every soul is said to be capable of attaining to.

Happiness, according to Jainism, is not accidental in life, it is the very nature of self in its purest, untainted state, the nature which of course it has to realise. Perfection consists in reaching this state. The goal of human life is to realise (i. e., to effect) this eternal blissful state of its own. This state is obtainable by various efforts positive and preventive. Jainism looks towards various beings in their developed and undeveloped stages as the 'would-be Siddhas'. Hopefully does it deem all beings as bhavyas or 'liberables'. Jainism thus upholds a lofty ideal, proclaims a faith in its realisation and points out the specific way by which this ideal can be achieved. It thus allows no room for gloom or despair. Perhaps the only point about which people may grumble is that it insists on a strenuous discipline. This contention can at once be admitted but it cannot certainly form a philosophical objection. Jainism is thoroughly realistic and therefore realistically rigorous. It does not consider evil or sin as merely mental or illusory. It is considered as very much real; invisible but material. A mere intellectual realisation of it will not destroy it. It needs to be washed out and this requires a lot of patience and a stern rigorism. It is therefore that Jainism tries to evoke spiritual enthusiasm by placing before the world the glorious instances of Siddhas, Arhats and Sādhus. These persons exemplify what a man can make of himself with his own efforts and without seeking from any one any sort of grace. The human species is itself a very developed species. It is endowed with five senses with the aid of which it can always make knowledge, liberation and bliss possible objectives. The socio-economical ideal of Kautilya namely *kṣayāt sthānam, sthānāt vṛddhiṃ ca apekṣeta* (*Arthaśāstra*) has a spiritual counterpart in Jainism. We ask about the world and the life. But what the world is, is only what we have made it for ourselves. If it is evil or painful we will have to turn it into good; if it is not sufficiently good we can always make it better for ourselves. This peculiar belief in the betterment of the world and the emphasis on human efforts make Jainism a distinct Melioristic Faith. It affirms not merely our power of lessening evil but also our ability to increase the amount of positive good. It gives us a practical creed sufficient to inspire ardent and prolonged spiritual endeavour.

The Karmaic Trial

The Jain doctrine of karman is quite well-known and needs no special statement. Karman is a subtle matter and the matter is evil. The question will naturally be asked how is it that a doctrine which asserts the independent reality of matter can absolve itself of being pessimistic. Moreover, if this matter is evil, how can the beings likely to be affected by it, be happy? This to some extent is a Sāṃkhya-like position. The solution also to that extent is Sāṃkhya-like. Even when the *puruṣa* is liberated the *Prakṛti* does not vanish; it only ceases to affect the *puruṣa*. The position of the soul in Jainism is also much the same. The matter continues to be there but it ceases to assail the liberated soul. In fact a little more thinking will reveal that strictly speaking it is not also correct to say that according to Jainism the matter is essentially evil. What is evil is the karmaic matter and the matter flows in the soul not because of itself but because the soul contains *kaṣāyas* which can be dried by *nirjarā*. When the *kaṣāyas* are dried there is no possibility of the matter flowing in. It is, therefore, that the soul is expected to be devoid of *kaṣāyas*. All this only means that the Jain philosophy regards evil as due to privation

or defect. Soul according to Jainism is naturally blissful and when it is not so it is due to defect in the form of the ingression of karmic matter. So evil according to Jainism is non-being but not non-existent. When we say that evil is or exists the predicate does not signify being but existence as in the case 'A is deaf'. We expect souls to be naturally blissful and endowed with knowledge and power. When they lack these qualities in whatever degree there is evil. Evil does not consist in simple negation; an ekendriya is not evil because it does not have two or more indriyas for these are not the integral part of his nature. For the same reason moral evil or sin can be expected only in the case of those who have developed intellect (discrimination).

It is again erroneous to suppose that Jainism thinks of karman more in physical terms than in mental (volitional). It is to be remembered that yoga comprises all the three activities mental, vocal and physical and each of these acts has its actual effect. Because an act is mental it does not cease to be an act and being an act it has to have its actual effect or karman. Just as Jainism considers karman as material it considers a mental act also as material but this should not be construed to mean that it gives more prominence to external act. This will be a serious misrepresentation of the meaning of kāyadaṇḍa. But such a misunderstanding is clearly perceivable in the Upāli-sutta from the Majjhimanikāya. It should also be pointed out that, the specific term daṇḍa which has been used and said to have been customary in Nigaṇṭha circles instead of the bare term karman, is a very happy and precise term. It is of course true that the Jain canon has used both the terms karman and daṇḍa (vide, Jacobi, Jain Sutras, Vol. 45a in the context of 'act' with little semantic differentiation between them. It will yet be very convenient if we could invest these words with special senses and reserve daṇḍa for 'sinful act and karman for act where no moral judgement is involved. Daṇḍa is at once a mark and punishment for evil deeds. Only a superficial intentionalism will insist that since only the volition behind the act entails karman it is wrong to give prominence to kāyadaṇḍa. The point of the Nigaṇṭhas which is either misunderstood or misrepresented must have been that it is not proper to distinguish between the three karmans—physical, vocal and mental and to point out any one of them as being most heinous since all of them being karmans are equally efficient and there is thus no reason why the kāyadaṇḍa should be lowered in comparison with the other two. It should be noted that in answering the further questions of Gotama the Nigaṇṭha did accept the volition is efficient in bringing about karman. By admitting volition as being responsible in effecting karman the Nigaṇṭha did not any way feel that he was contradicting his own statement.

Before proceeding further it will be useful to summarise the points that emerge from the foregoing discussion:—

- (a) Jainism gives to matter a reality independent of and co-eternal with jivas.
- (b) The karman is evil and is of the nature of subtle matter.
- (c) All matter is not evil. A pollen of kāśa flower by itself is not evil. It exists as evil only when it finds its way into eyes.
- (d) It is only the yogic modification of karman that is evil.
- (e) This evil can be warded off by saṁvara and cleared off by nirjarā.
- (f) The evil is practically a non-being from the point of view of the liberated souls but not non-existent from the point of view of those who are not yet liberated.

But even granting all the above conclusions one may still feel like asking about the cause of the 'ingression of karman' (āsrava). That karman flows into the soul because of the

kāṣayas can be the only answer; as to why kaṣāyas should be there at all is at least not intended to be answered in Jainism. This perhaps is an atiprasna and hence the philosophic pause. Christianity has postulated 'original sin'; the Vedānta speaks of anādyavidyā and the Buddhism of anamatagga saṃsāra. Schopenhuer maintains the 'blind will'. The Sāmkhyas, though they speak of Prakṛti as 'blind' in illustrative talks do not consider it in principle as so blind. Jainism also speaks of the beginninglessness of saṃsāra and the principle of avidyā is also not totally repudiated. The absence of samyak jñāna and darśana corresponds in some measure, to Avidyā and the 'original sin'. The saṃsāra being considered as anādi Jainism did not feel obliged to give the 'very beginning' of the sad play. At some places (vide Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra. iii. 6. comm.) 'primeval disposition' or lokasthiti is spoken of as the cause of the material world. All this, though not quite satisfactory will have to be accepted for the other schools of philosophy are no way in a better position to give the account of the 'very beginning'.

But if the position really is that 'karman is associated with the soul from eternity' (A. N. Upadhye, Journal of the Uni. of Bombay. Vol. II part VI. May 1935. p. 26) then we will have at least to reword some of the statements that are generally made in the context of the nature of the liberated soul. We will have to state that such statements are figurative and are not to be taken literally. One illustration will suffice. In his 'Essentials of Indian Philosophy' (p. 69) Prof. Hiriyanna states the goal of life in Jainism which is to 'restore the soul to its pristine purity'. In his outlines of Indian philosophy (p. 169) he writes 'we should not think that there was ever a time when the Jīva was ever free from this karmic accompaniment'. I shall not sin to accuse the great scholar of either misrepresenting the Jain dogma or contradicting his own statement. The fact is that this is really a knotty and baffling problem in the Jain philosophy. As Prof. Hiriyanna has rightly stated (Outlines..... p. 173.) 'the truth is that the primary aim of Jainism is the perfection of the soul, rather than the interpretation of the universe' and this as he says, 'can be supported by the old statement that āsrava and saṃvara constitute, the whole of Jain-teaching'.

Āsravo bhava-hetuḥ syāt saṃvaro mokṣakāraṇam I
 Itīyam ārhatī dṛṣṭiranyadasyāḥ prapañcanam II

But, if one feels shy of stopping at the anādi-karman and wants to proceed a bit further one may state kaṣāyas to be the root-cause of the whole 'sorry-go-round'. The kaṣayas induce the karmic flow. This must have been the original gospel although there is no scriptural passage which expressly states this. If, one wants to have it, a distinction also can be brought out between the soul in which the karman has not flown and the soul which is purged of the karman. The first contains the viscous and resinous element while the second is devoid of that. Liberation, therefore, should not be characterised as 'restoring the soul to its pristine purity'. It is rather realising the purity. By speaking of the pristine purity, I think we bring in Vedānta in the explanation of Jainism. The Jainist position has a reference to a future state which of course according to its concept of dravya is as much utpādyā as dhruva. This metaphysics of substance ultimately cuts the Gordian knot, I think.

In the pre-canonical history of Jainism or Niganthism when very probably munḍī and pancavimsatitattvājña were having much in common the stress must have been on some kaṣāya-sthiti. The Dhammapada and the Māhābharata also refer to this. The sāmkhyas have not openly spoken about kaṣāyas but one strongly suspects that they must have maintained some difference between a puruṣa yet not fettered by the strands of Primordial Matter and the puruṣa released from the Prakṛitic strands. The latter is actually

called a kevalī; for him the Matter ceases to exist effectively. He no more remains susceptible to the lure of Matter. It is, therefore, quite cogent to hold that Prakṛti evolves and binds the puruṣa in order to make him experience manifold things and the same prakṛti ultimately withdraws itself in the interest of the puruṣa. The susceptible puruṣa was only tried by the prakṛti. The Jain view must have had a similar, though not quite identical, teleological concept. When the Matter enters the soul sullied by kaṣāya or the resinous element it is a big trial of the hero who is expected to fight out bravely the karmic assail. Jainism thus evokes in the living beings an adventurous spirit. It believes, that true bliss is concomittant of earnest efforts and successful achievements. It has been always singing the glory of those who have made such earnest efforts and have successfully achieved their ends. These spiritually perfected beings are the Siddhas, the Arihantas and the Sadhus, the perennial sources of inspiration.



NATURE OF DIVINITY IN JAINISM

K. Bhushan Lokhande

1. Bhagwan Mahavir's movement in the 6th Century B. C. was based against hypocritic human tendencies pertaining to sacrifices of living animals in order to please God who is unseen, but pervasive creator and destroyer of the Universe. Everyone in the Society was under the spell of such religion or religious institution, which dominated the inner spirit by outer forces and ultimately leads to some things that is beyond comprehension of human mind. Really, it was critical period of thought-movement and Bhagwan Mahavir and his religion gave an overall and permanent solution to such problems which can be accepted by an ordinary man.

2. In the 6th century, there was a thought of polytheism and it gave birth to monotheism and then to monism. Many Gods were created. People got confused due to innumerable number of Gods. Out of such situation, theistic conception of God was developed. There was search for One God. The difference was made between Gods-natural deities and one God who is the creator and destroyer of this Universe. Thus, one God doctrine came forward and dominated the Orthodox gallery of thinkers.

3. Bhagwan Mahavir like Buddha was of one opinion regarding the conception of God-movement. Jainism is atheistic religion. Bhagwan Mahavir explored this to common man that the theory of God as creator is not sound. He denied the existence of God. By rejecting the Orthodox system, Jainism became Nastiks-unbeliever of God or repudiator of the authority of the Vedas. In that sense only, Jainism can be called Nastika. But if it does not believe in creative God or godhead, it becomes Nastika, it is not logical conclusion. Jainism does believe in God; but the very conception of God is different. The conception of a supreme personality responsible for creation of the world is rejected in Jain Philosophy. This theistic conception of God is approved and supported by Naiyayika. The world is treated as an effect created by an intelligent agent. This popular view of Supreme creator is not considered and the reasons are as follows :

4. (1) If effect is to mean that which is made of parth then even space is to be accepted as effect.

(2) If it means coherence of a cause of a thing which was previously non-existent in that case, the world is not accepted as effect as atoms are eternal.

(3) If it means that which is liable to change, then God is also to be changed; he would need a creator to create him and another and so on. This will lead to infinite regress.

(4) Regarding Causation, if he is as intelligent as human being, he would be full of imperfections as human intelligence is not perfect. If an agent had created the universe, he must have a body. We have not seen an intelligent agent without body. It is not possible to produce intelligency without embodied intelligence.

(5) He will be governed by moral order and is not independent.

(6) If there is no motive behind creation then, he will be motiveless malignity.

1. Smith—Religion of Semites—P. 55.

1.of Mallisena—Introduction.

5. It is not possible to accept the Naiyayika contention that without the supposition of God the variety of the world would be inexplicable, because, we can very well posit other alternatives such as the existence of the natural order.

Thus, a number of problems come in the way for accepting one God theory and hence, the only way is to dispense with the idea of God fully.

In the words of Professor Das Gupta--“Assuming for the sake of argument that God exists, you could never justify the adjectives with which you wish to qualify him. Thus, you say that he is eternal. But since he has no body, he must be of the nature of intelligence and will. But this nature must have changed in diverse forms for the production of diverse kinds of worldly things which are so varied in their nature. If there were no changes in his knowledge and will, then there could not have been diverse kinds of creation and destruction. Destruction and creation cannot be the result of one unchangeable will and knowledge You say that God is omniscient, but it is difficult to suppose how he can have any knowledge at all, as he has no organs he cannot have any perfection and since he cannot have any perfection, he cannot have any inference either.”

6. Now, it becomes clear that Jainism is against the theistic conception of God. We have not to seek God in the world outside, nor God is to be found in the temple with doors shut. He lives with us. Here, each individual soul is treated as God. He is essentially divine in Nature. Each soul, when it achieves perfection, is God. His inherent powers are fully in blossom. Every liberated soul is divine. Hence, in Jainism, there is no need to surrender any higher being or to seek divine favour for man to reach the highest goal of perfection. It admits karma, man gets the fruits of his deeds, good or bad and there is intervention of any divine power. It gives whole responsibility on man and his action.

7. Thus, Bhagwan Mahavir as past Tirthankars once again propounded the absolute religious independence and freedom to individual, which is rejected in other creed. There is no place for divine grace. There we find emphasis of moral and spiritual struggle for self realisation. The idea of worship of Tirthankars is not because they are Gods, but because they achieved perfection, self realisation. Hence, they are ideals. They remind us the way to perfection. Thus, Divinity, in Jainism is based on dignity and freedom of individuals and it can be attained by our efforts.

S'amkara's Criticism of Syadvada: A Reconsideration

M. P. Marathe

S'amkara has expounded his philosophy through the elaborate commentaries he wrote on the Brahmasutras, the Upanisads and the Gita. Whereas his commentary on the principal Upanisads is basically expository and explanatory of his own philosophical position along with the elaboration of the chief tenet of the philosophy of the text he comments upon, his commentaries on the Gita and the Brahmasutras in general and his commentary on the Brahmasutras in particular are directed at wielding a double-edged weapon, viz., exposition and explanation of one's own philosophical position along with explanation of the philosophical tenet of the text he comments upon and a critical examination of the philosophical positions advocated by the adherents of those schools of Indian philosophical thought with whom he is hostile. Such a criticism of the hostile schools at his hands is not only meant to expose weaknesses of and holes in the philosophical positions of those schools but also to impress upon his readers the fact that the fundamental considerations these schools put forward are not only opposed to his own but are also incapable of bearing the heat of dispassionate rational scrutiny and hence, consequently, unable to be maintained seriously. In such of his endeavours some of the arguments that he musters are so subtle, obviously tenable and masterly that they have become classic in the later development of Indian philosophical thought. But such a great mind as that of Samkara that commands praise and applause of his philosophical erudition and intellectual subtlety has its own weakness ; and in such weak-moments he turns out to be unfair both in his presentation of the views of his philosophical opponents as also in the critical evaluation of them. As an instance of this kind of situation we propose to critically examine Samkara's criticism of Syadvada, one of the chief pillars on which stands the entire superstructure of the Jaina philosophical thought. What prompts us to undertake a task of this kind is not a tendency to ridicule masters but a passionate call of a dispassionate and honest seeker after truth.

The whole paper is divided into four main sections : (i) the first presents a brief summary of the principal points that the doctrine of Syadvada endeavours to propound. Here instead of presenting a summary of Syadvada through the paraphrase of the exposition of the doctrine given in any prominent Jaina philosophical text we shall rest satisfied with a brief re-statement of the doctrine in modern language. This way is preferred to the way of paraphrase for two reasons : (a) Samkara himself does not allude, either directly or indirectly, to any Jaina philosophical text and so it is both redundant and cumbersome to go through the route of any Jaina philosophical text. (b) Moreover, such a kind of brief re-statement of the doctrine of Syadvada will automatically prepare the necessary philosophical background in modern garb for the critical consideration of Samkara's criticism. (ii) The second section presents, by way of a paraphrase of his commentary on II. 2-33 of the Brahmasutras, Samkara's criticism of Syadvada. (iii) The last section critically examines Samkara's criticism. In the concluding part of the essay principal weaknesses of Samkara's arguments against Syadvada are summarised.

Any physical thing,' according to Jaina logicians and philosophers, has three main kinds of characteristics; emergence, decay degeneration or change and some kind of permanence that becomes the basis of its reidentification and recognition. We come to know such things either through direct acquaintance or through the descriptive statements about them. Such descriptive statements about the nature of this cannot be what are called occasion sentences. The features such descriptive statements would bring out of things figure on two levels : on the plane of the sub-visible structure of a thing the kind of features that descriptive statements bring out would be potentialities or dispositions ; on the plane of the visible structure of a thing, on the contrary, the kind of features that are brought out in the descriptive statements about things are of the nature of either differentia or proprium, or accidens, no matter whether separable or inseparable. Further, any descriptive statement about a thing would embrace two main kinds of modalities within its fold viz. spatial and temporal. But such descriptive statements, which can be classified under any one of the possible total seven forms of them, are further wrought into modalities of additional kind, the prominent of which are mainly five : alethic modalities, epistemic, existential, nomological and what are called intentional modalities. This is not to say that each one of these modalities must be accounted for the satisfactory explanation of the given descriptive statement. Out of the modalities enlisted above those of the spatial and temporal kinds are inescapable in so far as any descriptive statement is about a physical thing. The other kinds of modalities will figure either collectively or alternatively depending upon what the given descriptive statement is intended to be used to do. For the full explanation of the import of a given descriptive statement that is descriptive of a given thing we not only have to pay attention to the syntactic and semantic considerations but also to the modal considerations, although every kind of modal consideration need not necessarily enter into our consideration of the import of a given descriptive statement.

Any physical thing, in spite of the fact that it retains its numerical identity at least, continues to change and hence our endeavour of discovering the nature of things, both on the plane of acquaintance and description, is a continuous programme till it is terminated by the cessation of either our own or of a thing itself. The seven kinds of statement-forms, under any one of which any given descriptive statement falls, are not all of them primitive. Some of the forms of the descriptive statements are and can be shown to have been constructed out of the primitive statement-forms. The fact, however, remains that the total number of various kinds of the forms of descriptive statements that can be envisaged, is seven, neither less nor more. This contention along with the modal considerations brought out earlier is, in nutshell, what is called the doctrine of Saptabhāṅgi or better still the doctrine of Syadvāda. The doctrine also has been put to a very extensive use in the hands of Jaina logicians and philosophers for the explanation of the nature of various kinds of Padārthas they acknowledge. In such endeavours on their part they have also used the expressions Padārtha, Sat, Vastu, etc., almost interchangeably. This does pose number of problems. But we need hardly to bother about them here. Similarly, they have also connected the doctrine in an important way, with Anekantavāda, the theory that any given thing has many features potentially, actually, or both, on the one hand and with Nayavāda, the theory of the descriptive capability of descriptive expressions, on the other. The whole discussion is extremely interesting and fascinating. But to be able to do justice to the problem at hand, however, we abstain from diving deeper into these issues. The points we have presented in the above summary of the doctrine will suffice for our present purpose.

1. The expression 'physical thing' here is inclusive both of organic and inorganic or of animate and inanimate things.

II

Samkara, in his criticism of the contention of Jaina philosophers, concentrates his attention basically on two problems: the doctrine of Syadvada and the doctrine that Jiva is of the same dimension as that of the body. The former problem he deals with in his commentary on II. 2. 33 while the latter problem he deals with in his commentary on II. 34—36 of the Brahmasutras. His criticism of the doctrine that Jiva is of the same dimension as that of the body is superb. But the intellectual acumen and the philosophical erudition that is shown in his commentary on II. 2.34—36 is hardly to be seen in his commentary on II. 2.33. We shall not translate verbatim the passage. We shall, instead, present a paraphrase of it, verbatim translation being irrelevant for our purpose. While presenting a paraphrase of the passage we shall give the original Sanskrit expressions, in the transliterated form, in the brackets wherever necessary. The numerical figures, on the contrary, in brackets bear reference to the comments we propose to offer, in the following section, while undertaking a critical examination of Samkara's criticism of Syadvada. With these preliminary considerations we turn next straight to the paraphrase of the passage. The paraphrase is deliberately inserted into quotation marks.

“.....we turn now to dispose off (nirasyate) the contention of those who are naked (vivasanasamayah) (1). They (i. e. Jaina philosophers) hold that Padarthas like Jiva, etc., are seven in all. Economically, however, Padarthas are only two viz. Jiva and Ajiva (2), for any Padartha can be subsumed (antarbhava), according to them, under them. They, however, subscribe to (acaksate) another proliferative consideration (prapanca) named five Astikayas which are Jivastikaya, Pudgalastikaya² etc. They also speak of further distinctions and classifications with reference to them. They seek to explain these considerations everywhere (i. e., in every context) through the methodological frame (nyaya)³ of Saptabhanginaya. It consists of Syat asti, syat nasfi, syat asfi ca nasfi ca syat avaktavyah, etc. They also employ Saptabhanginaya with reference to (the explanation of) unity or identity (ekatva), permanence (nityatva) (of a thing) etc. ”(4)

“This hypothesis (abhyupagama) (5) in our view, is not correct (na yukta). Why ? For these considerations with reference to one(thing) are impossible to be made sense of (asambhavat). (6) For, as a given thing cannot be taken to be both hot and cold, similarly it is impossible to conceive that some and the same Dharmi simultaneously (yugapat) (7) has such diametrically opposed (viruddha) dharmas as existence and non-existence (sadasattva). Further, in terms of this contention, it would follow that the seven Padarthas that are asserted (nirdharitah) as these and of such a nature (etavantah evamrupah ca) are either as they are described to be or not. Even if they are taken to be of other sort, they either are of those sorts or not. (8) But viewed in this way the (so called) assertive knowledge (nirdharitarupan jnanam) (about the nature of a thing) would be unacceptable or untenable (apramana) as knowledge of the nature of doubt (samsaya) is. (9) It may be contended (by Jainas or on behalf of Jainas) that the knowledge that a given thing (vastu) indeed (nanu) does possess many (literally infinite) features structurally (anekatma) and that such a kind of assertive knowledge would not be untenable as a doubt would be. But to such a contention, Samkara argues further, we retort saying No; this is not acceptable. (10) If a thing is taken to be having many (literally infinite) features context-freely (nirankusam) (11) then the assertion of anybody to the effect would not be an ascertainment in the proper sense of the term at all, for any statement of the form syat asti, syat nasti etc. (12), where the members of the collection (nipata) of these alternatives are

2. Being irrelevant for our present purpose we have not attempted to explain such technical terms in this essay.

considered as describing particularity (vikalpa) of a thing would fail to bring out particularity. (13) But since, in this way, any assertion would thus fail to hit the mark, any statement opening with Syat would not only fail to bring out existence of a thing but also its non-existence (astita nastita). (14). But worse still, this being so (evam), how can a Trithankara assume that he is better disposed to bring out the feature of a thing that is acceptable (pramanabhuta) in the tetrapolar epistemic frame of Pramana, Prameya, Pramatr and Pramiti ?³ Or how is one expected to channelise one's behaviour patterns connecting them with the import (abhipraya) of his (Tirthankara's) contention enshrined in such assertions ? (15) It is only if one particular feature of a thing is assertively emphasised that all people are provoked to act, not otherwise. Hence, unasserted and indeterminate nature of an object stated in any statement (vacana) is as difficult or impossible to tame as the one who has turned uncontrollable or wild (unmatta) due to his coming under the spell of erotomania." (16).

"Secondly, it is maintained that there are in all five Astikayas.³ But considered in the frame of Syadvada it may be said, on the one hand, that there are five Astikayas, while, on the other hand, it can be said that there are either less than or more than five Astikayas". (18)

"Thirdly, Padarthas cannot be said to be avaktavya (incommunicable). For, if they are, in principle, incommunicable then silence is the golden mean. But if they are sought to be communicated then to say that they are incommunicable is self-stultifying (vipratishedham). (18) Whatever is (significantly) communicated is understood (by others) either the way it is intended to be communicated or differently from it. But if so, the nature of a thing that the listener so comprehends through such descriptions (avadharanaphalam) either tallies with the disclosure of a thing (darsana) to us or not; but the things may similarly either have the kind of feature we have descriptively discovered or differently from it. The person who ignorantly or arrogantly says so can hardly be entered into significant communication with. (19) Moreover, on the same considerations Svarga as well as Apavarga either are or are not, either are eternal or transient; but this way of putting things is hardly informative and the kind of understanding it leads to can hardly be said to provoke anybody for any action". (20).

"Lastly, such entities like Jiva etc; that are (established to be) obviously beginningless and the nature of which is clear, descriptively at least, within the fold of the consideration one subscribes to, will have to be taken as those the nature of which is not clear. (21). Moreover, one and the same Padartha like Jiva etc. will have to be taken to be both existing and not-existing, i. e., as possessing impossibly two contradictory dharmas, such that if any thing possesses one of them the other dharma it just cannot have. But since the Jaina consideration holds a thing to be existing as well as non-existing, it indeed is inconsistent and hence not worthy of an intellectual respect. (22)....."

III

It is quite obvious that this kind of criticism of the doctrine of Syadvada in particular and of the chief tenets of the Jaina philosophical thought in general makes violence to each one of them. It is this feature of it that we intend to highlight or floodlight. We shall divide our entire critical consideration of Samkara's criticism of Syadvada into two sub-sections: (a) in the first we shall offer some important critical considerations, point by point, in the same sequential order in which we have indicated their places in the paraphrase with the help of squarebracketed numerals; (b) in the second we shall focus our attention on four important problems. These problems, too, are raised with a critical eye taking the principal points in the central contention of the philosophical positions both of Samkara and Jaina philosophers in the background, although we shall briefly allude to them.

(a) Turning first to the point by point criticism. (1) The opening sentence of Samkara's criticism is objectionable. The expression vivasanasamayah is indicative of the traits of both shallow

3. Here as elsewhere in this essay we refrain from explaining these technical terms, this being irrelevant for our purpose.

rhetoric and fustile journalism. Moreover, it betrays a synecdochic bias to the extent to which it identifies Jaina philosophers with Digambara Jaina philosophers. Both Svetambara as well as Digambara Jaina philosophers subscribe to the doctrine of Syadvada and it is a statement of facts and distortion of history to argue, even rhetorically, that Digambara Jaina philosophers alone are the exponents, propagators and upholders of the doctrine of Syadvada in particular and of the principal tenets of the common Jaina philosophical tradition in general. Above everything, what is regrettable is the fact that a master like Samkara is a party to this kind of slur, whatever journalistic and rhetoric value of it may be. (2) It is wrong to argue that according to Jain philosophers Padarthas are either seven or two. When they talk about seven Padarthas, what they say is not that there are seven Padarthas but that there are seven kinds of Padarthas. Similarly, when they talk two Padarthas they are talking of two kinds of Padarthas. Such two kinds of Padarthas arise out of the attempt to dichotomously classify them. The two considerations, although each one of them is classificatory, arise on two different planes, the one being object-linguistic and the other being meta-linguistic if we may be permitted to say so. The fact, nevertheless, remains that these two considerations do not arise on the same plane and hence they engender inconsistency of no kind. (3) Samkara is right in so far as he accepts Saptabhangi as a methodological frame. But unfortunately he stops there. The methodological frame of Saptabhangi that is accepted by Jaina philosophers has an explanatory and justificatory role of the methodological frame that they accept is not performed by it, nor is it expected to perform, with reference to either statements, or the kind of descriptive information they give, but with reference to the explanation and justification both of statement forms and their structure. (4) It is not contended by Jaina philosophers that Saptabhangi is explanatory of either permanence or identity of a thing. To be able to do this they resort to, quite legitimately, other sorts of consideration the chief of which are empirical, existential and nomological. The frame of Saptabhangi can be profitably used, according to them, to explain the form and structure of a descriptive statement that brings out either permanence or identity of a thing. To do this is one thing and to say that they intend to employ the frame of Saptabhangi to explain and justify such features of a thing as unity, identity, etc. is quite another. The latter sort of thing Saptabhangi cannot do nor is it designed to do and hence the point that Samkara makes here distorts the contention of the Jaina philosophers. If any Jaina philosopher did it and if Samkara was in know-how to the fact then he should have quoted from the author. But presuming that this is what Jaina philosophers mean to do and attacking them anonymously is, to say the least, unjustifiable. (5) Samkara further, is right in holding Saptabhangi to be a hypothesis. But he should have coolly considered what the hypothesis is basically put forward for. Indeed, in an important way of the consideration of the problem, the frame of Saptabhangi on the one hand the features of a thing that and descriptively brought out in any descriptively significant statement about it on the other are connected with each other through many intermediary links in the chain. But what is important to understand is that the various links of the chain that so come to the foreground are not given to us on the same plane. (6) Here again Samkara is unfair to the contention of Jaina philosophers. He argues that various statement-forms that the doctrine of *Saptabhangi* embraces cannot be used with reference to the descriptive statements about a thing. Why? The kind of thing he has, in the heart of hearts, in his mind is such first-order ontological thing as Brahman with reference to which a distinction between potentiality and actuality cannot be used, on the plane of such a stuff everything being actual and nothing being potential. But Jaina philosophers are not at all talking on the plane of the first-order ontological reality but rather on the plane of the second-order ontological reality of physical things. On this plane the distinction between potential and actual or sub-visible and visible not only can be sensibly drawn but also that they mean to draw such a distinction. Further they also insist upon, rightly, the spatial and temporal considerations being brought into consideration both with reference to things and their features. Given this paraphernalia there is on

reason why the form of any statement that is descriptive either of a thing or of a feature of it should not be taken to be disjunctively distributive over the set of statement-forms that are embraced by the frame of *Syadvada* or *Saptabhāṅgi*. Samkara's contention is unjustifiable in so far as he presumes that Jaina philosophers are talking on the plane of the first-order ontological reality as he is. (7) In this point Samkara has only partially hit upon the right point. That point is that in one of the seven *bhāṅgas*, i. e., in the third two considerations are simultaneously envisaged to be employed. These two considerations are : one in the sense of existence and another in the sense of non-existence ; more accurately, however, one of affirmation of the feature of a thing and another of negation of it. In this context four important points must be clearly borne in mind : (i) what is sought to be talked about is not a thing but a feature of it ; (ii) as the conjunction of p and Np. 4 leads to contradiction the conjunction of Mp and MNp does not ; (iii) it is only if one and the same feature is both affirmed and denied either on the plane of potentiality or actuality alone then only it gives rise to inconsistency. If, on the other hand, a feature of a thing is affirmed on the plane of potentiality but is denied on the plane of actuality then this results into no contradiction or inconsistency of any sort ; lastly, (iv) *asti* as well as *nasti* on the plane of the first and second *bhāṅgas* on the one hand and *asti* and *nasti* figuring on the plane of the third *bhāṅga* on the other need to be understood homonymously and not synonymously. It is in the absence of these important considerations that Samkara presents a very naive view of *Syadvada* in general and of the third *bhāṅga* in particular. Jaina thinkers were certainly not attempting to propound the kind of childish and ridiculous contention as Samkara ascribes them to be. (8) If any descriptive statement brings out some one feature of a thing and if the thing has quite different sort of feature then the given statement would obviously fail to describe it. Similarly, if a descriptive statement states that a thing has a particular feature and if the feature so brought out turns out to be the one the thing had prior to its present state, then, to the given statement would fail to describe the thing. This Jaina philosophers would certainly not dispute. As Samkara so also Jaina philosophers accept correspondence meaning of truth. Yet, in writing these lines what Samkara wants, perhaps, to maintain is that their doctrine of *Syadvada* either does not explain change of a feature of a thing or fails to bring out why does a thing change. But if so, Samkara is trying to exact such consideration from the doctrine which it is not at all designed to propound. (9) This contention of Samkara is unfair. The doctrine of *Syadvada* certainly does not mean to propound scepticism. Again, an assertion that is unacceptable and doubt that is unacceptable are not unacceptable for the same reasons. A given assertion may turn out to be unacceptable not because we do not have relevant cognitive information but because we seek to make an unwarranted claim through it. A situation of the nature of doubt, on the contrary is unacceptable not because any unwarranted claim is made through it but because in such a situation we just do not have a reliable information, which can form the basis of an assertion, acceptable or otherwise. The kind of information which we have in the situation of doubt being oscillating and unsteady can hardly be the basis of dependable assertion. The two kinds of situations under consideration are distinct and it is a grotesque confusion to mix up between them, even if such mixing is embarked upon for an analogical argument. (10) The contention of Jain philosophers that a given thing can have many features either on its sub-visible or visible level is neither an exercise in the direction of scepticism nor in the direction of ambiguity and indeterminateness as Samkara holds. It is quite a sound view and is rich in entailing for reaching significant consequences than what Samkara imagines to be. Even if, therefore, Samkara is not prepared to accept the contention of Jaina philosophers it does not matter, for soundness of the view of any philosopher does not necessarily hang upon the fact whether another philosopher prepared to accept it. Tenability of a view is settled neither by counting hands that are raised to indicate assent by counting heads that are nodded in consent. (11) Samkara seems here to be

confusing between absolute independence of the context that one has while he has been under, taking investigation either on purely conceptual plane or on the plane of the first-order ontological reality on the one hand and context-boundness that one encounters on any other plane. It is preposterous to expect that the kind of freedom from the clutches of the consideration of context that one has on the plane of the first-order ontological reality must be capable of being encountered on any other-order ontological plane. In the same vain, it is misleading to maintain that any descriptive statement is worth the name only if it is capable of being made sense of in that frame where one has at his disposal that kind of freedom from the consideration of context which one has while undertaking investigation into the nature of things on the first-order ontological level. Moreover, Samkara is wrong in presupposing that investigation on the plane of the first-order ontological reality is absolutely free from any kind of context-consideration. (12) and (13). On this point Samkara is partly right while partly he is wrong. He is right if he seeks to maintain that merely the form of a statement does not determine whether it will bring out peculiarity or particularity of a thing. But he is wrong to the extent to which he confuses between a descriptive statement and its form, for any expression of the form *syat asti*, *syat nasti*, etc., is not a statement but a statement-form. (14) This contention of Samkara is beside the point, for any descriptive statement that fits into any one of the statement-form of the kind *syat asti*, *syatnasti*, etc. not only can but does succeed in bringing out affirmation or denial of a particular feature of a thing at a given time and space. (15) Although statements of the kind *syat asti*, etc. do bring out a determinate nature of a thing the problem of such descriptively significant statements being counted with certain or other behaviour patterns is beside the point so far as the doctrine of Syadvada is concerned. (16). Here Samkara is whipping the horse although it is at fault. The statements of the form *syat asti* are not indeterminate, although they are not context-freely categorical as Samkara expects them to be. It would be disastrous to maintain either that all statements must fit into one and the same form or that only those statements are descriptively significant which fit into a particular form. (17) The contention of Samkara is both misleading and wrong. It is misleading because from such a kind of view being taken of the doctrine of Syadvada in particular and of the contention of Jaina philosophers in general it appears that on their basis any statement could not only be made but also can be defended and explained. This is now-here sought to be maintained by any exponent of the doctrine in any text. Perhaps Samkara came to borrow the exposition of the doctrine as it is given by a non-Jaina philosopher. If so, this is unbecoming of Samkara. But his contention here is wrong, too, because it gives the impression that the doctrine of *Saptabhangi* is relativism, which it positively is not. Perhaps it does embrace the doctrine of the change of the truth-value of a proposition in so far as things continue to change. To say this is one thing ; but to say that this, therefore, is relativism is quite another. It is this which Samkara wants to maintain and in so far as he does maintain this and in so far as this is borne out neither by any Jaina philosophical text nor by the doctrine, it is wrong. (18) and (19) Here Samkara has made confusion worse confounded. On the plane of the *bhanga* formalized as *Syat avaktavyah* we have to take into consideration not only the notion of affirmation and negation but also of simultaneity (*Yaugapadyam*). What is intended to be said is this: Given that a given thing has a given feature either on the plane of potentiality or on the plane of actuality, two statements can be made about such a feature, one affirming it and another denying it either on the plane of actuality or on the plane of potentiality. If anybody employs both such statements simultaneously either on the plane of potentiality or actuality alone then through the conjunction of them one would be able to give descriptively no information about the thing. This neither means that the person who employs such a conjunction does not have any information about the nature of a thing or that the thing is indescribable or incommunicable nor does it mean that such a person either is ignorant, or arrogant or is deliberately trying to mislead people as well as that beside such a statement he cannot at all be entered into a significant communication with. Further considerations also

can be brought in to bear upon the problem. But for our present purpose this is needless. What is of importance to note, however, is that noise in the communication-channel or failure of an attempt to communicate is neither tantamount to either indeterminability or incommunicability of the thing nor is it indicative of an absence of information on the part of the person who so fails to communicate. Failure in significant communication is certainly indicative of person's being muddled but positively neither of arrogance nor of an absence of information. It is between these, we submit, that Samkara fails to distinguish (20). Our comment on this point is similar to the one we have made with reference to the point number 15 above and hence we abstain from going through the same parade again. (21) Whereas the point 18 above is meant to bring out what may be called intra-frame relativity the point that Samkara makes here seems to drive in the direction of what may be called inter-frame relativity. The points Jaina philosophers make are made by them with reference to physical things and if these points do not fit with the nature of the first-order ontological reality like Brahman or with the nature of Jivas as Samkara understands it, their contention clashes in no way with the contention of Samkara. Hence, as pointed out above, whereas the so-called intra-frame relativity argued about by Samkara is positively wrong the inter-frame relativity that he puts forward here is nothing else but imaginary and chimerical. (23) Whereas the charge of internal inconsistency on the doctrine or Syadvada is indefensible the charge on the doctrine that it does not deserve serious intellectual respect is not only unbecoming of Samkara but it also betrays a bias of emotive sophistry.

(b) Enough that we have critically considered Samkara's criticism of Syadvada. A full-fledged investigation of this kind would not only expect a comprehensive treatment of the philosophy of Samkara but also a detailed consideration of the doctrine of Syadvada. These problems fall outside the scope of the present inquiry. But before we conclude this essay we would like to touch upon four points briefly, the last of which has been very elaborately argued above. Hence of that point we shall give merely a very brief-summary. The points are: (i) It is important to understand that the principal contention of Samkara's philosophical thought and the theme with which the doctrine of Syadvada or Saptabhāṅgi is connected arise not on the same plane but on two different planes. Other things remaining the same, even if it is argued that both Samkara as well as Jaina Philosophers seek to deal centrally with an ontological problem, yet just because both of them are engaged in what is called an ontological investigation this in itself does not mean that both of them are trying to investigate the nature of the same order ontological reality Samkara for one presumes so. It is for this reason that he enters into an intellectual hostility not only with the doctrine but also with the proponents and exponents of the doctrine. But it is important to note that Brahman for Samkara is not only the first-order ontological reality but is also such a stuff that is an intersection both of upādāna and nimitta kāraṇa of Jagat and Jagat arises from it, through it itself spontaneously undergoing transformation. The physical things which are part of the furniture of Jagat are, as compared with Brahman, second-order ontological things, while Jagat itself is as much first order as much as Brahman is. Brahman for Samkara is nothing but actuality, though physical things have both potentiality as well as actuality. But it is the latter point that Jaina philosophers want to uphold. The contention of Samkara stands on the plane of the first-order ontological reality while that of Jaina philosophers, too, equally stands but on the plane of physical things or what, in Samkara's frame may be called second-order ontological reals. The contentions of both Samkara and Jaina philosophers do not at all clash with each other as they arise on two different planes. Sometimes, even if two considerations arise on the same plane each one of them can stand provided the two are contenable. Then, what to talk of two considerations that arise on two different planes? This point is not only missed by Samkara but also by traditional philosophers thinking, wrongly of course, that wherever more than one considerations come to the foreground they must clash and when they so clash one of them must leave the ground. It is this kind of view that refuses to allow that more than

one view about anything can cohabit the intellectual atmosphere at any given time. Samkara at least in the present context, and following him many others use this as a criterion not only against considerations arising on the same plane but also on different planes. But this attitude, we submit, betrays intellectual intolerance and lack of understanding and our only regret is that Samkara is a party to it, for this kind of attitude is detrimental to intellectual growth. (ii) Secondly let us ask a question: must Samkara criticise the doctrine of Syadvada in order to defend and elaborate his own philosophical position? Not the least. For in so far as these two considerations basically arise on two different planes neither the position of Samkara nor the contention of Jaina philosophers need to seek the help from each other. But, again, in so far as these two contentions arise on two different planes, as stated above, Samkara need not muster support for the defence of his philosophical position from the attack on the doctrine of Syadvada in particular and the contention of Jaina philosophers in general. It is thus unnecessary and redundant for Samkara to launch an intellectual onslaught on them. It is because Samkara confusedly thinks that the contention of Jaina philosophers also arises on the level of the first-order ontological reality that he turns hostile to it. Doing this, thus, amounts to trying to beat the horse which is not there. (iii) But, thirdly, let us not leave the ground so soon. Let us ask one more question: Can Samkara criticise the doctrine of Syadvada? Our submission is that he cannot. The contentions of Samkara and that of Jaina logicians and philosophers basically do not clash, arising as they do on two different planes. Jaina philosophers do not forward their contention on the level of the first-order ontological reality. Nor is their Syadvada designed to accommodate within its frame and fold the form of the statements which are descriptive of the nature of such a kind of reality. This being the case how can Samkara criticise Syadvada? For, the contention of Samkara and that of Jaina philosophers basically neither meet nor collide with each other. Further, as Samkara would argue, whereas the considerations he puts forward with regard to the first-order ontological reality are context-free, those that Jaina philosophers put forward with regard to physical things are always contextual. Being this, Samkara, we feel, cannot criticise the doctrine of Syadvada in particular and the basic contention of Jaina philosophers about the nature of physical things in general. (iv) Lastly, the way Samkara presents the view of Jaina philosophers is indicative of the fact that he distorts their contention. His presentation of the doctrine of Syadvada, too, involves misrepresentation of it while his criticism of the doctrine is ridden with sophistry, confusion and distortion. Worse still, his presupposition that Jaina philosophers advocate their basic contention on the plane of the first-order ontological reality involves him in so far as it amounts here to mix up between considerations arising on two different levels, to commit the fallacy of Adhyasa which he recommends to us so much to guard ourselves from in order that we do not fall in confusions.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON SOME DPA' BOS, TIBETAN "SPIRIT- MEDIUMS" IN EXILE IN NEPAL.¹

F. K. Per-Arne Berglie

Some of the most interesting recent studies on Buddhism concern the relationship between the "normative" Buddhism of the texts and the "practical" Buddhism among the peoples². M. Spiro sees Buddhism as comprising three separate but interlocking systems. He calls the three systems nibbanic, kammatic and apotropaic Buddhism. The first two are soteriological systems, the first normative, the other non-normative. The third system, apotropaic Buddhism, is a non-soteriological system mainly concerned with protection from danger³. I think that the activities of the Tibetan dpa' bos may be seen as examples of apotropaic Buddhism. By this I do not mean to indicate that their practices are "magical" as opposed to the "religious" practices of the lamas or of the pious laymen. I simply want to stress the central theme in their work: the curing of the sick and the counteraction of harmful forces.

In this paper I intend to make a preliminary summary of material collected in Nepal during 1970 and 1971. It concerns four dpa' bos living in a settlement for Tibetan refugees. The word dpa' bo, literally "hero" has been interpreted to mean "medium"⁴ or "sorcerer"⁵. I do not, however, use these terms here, as they have unwanted connotations. The word dpa' bo might possibly be interpreted as "spirit-medium", taking the word in the meaning outlined by R. Firth.⁶ Firth distinguishes spirit possession, spirit mediumship and shamanism. In spirit mediumship he stresses the communicative aspect of the possession to distinguish it from spirit possession. In the latter, the behaviour of the possessed is primarily regarded as his bodily expression of spirit manifestation; it need not necessarily convey any particular message⁷. The line between spirit mediumship and shamanism is not so clearly drawn by Firth. In this connection it may be as well to say a few words about "Tibetan shamanism". Several authors have discussed this problems. The opinions of these scholars differ, but they all point out various phenomena as examples of shamanism or of shamanistic traits in Tibetan religion. Central to their discussions are "spirit mediums" of various types. A different view is held by M. Eliade and others, who do not consider possession as typical of shamanism in the strict sense of the concept. Eliade writes that 'the specific element of shamanism is not the embodiment of "spirits" by the shaman, but the ecstasy induced by his ascent to the sky or descent to the underworld⁸. This view of shamanism, however, seems too narrow, as possession occurs together with "soul-flight" also among North Asiatic shamans. A. Hultkrantz has proposed an extension of the meaning of the term shaman. He writes that a "shaman is... a practitioner who, with the help of spirits cures the sick or reveals hidden things, etc. while being in an ecstasy".¹⁰ Using such a wide definition one might speak of "Tibetan shamanism" in connection with the dpa, bos. Many phenomenological parallels could easily be shown between North Asiatic shamanism and ritual possession among the Tibetans. Without concealing the phenomenological resemblances and the possible historical connections it is nevertheless evident that the question of "Tibetan shamanism" is a question of the breadth of the definition of the term shamanism.

The dpa' bos were perhaps the most active religious functionaries in the settlement. Even more than the local lama they came into contact with the intimate and personal problems of the villagers. Their seances were popular and spectacular events where people gathered and met the gods face to face. On these occasions the reality of the supernatural world was convincingly shown to the spectators. I think it safe to say that the dpa'bos acted in the centre of the religious life of the village.

Very little information on Tibetan "spirit-mediums" of the dpa' bo type is to be gained from a study of the literature on Tibetan religion¹¹. More is known about the Lepcha dpa' bo, who, however, seems to be dissimilar to the Tibetan dpa' bo¹². Most material on Tibetan "spirit-mediums" concerns the high-ranking, "oracles" possessed by gods with high statuses in the pantheon hierarchy. As will be evident, the dpa' bos differ from those "oracles". It is obvious that the different phenomena of ritual possession in Tibetan culture are manifold, historically as well as functionally.

During my field-work in India and Nepal I was in contact with eleven "spirit-mediums" and was able to attend seances with six of them. In my thesis I shall give a full treatment of my material. In this paper I intend to concentrate on four dpa' bos. The settlement or village in which they lived was inhabited by about 400 people. There was a handicraft centre where many earned their living. Others worked as porters or earned a livelihood from the occasional jobs available. In the village there was a small monastery, to which belonged a lama, a few monks and about ten child novices. This was a bka' rgyud pa monastery, rather poor and the building not yet completed. Most of the boys spent the nights in the homes of their parents. In the village there also lived a sngags pa. He was an old man, called upon mainly to exercise demons from houses when somebody in the household had fallen ill. The activities of the dpa' bos, the lama and the sngags pa partly overlapped; they were asked to help in the same kind of situations: someone was ill, someone was struck by misfortune, etc. I do not think, however, that it would be correct to regard them as competitors. As they used different methods for healing the sick or bringing good luck, they are rather regarded as complementary to each other. Furthermore, they were specialists in different kinds of maladies.

All the four dpa' bos were laymen. When not officiating at seances they lived quite ordinary lives.

Bang phyug

He was the oldest of the four, about forty years of age; he was married and had one son. The family was mainly supported by the wife's work at the handicraft centre. d Bang phyug himself was a rather weak man and suffered from T. B. Nevertheless he worked as a porter whenever opportunity offered. He was born in eastern Tibet, but had spent a long time as a pilgrim in the western parts of the country.

Sri gcod

He was about thirty-two years old, married and had one child living with him. He was born in the north-eastern part of Tibet. He, too, worked as a porter.

Nyi ma

He was twenty-six years old and not married. He lived with his mother, his younger sister and two younger brothers. He was occupied at the handicraft centre as a carpet weaver. He had been a dpa' bo for a rather short time, was not yet fully established, and consequently not often asked to perform. He was born in northern Tibet.

Rig 'dzin

He was a boy, chosen to be a dpa' bo. He was born near Lake gNam mtsho in the middle fties. His father was dead and he was living with his mother. He was just passing through the period of testing (see below) during my stay in the village.

I collected my information mainly in two ways. Firstly, in interviews and conversations with the dpa' bos with the help of an interpreter. Secondly and perhaps more rewardingly, making tape recordings of complete seances and afterwards listening to the tapes together with the dpa' bo whose seance had been recorded. On these occasions everything heard from the tapes (much was impossible to hear owing to the noise from the drum and the gshang) was written down in Tibetan by my interpreter, who, most of the time, was Rig 'dzin. The dpa' bo then commented on the text and gave explanations of difficult passages whenever he could. I recorded all together eight seances, six of which I was able to discuss with the dpa' bo concerned. Sometimes there were obvious contradictions between what the dpa' bo said when possessed and what he had said in his normal state. According to many informants there was no doubt about what was to be most trusted: during the seance it was the god who spoke, not the dpa' bo. During the seance the possessed dpa' bos were able to give much more information concerning the gods, various ritual practices, etc., than otherwise.

The recruiting of the dpa'bo

The father of dBang phyug was a dpa' bo, but according to his son not a good one. His mother's father was a dpa' bo, too, and it was to him that dBang phyug owed most of his knowledge. dBang phyug was preceded by eight dpa' bos in his family line, one in each generation. He himself was the ninth and he was convinced that his son would be the tenth.

Sri gcod's father was a dpa' bo.

Nyi ma's father's brother was a dpa' bo, as was also his mother's brother, who was living in exile in India.

Rig 'dzin's father was a dpa' bo and so was his mother's father. His mother's brother, now living in Dolpo in Nepal, was also a dpa' bo. Rig 'dzin would eventually become the fifteenth dpa' bo in his family line.

Thus it is quite clear that the hereditary transmission of the office was very important—a long line of dpa' bos in the family was taken as a guarantee of the trustworthiness of a performing dpa'bo.

It was, however, not enough to have a dpa' bo heritage. If a person was to become a dpa' bo this had to be confirmed by election or a call from the gods.

dBang phyug was about ten years old when the gods revealed themselves to him for the first time. He was herding sheep when he suddenly saw wonderful divine beings. He felt an irresistible desire to follow them, and this he did without knowing where he went. Later he woke from his trance in an unknown place. The experience was repeated and continued for about three years. When he was thirteen he consulted a lama. The latter understood the situation and made him pass some tests. After this he was able to start practising as a dpa' bo.

When Sri gcod was fifteen years old his head became "empty". He wandered about not knowing what he did. Then he saw remarkable things no-one else saw: gods, demons, strange animals, etc. He did not understand what was happening to him and went on several pilgrimages. But nothing helped. Finally, he went to another dpa' bo who identified the beings who had revealed themselves to him. After this he could set up as a dpa' bo.

Before becoming a dpa' bo Nyi ma was a sgrung pa, a bard. A bard is someone who can recite the epic of Gesar.¹³ When Nyi ma was about thirteen he had some strange experiences. He was visited while asleep by a man who sang the whole Gesar-epic to him. It was just like a dream but yet not a dream. The man was all dressed in white and his head was of silver and gold. This being visited him every night for two years. So when Nyi ma was fifteen years old he could sing the whole epic by heart. Then about one year later the call came to become a dpa' bo. He saw gods riding on horses and when they urged him to accompany them he complied. He was just like a "madman" (Tib. smyon pa). But it was not until many years later that he could pass the necessary tests and receive a blessing from a lama, after which he could set up as a dpa' bo. As mentioned above, he was twenty-six when I met him and did not often perform as a dpa' bo. Usually he performed only when asked by close friends or when his own family needed help.

For Rig 'dzin the period of call from the gods was not yet over when I was staying in the village. This had been going on for quite some time, and it was rather disturbing for himself and those about him. He was often irritated and angry for no reason. He walked in his sleep, did not eat for days, and so forth. He saw the gods, blue and red figures. He followed them and when he returned to his senses found himself in unexpected places far from his home. During my stay Rig 'dzin was being tested by dBang phyug. I shall give an account of this in the following.

As demonstrated here the phenomenon of divine election is rather homogeneous. This part of a dpa' bo's career was often quite embarrassing to him. His difficulties came to an end after the tests, i. e., after the identification of the supernatural beings involved. The dpa' bo, however, retained his ability to see gods and demons outside the context of the seances. dBang phyug stressed that the age of thirteen years was the age at which all good dpa' bos received their election. Interesting parallels to the importance attached to the age of thirteen are to be found in the legends of the old Tibetan kings¹⁴, as well as in the legend of the founder of Bon in Tibet as this is given in Grub mtha' shel gyi me long.¹⁵

Tests

After receiving the call from the gods the dpa' bo-to-be must be tested. This is necessary to establish the exact identity of the gods (or demons) the candidate sees or is visited by. The test, which can be arranged in many different ways, must be conducted by someone who is himself able to see the supernatural beings, i.e., by a lama, sngags pa or by another dpa' bo.

dBang phyug was tested by a lama in a procedure more or less identical with the one he himself used when testing Rig' dzin.

Sri gcod refused to tell me anything about the tests he had passed.

Nyi ma had been tested both by Sri gcod and dBang phyug. During my stay he performed once when they were both present in order to control his descriptions of the gods.

As I was in a position to attend one of the seances in which Rig' dzin was tested, I intend to give a full account of what took place. The seance was held on the evening of the fifteenth day in the second Tibetan month (as calculated by dBang phyug). No particular preparations had been made but Rig' dzin had carefully avoided meat and chang ("beer") that day. This he did in order, as he said, not to evoke the wrath of the gods. The first part of the seance proceeded as usual (see below): the altar was arranged by dBan phyug, after which he sang the invocations to the gods, inviting them to come to the place. After the invocations, during the customary short pause, dBang phyug tied a white ribbon around the fourth finger of Rig'dzin's left hand and a red one around the fourth finger

of the right. Rig' dzin himself tied a piece of white cloth around his head, being careful to form it into a beak-like top in front. In order to make it easier to understand the following procedure mention must here be made of the way in which the possession is thought to take place. The possessing god is thought to enter the body through certain "channels" (Tib. *rtsa*). One of these "channels" has its opening in the fourth finger of the left hand another in the fourth finger of the right. Through the first, the "channel" in the left hand, the possessing god enters if he is a *lha* (*lha* is a class of gods; see below), and through the "channel" in the right hand, if he is a *btsan* or a *klu* (*btsan* and *klu* are other classes of gods; see below). When the fingers are tied the possession can not take place, only the "light" (Tib. *'od gzer*) of the gods can enter. One can then see the gods clearly if the "channels" are clean. After the brief interval dBang phyug sang a short song, put on his head-dress (Tib. *rigs lnga*) and let himself be possessed by the god who was to carry out the task of the evening. In this case it was Thang *lha'i thang sras mchor bo*. dBang phyug was now drumming very fast and Rig' dzin, who was sitting cross-legged close to me on a bench on dBang phyug's right, started to tremble and then to shake. As the intensity of the drumming increased Rig' dzin's shaking became more and more vehement. The possessing god then asked, through the mouth of dBang phyug, why he had been called and he was told the reason. dBang phyug now took a handful of rice, blew it, and threw it at Rig' dzin, who was shaking, snorting and hissing violently. dBang phyug knelt, took the bundle of feathers from the altar (see below) and waved it to and fro in front of Rig' dzin's face. Then there was a period of violent drumming, during which Rig' dzin jumped and swayed on his seat. dBang phyug then asked Rig' dzin to tell what he saw in the *phyi gling* (one of the mirrors on the altar, the one in which the *lhas* stay during the seance). Rig' dzin now sang, as it seemed with the utmost difficulty, snorting and grunting between the words. He was barely able to press the words out of his mouth. In spite of repeated urgings from dBang phyug, Rig' dzin was soon unable to articulate any more; he could only groan. dBang phyug then leaned forward and untied Rig' dzin's left-hand finger. He then sat down again and began to describe the *lhas* in the *phyi-gling*. After this he once more resumed his violent drumming and Rig' dzin again started to shake. Rig' dzin now had to tell what he saw in the *bar gling* (the mirror in which the members of the *btsan* class stay during the seance). He tried hard but without much success. dBang phyug now took off the red ribbon on Rig' dzin's right hand. Rig' dzin seemed completely unaware of what was happening around him. Then for the third time, dBang phyug resumed his drumming and Rig' dzin immediately started to shake and jump. dBang phyug took the white and the red ribbons from the altar where he had put them, blew them and then tied them again on the fourth finger of each of Rig' dzin's hands. Rig' dzin was now sitting with his head hanging down and leaning to one side. He was completely motionless. dBang phyug sang for a long time, then threw rice at Rig' dzin, who slowly came to. He looked around him, took off his head-cloth, stood up and stepped outside on unsteady legs as dBang phyug began the final part of the seance. After the seance Rig' dzin told me that when dBang phyug was drumming the pain in his arms and shoulders was almost unbearable and made it very difficult to sing. During the seance his "consciousness" (Tib. *rnam shes*) had been in his body all the time. That was why he could remember though dimly, what had happened. The outcome of the test this time was that Rig' dzin was to wait some time and then try again.

The test, as has already been mentioned, aims at establishing the identity and nature of the beings the *dpa' bo* candidate sees. But even if the candidate passes the tests and receives blessings from a lama he is not completely safe from evil-minded demons, who never tires of trying to sneak into his altar-mirrors or even into his body in order to disturb the seance. According to my informants there are three classes of *dpa' bo*: the good, the mediocre and the bad. It is of course of importance to know to which of these classes a *dpa' bo* belongs.¹⁶ When living in Tibet the young *dpa' bo* had to go on a certain pilgrimage to the mountain of Targo. On this pilgrimage he was to find out to what class he actually belonged. Targo, together with Lake Dangra¹⁷, plays a very important role for

the dpa' bos. Targo is the seat of group of btsans, members of which often possess the dpa' bos. In this mountain there is a cave in which Pad ma' byung gnas (Padmasambhava) is said once to have meditated. To this cave the dpa' bo must go. Inside the cave there are three stones: one for the dpa' bo to sit on, one for incense and one, somewhat higher, for the altar. In this cave the dpa' bo was to invoke the gods. A bad dpa' bo was bound to die during the performance. His blood would stream out through his nostrils. Afterwards his bodily remains could be found outside the cave and his head-dress and other belongings inside, attached to a string. A mediocre dpa' bo, on the other hand, would survive and could leave the place without anything happening. A good dpa' bo, finally, would not only survive, but on leaving the cave would find treasures (Tib. gter) of some kind: a drum, a gshang, medicine, etc.

But there exist also several methods with which practically any one can test a dpa' bo. Here I will just mention one which was considered very funny by informants. The demons who are most often suspected to take up their abode in the dpa' bo are the the' u rang¹⁹. As these demons are very fond of food, they are said to leave the body of the dpa' bo immediately if a plate of food is placed nearby. If the dpa' bo is possessed by one of the the' u rang he will suddenly and unexpectedly come to himself again.

Training

The lama who tested dBang phyug also taught him how to test prospective dpa' bos in his turn. One important activity of the dpa' bo is the healing of illness by sucking the object or substance causing the illness out of the patient's body. This dBang phyug learned how to do from his maternal grandfather. The grandfather made a small figure of "dough" (Tib. spags, i.e. rtsampa, roast-flour, mixed with water or tea) in the semblance of a human being into which he put a piece of meat. dBang phyug then succeeded in sucking out the piece of meat when possessed.

Sri gcod said that the only occasion on which he ever received any instruction was when he was told the names of the gods he had seen.

[Nyi ma had been instructed by both Sri gcod and dBang phyug. I could not, however, obtain any details.

[Rig 'dzin had not yet received proper instruction.

During one of the seances with Nyi ma the possessing god said that there were four subjects a good dpa' bo ought to know: he must know about the "channels" (Tib. rtsa) in the body through which the possessing god enters and he must know how to describe the appearances of the gods. Both these subjects can be learned from a lama as well as from a dpa' bo. Further he must know how to cure illness by sucking and he must know how to invoke the proper supernatural beings for this procedure (as will be described below, it is zoomorphic beings who possess the dpa' bo and make the sucking-out of illness possible). The last two subjects can only be learned from another dpa' bo.

It is considered very important for a young dpa' bo to choose a wise and honest dpa' bo as a teacher (Tib. dgergan). If the teacher is dishonest there is a possibility that he will steal gods from his pupil.

Theoretically the dpa, bo is independent of the lama and the lama's authority. Nevertheless, all the dpa' bos thought it necessary to have a lama's blessing for their work as a dpa' bo. It would be a most interesting task to investigate the relationship between the lamas and the dpa' bos in detail. One of my informants told me that his native district in Tibet was seldom visited by lamas, and on this account the local dpa' bo might sometimes, when possessed, act as a lama.

The dpa' bo's paraphernalia

At the beginning of every seance the dpa' bo set up a small altar. d Bang phyug's way of going about this may be taken as an example. He built it in front of the house-altar; ideally, the dpa' bo should have the altars on his right side when performing. d Bang phyug started by forming a swastika (Tib. g. young drung) of rice on the table or shelf that was to serve as a base for the altar. He then filled two bowls with spags (see above) and one with rice. The contents of these bowls were then given a cone-like form. The three bowls were put on the g. yung drung—the one with rice was placed to the left. In the spags cone in the bowl in the middle he then put his big mirror, and behind this he planted a small stick with, as a rule, three small pictures¹⁸ fastened to it. These pictures depicted m Gon po phyag drug (i. e., the six-armed Mahakala), Guru drag po (i. e., a manifestation of Padmasambhava), and Sa skya gong ma²⁰. Then one stick with pictures of U rgyan rin po che (i. e., Padmasambhava) and Karmapa were put in the left bowl and one stick with a picture of d Pal ldan lha mo in the right. In front of these bowls he then placed three smaller ones containing tea (to the right), milk (in the middle), and water (to the left). Some smaller ritual items were then placed around the smaller bowls: a bundle of white feathers, two white shells and one spoon. Finally, a white scarf (Tib. khabtags) was stretched over the picture-sticks and an oil-lamp and some incense-sticks were lit just before the chanting of the invocations. The mirror (or mirrors) that the dpa' bo places on the altar is (are) considered the most important part of his paraphernalia. During the seance the gods are present through their reflections in the mirror. The dpa' bos say that the gods say in the mirror, and they are able to describe exactly the way the gods place themselves when they have arrived after the invocations. They stand in two lines converging backwards, with the leader of the class in the front of the line to the right. Interestingly enough, the mirror is always called gling, "world". The mirror is so important because if it is not placed on the altar, the gods will not have a place to stay and will consequently not come. Although one mirror is enough, the dpa' bo ought to have three: one for each class of deity. The three mirrors are called phyi gling, bar gling and nang gling. If the dpa' bo, as most often is the case, has only one mirror, it is thought to be divided into three concentric circles. As mentioned above, the lhas stay in the phyi gling, the btsans in the bar gling and the klus in the nang gling. Instead of a mirror a dpa' bo might use, I was told, a knife for the same purpose. This he can do, for instance, when travelling and thus not able to take his whole equipment with him.

dBang phyug, Shri geod and Nyi ma used the same kind of drum, the damaru, shaped like an hour-glass. It was made of wood, preferably sandal-wood²¹. The drum is held in the right hand. In his left hand the dpa' bo held a gshang, a flat bell²². Instead of the damaru he could have the big drum (Tib. rnga chen), which is beaten with a curved drumstick. In Tibet d Bang phyug had always used the big drum. The drum is important because its sound is thought to reach the deities and make them come more willingly. In the seances it is sometimes said that "at the first sound from the drum, the lhas will come like slowly falling snow; at the second sound from the drum, the btsans will come like a hail-storm; at the third sound from the drum, the klus will come like whirling snow-flakes."²³

dBang phyug also used another musical instrument, a horn (Tib. rkang gling) he blew three times during the invocations to greet the three classes of deities arriving.

Important in healing seances was the small figurine in the semblance of a human being (Tib. mi lpag g. yang gzhi) used by dBang phyug. It was made of leather with black stones as eyes and bird-claws attached to its hands and feet. How it was used will be described below:—

The bundle of feathers has already been mentioned. It was always placed on the altar, but not very often used. It was only put to its real use in seances for the expulsion of demons, which were arranged in specific situations. Such a seance was arranged at the request of families who had lost a child. Its central part consisted of the cutting off of a string made from nine threads. For

the cutting the feather-bundle was used, the feathers of which were supposed to come from the *thang dkar* birds. ²⁴ The cutting of the string was thought to prevent further misfortunes befalling the family.

Another important part of the *dpa' bo's* paraphernalia was the head-dress (Tib. *rigs lnga*). This was donned just a few moments before the possession took place, and this was the sign that the God was now acting through the *dpa' bo*. The *rigs lnga* is a five-lobed crown which is fastened to the head with strings. On the lobes are painted pictures, said to represent five *mkha' gro mas* (*ḍākiñi*), but in fact depicting the five *dhyani-buddhas*. In front of the outermost lobe at each side there are two "wings" attached to the strings. These "wings" are fan-shaped and painted in the colours of the rainbow. Each is decorated with two eyes, the eyes of the *khyung-bird*, according to my informants. In front of these wings the so-called *snyan dar* hangs down at each side. The *snyan dar* consists of two big bundles of multi-coloured ribbons fastened together with a short string. The string is stretched over the *rigs lnga* and the bundles are consequently hanging down at each side in front of the *dpa' bo's* shoulders. The *rigs lnga* could not be put on until the *dpa' bo* had wrapped a piece of red cloth around his head.

At the end of every seance, during the "rigs lnga game", the *dpa' bo* makes a show of swinging and jerking his head in all possible ways to show that the headgear will not fall off until he wants it to; it is thought of as guarded and kept on his head by one or two *mkha' gro mas*. Finally it must be mentioned that it is held that during and right after the seance the *rigs lnga* brings luck. During "the rigs lnga game", for instance, it might happen that people went up to the *dpa' bo* and tried to put their heads under the flapping "wings" of his headgear; or that after the seance, before the *dpa' bo* had put the *rigs lnga* away, people could ask him to touch their heads with it and say a few luck-bringing words.

Importance was also attached to the falling-off of the *rigs lnga*. If it came off very slowly and stayed on the *dpa' bo's* back with the "wings" over his shoulders this was considered to be very lucky. But if it came off fast and fell to the ground it was considered a very bad sign for the *dpa' bo* or, according to the direction in which it fell off and other circumstances, for the people who had asked for the seance.

Activities :

During the seance it is not the *dpa' bo* who acts, but the God by which he is possessed. This is the only source of the *dpa' bo's* authority and the only reason why people come to him for help. Apart from the seance he has no religious authority whatsoever. Theoretically, he has no responsibility for what happens during the possession, and he claims that he does not remember any thing afterwards. In practice, however, the *dpa' bo* is of course responsible for the correctness of his invocation of the gods, and he is also supposed to see that no demons sneak into his mirror or his body. So, after all, no distinct line is drawn, in this respect, between the unpossessed and the possessed *dpa' bo*.

The *dpa' bos* have a foundation myth. According to my informants, if it was *Guru rin po che* (i. e., *Padmasambhava*) who invited the first *dpa' bos* to come to Tibet from neighbouring regions so that they could cure the illnesses afflicting the Tibetans at that time. He invited four *dpa' bos* to come, one from each of the four cardinal points, hence they are called *Phyogs* (or *Zur*) *bzhi dpa' rab bzhi bo*. Everything the present-day *dpa' bo* can do when possessed can be done because of the archetypical acts of these four primeval *dpa' bos*. They were often referred to at the seances.

This narrative about the four mythic *dpa' bos* stresses the main activity of the *dpa' bo* : the curing of illness. The *dpa' bo* can cure in many ways but the method most often used was to suck out from the body of the patient the object or substance causing the illness. But not all illnesses

can be cured in this way : in one of dBang phyug's seances the possessing God said that only gza', lhog pa and khyi smyon could be cured in this way. Neither dBang phyug nor any other informant was after the seance able to give any further information of gza' than that it was in illness. According to Jäschke's dictionary the word is used for epilepsy. ²⁵ Concerning lhog, the information was more specific : there are three kinds of lhog, me, sa and chu lhog (i. e., fire, earth and water-lhog) caused by different kinds of worms. These worms make crater-like sores in the skin of the afflicted person. Khyi smyon, finally, means "mad dog", but is here used for the "poisoning" resulting from the bite of a dog suffering from rabies. The "poison" is in the first stage of this illness thought to be evenly distributed in the whole body. After some days it will gather in one of the bitten person's shoulders and take the shape of a small dog. If the "poison" is not sucked out in time, it will kill the victim. ²⁶As it often happened that people were bitten by dogs who had, or were thought to have, rabies, the dpa' bos were frequently asked to cure the condition. As an example I will take one of dBang phyug's seances, which was arranged to cure an elderly couple.

The invocations were sung as usual (see below), the possession duly took place after which dBang phyug answered some questions posed by a participant and then began the healing. One of the bitten persons, the old man, sat down on the floor in front of dBang phyug, who was sitting cross-legged on a bench. dBang phyug hit the man over the head with the mi spags g.yang gzhi (see above) three times. This he did, as was explained to me, in order to chase away demons and evil spirits. The possessing deity then decided which of the possible remedial animals was to come. It was a wild dog this time : Thang lha'i khyi rgod rag pa. The old man undressed to the waist, turned his back on dBang phyug and placed a small piece of red cloth on his left shoulder. dBang phyug now jerked the drum violently and soon started to bark and to howl, to sniff in the air like a dog and to bare his teeth threateningly. He then put the one side of his drum against the piece of red cloth on the man's shoulder and sucked noisily at the other side of the drum. This was repeated three times. He then made movements with the drum over the man's back as if to gather the "poisonous" substance into one place. He sucked three times more and spat into a small bowl of water. Everyone present now leaned or stepped forward to see better. To me it seemed as if small grey and green particles were rapidly dissolving in the water. There was then some discussion among the onlookers about the result. The old man moved aside and the other bitten person, the old woman, took his place. dBang phyug again started the violent drumming and a minute later assumed the look of a fierce wild dog, howling and showing his teeth. The same procedure was repeated, but now he sucked only three times. In the meantime the bowl had been refilled with fresh water and when he spat out this time, I again saw grey and green smoke in the water just as if coloured particles were dissolving. The bowl was again closely inspected by all present. The same possessing god as at the beginning replaced the dog and gave a detailed explanation of the procedure and its result. The cured couple thanked the god very respectfully and humbly and left. Although this healing seance was rather typical, different methods may be employed. It sometimes happened that the possessing animal did not suck out the illness, but tore it out with its claws. Over the area of the patient's body where the illness was thought to be located a piece of red cloth was placed, as usual. The animal being entered the dpa' bo, who then, with frightening speed and ferocity, grabbed the cloth and stuffed it into his mouth. He chewed the cloth for a short while, took it out and then spat out what he had taken from the patient's body. After the ceremony, the patient's body was examined for claw-marks.

From the four dpa' bos together information about twenty remedial animals could be obtained: wild dogs, wolves, bears, wild yaks, birds etc. Furthermore, three members of the highest class of the gods, the lhas, appeared at healing seances. These were the sman pas, the "physicians", who controlled the healing process. Also other deities, who guarded the patient's body during the healing, were present.

Besides healing, the dpa' bo could do many other things. Of these, only a few will here be mentioned. Often the dpa' bo was asked to predict the future : the outcome of an illness, the prospects of a projected journey, etc. The possessing god could sometimes answer questions directly, and in such cases he let a group of lhas called the mngon shes check the correctness of his answers. Usually, however, the possessed dpa' bo used a kind of drum divination called rtsis. ²⁷ The rtsis-procedure was checked by the rtsis pas, three members of the lha -class, and carried out as follows. After the usual invocations the deity entered the dpa' bo and was told about the problem which he was asked to solve. The dpa' bo then put his double-drum on the altar or on a table in front of him and placed a few grains of rice on the drumskin. He started to sing with the gshang tinkling loudly in his left hand. He did not touch the drum. The song explained what was going to happen : if the rice moved towards the altar it was considered a positive answer; If, however, it moved in the opposite direction, the situation was serious and adequate measures were to be taken. Or the rice started to rotate clockwise if the predictions were good and counter-clockwise if they were bad. The movements of the grains were very apparent, something which may have been effected by sound-vibrations. Everyone watched carefully and then told the god what they saw, whereupon the god explained the meaning. Sri gcod performed the rtsis differently : he dropped the rice from his left hand onto the drumskin (he held the drum in his right hand) and from the pattern formed by the grains he read the future.

Some words must also be said of the bla 'khug, the "calling of the bla, the soul". This ceremony, according to my informants, might be performed in a way differing from those described by earlier authors. ²⁸ One diagnosis of illness is that the bla, the "soul", has left the body. This may be due to the fact that the patient has been frightened by a wild animal or that a demon has stolen the bla. Loss of the bla makes a person weak and apathetic. To recover, the patient has to get his "soul" back. This ceremony is called bla, khug, "soul-calling", and may be performed by a dpa' bo or a lama. During my stay in the village I met one case of "soul-loss" in a young girl who was the sister of Nyi ma. She had no appetite, did not talk and most of the time she was lying on the ground in her family's house. The healing ceremony arranged for her took the following form. When possessed, the dpa' bo took three objects, one small turquoise, one coral bead and one small shell which he put in a ball of spags. The ball was then thrown away with a sling. A bowl was now filled with water mixed with milk, and a scarf (Tib. kha btags) was stretched over the bowl as a cover. The girl suffering from "soul-loss" had to put her hands into the bowl in order to find the thrown-away objects. I was told that if she could find all of them, her bla would return, but if she could only find one or two of them, the dpa' bo would be possessed by a very wrathful deity who would help to locate the missing object or objects. During the seance the three objects were obviously thought to be identical with her bla. The seance was successful, I was told, and after a few days the girl seemed to have recovered completely.

Trance :

In this section I will give a more detailed description and analysis of a dpa' bo performance and also try to give an idea of the dpa' bo's experiences during the seance.

In order to make the possession possible, the dpa' bo must send away his "consciousness" (Tib rnam shes). The sending away of the rnam shes must take place precisely at the moment before the possession, as the time in between is considered to be very dangerous for the dpa' bo. Many demons will try to take the opportunity of entering the "empty" body. The rnam shes is sent to a deity residing on the altar. dBang phyug had Pad ma 'byung gnas (i.e. Padmasambhava) as the guardian of his rnam shes, while Nyi ma had mkha' 'gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal as the guardian of his. Under no circumstances may the rnam shes remain in the body during the possession ; in this

case the dpa' bo becomes "half god, half man", as it is called, and what he says and does during the seance is not to be trusted. The rnam shes leaves the body through one of the "channels" (Tib. rtsa) in the body, viz., the one called dbu ma, which, according to my informants, leads from the top of the skull to a point in the centre of the chest. At the same point enter two other rtsas, the rkyang ma, which begins in the fourth finger of the right hand, and the ro ma, which begins in the fourth finger of the left hand. As has been mentioned above, the possessing god enters the dpa' bo through one of these rtsa. Different classes of the gods enter through different rtsas. To each of these rtsas belong special deities who during the seance keep the rtsas clean. They are called "cleaners of the rtssa-road" (Tib. rtsa lam sang mkhan). Other deities guard the openings into the rtsas and are called "rtsa-masters" (Tib. rtsa bdag); they are inherited by one dpa' bo from another. From other contexts well-known gods, as for instance gNyan chen Thang lha ²⁹, the mountain-god, may have such a specialised function. Other deities are also present during the seance to guard specific parts of the dpa' bo's body. There may be different gods on different occasions for this purpose.

As a typical example of how a seance might be structured I will choose the above mentioned one for the old couple bitten by a mad dog.

This seance took place on the 16th of January 1971 in the home of dBang phyug (this was an exception, usually the seances were held in the home of the patient). I was alone with dBang phyug when he arranged his altar. He kept his paraphernalia behind the ordinary house altar when he was not using it. At 5:45 p.m. he started and the arrangements took him half an hour. Then he smoked a cigarette and after that he read a few short prayers (among them so-called "refuge formula"). Soon he started to sing the invocations to the accompaniment of the drum and the gshang. He mentioned a large number of deities by name, inviting them to come to the place. He then described in some detail important places to which pilgrimages were made in the area around Gangs rin po che (i.e. Kailasa). This went on for about twenty minutes and the time was 6:45 p.m. when the invocations were finished and all the deities had reached the mirrors on the altar. After a short break for about three minutes, during which he wrapped a piece of red cloth around his head, he picked up his headgear and held it in front of him at arm's length. He recited the names of the mkha' 'gro mas believed to stay on the lobes of the rigs lnga and put on his head, fastening it with two pairs of strings. When he then took up the song again, he jerked his drum faster and faster. His body started to sway to and fro as he sat there cross-legged. His whole body soon started to shake and jump. Suddenly he leapt onto the floor and began to dance to the accompaniment of a pulsating, very fast drumrhythm. He jumped up on the bed-bench again and danced there with his face towards the altar. Then he sat down, now possessed and the deity asked why he had been called. It was gNyan chen Thang lha dkar po who spoke. At 7:01 p.m. the god was told about his tasks for the evening. Before the seance I had got permission to put a few questions to the deity and these were now asked by the intermediary of the evening. ³⁰ The answers followed immediately, without the need for the rtsis-procedure. The curing part started at 7:17 p.m. As has been described above, the wild dog Thang lha'i khy rgod rag pa possessed the dpa' bo and sucked out the "poison" from the bitten couple. The healing process was finished by 7:40 p.m. Now dBang phyug started to sing about the primeval four dpa' bos and their deeds. Suddenly he angrily jumped out onto the floor. Some people had irritated the god by looking in through a hole in the wall. However, he soon calmed down and the time had now come for the deities to leave. He again sang the names of many gods and tea was offered to each of them. The lhas left the place riding on thang dkar-birds and dBang phyug asked the gods to throw down feathers plucked from the birds as they flew away. A violent drumming commenced and dBang phyug was highly agitated, his body shaking and swaying. Rather soon, a rain of small white feathers fell down from somewhere under the dark ceiling. The onlookers now began

a wild chase after the feathers, trying to catch them before they reached the floor. Such feathers were considered to bring luck. A few persons in the audience were sceptical, though not openly so. One of them said to me afterwards that dBang phyug certainly must have had the feathers hidden somewhere on the rigs Inga. If this was the case they were thrown up into the air through the violent shaking of the head that immediately preceded the rain of feathers. At 8.17 p.m. dSang phyug started the "rigs Inga game". As the "game" went on, with dBang phyug vehemently swinging and shaking, the rigs Inga slowly slipped backwards. Finally, it fell off and remained around his neck with the wings resting on his shoulders. dBang phyug quickly put a piece of grey cloth over his face, snapped his fingers and sank backwards against the wall. It was now 8.30 p.m. After a few moments' rest he uncovered his face and started to collect his things. During the "rigs Inga game" most of the onlookers left, only a few remaining. dBang phyug's wife served cooked rice and he also had some. He looked weak and exhausted as he asked about what had happened during the seance.

All the seances I attended were held indoors in the evening—although dBang phyug said that he could perform at any time in the day and at any place. The length of the seances varied, of course, those I attended lasted from an hour and half to more than four hours. The time for singing the invocations varied between 18 and 27 minutes (for dSang phyug between 19 and 22 minutes). The reason for the great variations in length between one seance and another was not so much the variety of the problems posed at each seance, but rather the fact that the dpa' bo could make the concluding part the "rigs Inga game", longer or shorter.

When asked what they felt at the onset of the possession the dpa' bos found it very hard to describe exactly what they saw and felt. During the invocations, as mentioned above, the deities reach their respective mirrors (or part of a mirror) on the altar. The dpa' bo sees them arrive and place themselves according to class and rank. This ability to see the gods is not restricted to the dpa' bo; also lamas and sngags pas have it. When the actual possession is going to take place dBang phyug sees what he describes as something like a rotating wheel with all the colours of the rainbow. It is very beautiful and very bright. When the god enters the rtso his body feels big and and as if it were filled with gas. After that he does not remember anything.

Sri gcod said that he saw a fire glowing in many colours. The fire grows bigger and bigger and comes nearer and nearer until it enters his body and every thing becomes black. He remembers no more of the seance until it ends. Then everything happens in the reverse order.

Nyi ma said that when singing the invocations he saw stars sparkling in the mirrors on the altar. Then the mirrors grow bigger and bigger and the people around him become smaller and smaller, while their eyes shine brightly and their voices become thinner and thinner.

After the seances the dpa' bos usually recover a few minutes after the rigs Inga has fallen off. dBang phyug and Nyi ma said that they did not feel anything particular afterwards, but Sri gcod said that his arms and shoulders ached because the powerful rnam shes of the possessing deity had penetrated his rtso.

The change in the ritual status of the dpa' bo during the seance is marked by the putting on of the rigs Inga, but the actual possession seems to take place shortly afterwards, when the dpa' bo jumps onto the floor and dances. According to dBang phyug, there are different kinds of dances; the dance of the lion, the dance of the elephant, of the mkha' 'gro mas etc. dBang phyug and Nyi ma used to dance for a very short while on the floor and then jumped back onto the bed-bench where the deity usually introduced itself and asked why it has been called. Nyi ma used to do something extraordinary at this stage, for instance throw glowing coal from the fire-place at the onlookers. Sri gcod usually danced a little longer on the floor with widely outstretched arms as if flying, chirping like a small bird. Then he used to kneel in front of the intermediary. Often the possessing

god is very irritated and angry at the beginning of the seance and makes scornful comments on the ignorance of the onlookers who cannot solve their own problems but have to call on him for help. Usually he calls them by a stereotyped formula, "you bazar-loafers, you meat-eaters and black-heads" ! ³¹ When the deity has introduced himself the task must be set without delay. In most cases the clients have asked someone well in advance to act as an intermediary between them and the god. The intermediary must always be a man. The role of intermediary is not sought after, and sometimes there may be long discussions even during the invocations about who is going to fill it. The intermediary does not usually receive any payment, but he is invited to share the food that is served after the seance. He has various tasks to perform : to offer tea to the gods, to place a kha btags over the rigs lnga in order to greet the deity when the latter introduces himself, to talk humbly with the god, to make respectful and grateful exclamations when the deity is explaining something, to throw rice at the dpa' bo if the possessing god is too angry and violent, and, most important, to interpret what the god has said if this is difficult to hear or to understand.

An important aspect of the seance is what might be called the theatrical aspect, the dpa' bo's dramatic presentation. In theory, as has already been stressed, the authenticity of the dpa' bo is proved by tests. In practice, however, the dpa' bo's authenticity is proved by the success of his performances. To the core of behaviour typical of the seance also other features were added, which were not strictly required. Thus, Nyi ma played with fire, dBang phyug let feathers fall etc. These doings were not essential parts of the ritual, but were nevertheless carried out to "make a good show". This was doubtless due to the dpa' bo's constant need to prove the reality of the possession and the power of his gods.

At the end of the seance the deities leave the place, one by one, in strict order. While they are leaving, the dpa' bo plays the "rigs lnga game" until, finally, the mkha', gro mas release the string and the rigs lnga falls. At that very moment the rnam shes returns to the dpa' bo, who becomes himself again.

The audience should also be mentioned. At every seance I witnessed there were more people present than really belonged to the house or to the immediate neighbourhood. In spite of the relative frequency of the seances (towards the end of the Tibetan year one seance every evening there were always many onlookers. They usually dropped in during the invocations and left after the dpa' bo had accomplished his task. There was always a relaxed atmosphere in the room—sometimes too relaxed and noisy, which provoked angry remarks from the deity. It is probable that many in the audience experienced the seance as a kind of entertainment, as it was the only diversion offered the villagers after the day's work.

Pantheon :

The pantheon of the dpa' bos is divided into three classes : the lhas, the btans and the klus. They are often called "the upper lhas, the middle btans and the lower klus". ³² The groups are too well known to need any commentary here. Within the three classes further subdivisions are made. The lha class, which consists of eighty gods, is divided into several groups according to function and speciality. There are, for instance, the rtis pas, the mngon shes, the sman pas, the sgrub thobs (i.e., siddhas) etc. The btan class, on the other hand, is grouped according to different mountains to which the btans belong. One important group among the btans belongs to the Targo mountain, another belongs to the Thang lha mountains, etc. The btans are 360 in number and have lots of servants and soldiers in their retinues. The klus, finally, are a much larger group led by klu chen gTsug na rin chen and divided into groups according to their association with different lakes.

The lhas have the highest status among the dpa' bo's deities, but nevertheless the btans are the most important. It is significant that the dpa' bo when possessed, talks about himself in stereotyped phrases, such as the btan po, the "mighty", or as the dmar po, the "red one", all designations

indicating the *btsan* class. At all the seances I attended a *btsan* always possessed the *dpa' bo*, never a *lha* or a *klu*, although I was told that this might happen.

The usual way in which a *dpa' bo* acquires his deities is by inheritance, or he receives them as gifts from an older *dpa' bo*.

A question which is unfortunately very difficult to answer is the extent to which the pantheon of the *dpa' bos* is exclusive to them and the extent to which the deities exist in the folk religion. As Tibetan folk religion is not very well known, the answer must depend upon further research.

Finally, some remarks may be made on the social position and psychological make-up of the *dpa' bos*. Economically, as well as socially, they gained very little from their spirit-mediumship. Psychologically, the *dpa' bos* whom I met with outside the seances showed no deviations from what might be called normality. Nor did they, in their ordinary lives, demonstrate maladjustment and social dissatisfaction more than others in the village. There seem to be no ground for regarding their spirit-mediumship as solely a compensation for their subordinate social position. I do not think it is possible to explain any traditional religious behaviour as a result of the need of maladjusted individuals for compensation³³.

The greater part of what is known about other forms of ritual possession in Tibet concerns the high-ranking spirit-mediums" often called "oracles" (Tib. *chöse skyong*, *chos rje*, *skur ten pa* etc.)³⁴. Although much has been written about the performances of the "state oracle" and others, very little is known about their training, how the possessing deity enters the body, what they experience, etc. The lack of relevant material makes comparisons with this material difficult. One is practically limited to comparisons between trance performances from a more general point of view. The underlying scheme seems to be identical: invocation—possession—the god is asked for help—the god leaves and the "spirit-medium" has some kind of collapse. A few observations may be made. The "oracle" does not sing the invocations himself, which the *dpa' bo* always does. Furthermore, the initial phase of the possession is more violent and is connected with greater motor agitation among the "oracles" than among the *dpa' bos*. Moreover, the "oracle" seems to be in a much deeper trance than the *dpa' bo*. This is of course hard to measure, but the different ways of behaving during the seances, the *dpa' bos* with agility and motor control, the "oracle" under great physical strain and with the need for one or more assistants to keep him under control, indicate a difference in the depth of the trance.

Concluding remarks

M. Goldstein has written in an article that "the literature on Tibetan society suffers from chronic religious indigestion"³⁵. One may perhaps paraphrase this and say that the literature on Tibetan religion suffers from chronic "lamaistic" indigestion. By this I simply mean that the study of Tibetan folk religion has been neglected. Until further research is carried out many interesting questions concerning the *dpa' bos* must be left unanswered.

Buddhism may be defined in many ways: from historical and from theological viewpoints, but also from a functional point of view. In the latter case one considers all the religious beliefs and practices in an area conventionally called Buddhist. From this point of view the *dpa' bo's* beliefs and activities may be seen as examples of apotropaic Buddhism. That Tibetan religion comprises different systems of different origins and age is obvious, and further research might clarify their interaction.

Notes :—

1. I would like to thank Mr. Ulf Drobin for many valuable comments and criticisms. I must also thank Mr. Donald Burton for revising my English.
2. Gombrich 1971 ; Spiro 1970; Tambiah 1970
3. Spiro 1970 ; 12
4. Stein 1972 : 188
5. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 425
6. Firth 1959 : 141 ; Firth 1969 : x f.
7. Firth 1969 : xi.
8. Hoffmann 1950 : 205 f. ; Hoffmann 1967 : 126 f. ; Hoffmann 1972 : Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 538—553 ; Rock 1959 : 806—817 ; Schroeder 1955.
9. Eliade 1964 : 499
10. Hultkrantz 1967 : 32 f.
11. David-Neel 1930 : 297 ff. ; David-Neel 1965 : 36 f. ; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 427 f. ; Stein 1959 : 332, 405 note 34.
12. Gorer 1967 : 216 ; Morris 1938 : 213 ; Siiger 1967 : 167 f.
13. The literature on the epic and the bard is copious, but Stein 1959 is the only exhaustive study
14. Haahr 1969 : 333 f. Tucci 1955 : 198 f. ;
15. Grub mtha' shel gyi me long fol. 410
16. On Targo, see Hedin 1909 : 1 ff. ; Roerich 1931 : 427 ff.
17. On Dangra, see the references in note 16
18. On the the'u rang, see Blondeau 1971 : 93 ff., 109 ; Tucci 1970 : 185, 239
19. The Tibetan word for such a picture was pronounced tsagle—by my informants ; according to A. Wayman it is written tsa ka li (Wayman 1973 : 56 f.).
20. The head of the Sa skya pas according to my informants. Further information they were not able to give.
21. For a description of this type of drum, see, for instance, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 399
22. For a picture of a gshang, see Karmay 1972 : fig. VII.
23. In Tibetan : (the words with uncertain orthography are preceded by +) dar skad dang po gtang la sa/ lha dmag la kha 'bab 'dra yod/ dar skad de gnyis gtang la sa/ btsan dmag la ser +khang 'dril ba ltar/ dar a skad la gsum pa gtang sa la/ klu dmag la bu yug tshub 'dra yod. (dar was the colloquial pronunciation of damaru, drum).
24. From the description my informants gave of the thang dkar birds, they seem to be eagles (cf. Stein 1956 : 392) rather than vultures (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 488).
25. Jaschke 1965 (reprint from 1881) : 492
26. For alternative treatments of rabies, see Unkrig 1952. Compare also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 367 f.

27. This usually means something like "astrology" or "astrological calculation", *Zhile mo* is the usual word for divination. Compare Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 455.
28. Lessing 1951 : Tucci 1970 : 210 f.
29. See , for instance, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956 : 205 ff.
30. This seance was one of the first I attended in the village. My questions, which were put in order to motivate my presence, concerned personal matters.
31. In Tibetan : *khrom pa sha zan mgo nag*.
32. Cf. Hoffmann 1959 : 139
33. For an explanation of this kind see, for instance, Lewis 1971 : 176 et passim. Cf. Douglas 1973 : 24 for a critique.
34. Chapman 1938 : 316 ff., Govinda 1966 : 179—191; Hanbury-Tracy 1940 : 60—68; Harrer 1953; 203—206; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956; 409—454 ; Rock 1959 : 806—817; Schafer 1950: 153—165.
35. Goldstein 1971 : 521.

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NON-BEING AND MU THE METAPHYSICAL NATURE OF NEGATIVITY IN THE EAST AND THE WEST

Masao Abe

In Volume I of his *Systematic Theology*, Paul Tillich says, 'Being precedes non-being in ontological validity, as the word "non-being" itself indicates' (p. 189). He also says elsewhere, 'Being "embraces" itself and non-being', and 'Non-being is dependent on the being it negates. "Dependent"—points first of all to the ontological priority of being over non-being' (*The Courage to Be*, P. 34, P. 40). Tillich makes these statements in connection with a tendency among some Christian thinkers to take God as Being itself. The same understanding of the relation of being and non-being can be discerned in major strands of Greek philosophy through the ideas of *to on* and *me on*. Although Greek philosophy and the Christian movement have different starting points in time, in geographical local, in conceptual orientation, Tillich's statements demonstrate the manner in which the two stands have, to a significant degree, merged, and his comments reflect a basic understanding (if not *the* basic understanding) of being and non-being in the West.

I would like to make the following objection to this understanding of being: I do not see the ontological ground on which being has priority over non-being. It is assumed that being embraces *both* itself *and* non-being. It seems to me that the very basis on which *both* being *and* non-being are embraced must not be 'Being' but 'that which is neither being nor non-being'. That being has priority over non-being, is somehow superior to non-being, more fundamental than non-being, has been assumed, perhaps uncritically, by Tillich in particular and, for quite some time, by the West in general.

In the following I will discuss these issues a little more closely and in detail.

I

In ancient Greece, just as darkness was considered to come to exist where light is lacking, non-being was understood to 'appear' when being is lacking. Non-being was understood as *steresis*, *privatio*—or privation of being, that is as *me on*. Parmenides said, 'what is is ; what is not is not'. Plato made a distinction of 'what is not' into *me on* as the relative negation of being and *ouk on* as the absolute negation of being. He rejected the latter as the unthinkable and unknowable whereas he grasped the former in correlation with *to on* as something different from being.

This paper is a revised and enlarged version of the lecture the author delivered at the first meeting of The International Society of Metaphysics at Varna in Bulgaria in September of 1973 under the title of 'Some Comments on The Role of The Negative Principle in Western and Eastern Philosophies and Religions'. The author is deeply grateful to Professors John R. Carter, Morris J. Augustine, and Thomas J. J. Altizer who revised the manuscript and made valuable suggestions.

For Plato, actual existence is always comprised of being mixed with non-being as in the case of a phenomenon which cannot escape coming into being changing, and passing away. But pure being is unchangeable and eternal, being *idea* as the original prototype for which the phenomena are copies. Again, for Plato *eidos* or form which determines an actual existence is 'being' whereas *hyle* or matter which is formed by *eidos* is 'non-being' because it is undetermined, being formless in itself. Further, from the ethical point of view 'being' is identified with good (*agathon*) and 'non-being' is regarded as the metaphysical source of evil. In any case, we can see an affirmative attitude toward this life in the ancient Greeks who understood non-being merely as the privation of being.

Christians have continued to believe in God as creator who transcends his creation, his creatures. God did not create the universe out of some 'given' matter but created everything including matter itself. Tillich says, 'The *me-ontic* matter of Platonism represents the dualistic element which underlies all paganism—Christianity has rejected the concept of *me-ontic* matter on the basis of the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. Matter is not a second principle in addition to God' (*Systematic Theology* Vol. I, P. 188). Thus, the *nihil* out of which God creates is *ouk on*, the absolute negation of being. In Christian thought, God, who has revealed himself in terms of 'I am that I am' ('*ehyehasher 'ehyeh*)—'*hayah*' as the root of '*ehyeh* means happen, become, be—is, according to Tillich, being itself or the ground of being which has the power of resisting non-being (Tillich, *ibid.*, PP. 235-6). On the other hand, all creatures, being created out of nothing, are always facing the abyss of nihil. Further, God, within the Christian tradition is not a philosophical principle but the living personal God who is love and justice. So, for the Christian tradition, the issue of being and non-being is not only an ontological issue also a practical and religious one in which notions like fidelity, sincerity, faithfulness and falsity, falsehood, deception, rebellion, sin, justice and injustice are integrally involved. Accordingly *nihil*, being a part of man as a creature, is not merely the source of *evil* as the privation of good but the source of *sin* as the rebellion against the will of God.

In comparison with Platonism, Christianity takes the idea of non-being (*me on* and *ouk on*) more seriously and the idea of being more profoundly. Yet, the notion that being has in some way a priority over non-being is common to both Platonism and Christianity. However, as I said earlier I do not see the ontological ground on which being has priority over non-being; being need not be assumed, perhaps uncritically, to be somewhat superior to, more final than, non-being. The point at issue lies in how the *negative principle* should be understood in relation to the positive principle. My objections mentioned above might become more cogent in the light of the following two observations :

Firstly, being-and-non-being can be taken as an ontological category for life-and-death and good-and-evil, and so forth. Therefore the question becomes : What is the ontological ground for the superiority of life over death ? Is the Western presumption that good is superior to evil fully justifiable in the final analysis ? It is needless to say that life is more *desirable* than death ; good *should be* superior to evil. However, whether human actuality can be controlled by the desire for life and moral imperative is another problem.

Secondly, since being prevails in the balance of being and non-being to overcome the opposition between being and non-being means to approach Being with a capital B as the end. In the same way, to overcome the opposition between life and death means to reach Eternal Life, and to overcome the opposition between good and evil means to move towards Supreme Good. However, since the idea of the priority of the positive principle over the negative principle must be questioned the ideas of Being itself, Eternal Life, and Supreme Good must also be critically questioned

Diagram I

'Being precedes non-being in ontological validity'

'Being "embraces" itself and nonbeing'.—Paul Tillich

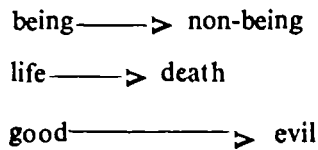
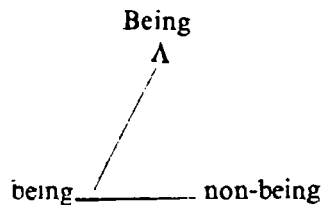


Diagram II

Since being prevails in the balance of being and non-being to overcome the opposition between being and non-being means to approach Being as the end.



In the East, men who have seen themselves in the Confucian tradition, have emphasised human ethics and the intrinsic goodness of man, what it is like to be genuinely human, in a manner that is not significantly different from men of the Western traditions in their understanding of positivity and negativity. Taoists and Buddhists, however, have maintained that the idea of nothingness is central and essential.

With regard to the Taoist tradition, Lao Tzu says in the opening sentences of *Tao Ti Ching*, 'The Tao which can be expressed in words is not the eternal Tao : the name which can be uttered is not its eternal name. Without a name, it is the Beginning of Heaven and Earth ; with a name, it is the Mother of all things' (from *The Sayings of Lao Tzu* by Lionel Giles). He also says 'Heaven and Earth and the ten thousand things are produced from Being : Being is the product of Non-being' (Ch. 40, from the translation appeared in Fung Yu-lan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy* Vol. I, p. 178). It is clear that, for Lao Tzu, Tao as the basic principle of the universe is completely unnamable, unknowable, and nonexistent, and yet it is all-embracing and unfailing. In this respect Chung-Tzu is more radical. He says,

'If there was a beginning, then there was a time before that beginning. And a time before the time which was before the time of that beginning. If there is existence, there must have been non-existence. And if there was a time when nothing existed, then there must have been a time before that—when even nothing did not exist. Suddenly, when nothing came into existence, could one really say whether it belonged to the category of existence or of non-existence ? Even the very words I have just now uttered,—I cannot say whether they have really been uttered or not' (*Chuang Tzu*, translated by Herbert A. Giles. London, Quaritch, 1926, p. 23.).

This is a realisation of throughgoing negation to reach the ultimate reality which is completely beyond beginning and end, existence and no existence, somethingness and nothingness. For Chuang Tzu, being and non-being have both sprung from Tao, and thus are two aspects of Tao which is completely unnameable. On the basis of the Tao he advocates excursions into freedom as the ideal life. He shares Lao-Tzu's idea that 'Tao never does, yet through it all things are done' (Ch.37).

In ancient India the significance of negativity is clearly realised even before the rise of Buddhism. Upanisadic philosophy emphasises oneness of Brahman and atman which is expressed only negatively in terms of *neti, neti* as the seer who cannot be seen, as the knower who cannot

be known. However, Brahman and atman are understood as eternal, unchangeable and substantial. Rejecting the substantial nature of atman Buddhists advocate anatman or absence of an eternal self and anitya or impermanence. That everything is impermanent without exception, having no eternal selfhood (self-identity) and no unchangeable substance, is one of the basic principles of Buddhism. And that everything is dependent on something else without exception, nothing whatsoever being independent and self-existing, is another basic Buddhist principle which is called pratitya-samutpada which may mean dependent origination, relationality, relational origination, or dependent co-arising. That every thing is impermanent and dependently originating must be applied to things not only in the universe but also beyond the universe. This indicates that Buddhists have maintained that the idea of the only God who is the creator and ruler of the universe and the idea of Brahman which is the eternal and sustaining power of the cosmos are ideas which are ultimately inadequate. For Buddhists everything, without exception, is neither a creature created by the only transcendent God nor something immanent in the imperishable Brahman but dependently co-arising without an eternal and substantial selfhood. When one does not fully realise this truth and becomes attached to his possessions, beloved persons, and himself, as if they were permanent and imperishable, he is in illusion and will inevitably suffer. However, when one awakens to that truth one realises the ultimate reality, becoming freed from illusion and suffering, and attains nirvana in which wisdom and compassion are fully realised and which thereby becomes the basis for one's real life and activity.

Buddhist ideas of anatman or absence of an eternal self, everything's impermanence, and dependent origination, all imply the negation of being, existence, and substantiality. It is Nagarjuna who establishes the idea of Sunyata or Emptiness by clearly realising the implication of the basic ideas transmitted by the earlier Buddhist tradition. It must be emphasised that Nagarjuna's idea of Emptiness is not nihilistic. Emptiness which is completely without form is freed from both being and non-being because 'non-being' is still a form as distinguished from 'being'. In fact, he not only repudiates the 'eternalist' view, which took phenomena to be real just as they are : he also rejects as illusory the exactly opposite 'nihilistic' view that emptiness and non-being are true reality. Thus he opens up a new vista which is liberated from every illusory point of view connected with either affirmation or negation, being or non-being, as the standpoint of 'Mahayana Emptiness' and he called that standpoint the Middle Path. Accordingly, Nagarjuna's idea of the Middle Path does not simply indicate a midpoint between the two extremes as the Aristotelian idea of the mean might suggest. Instead, it refers to the Way which transcends every possible duality including that of being and non-being, affirmation and negation. Therefore his idea of Emptiness is not a mere emptiness as opposed to fullness. Emptiness as Sunyata transcends and embraces both emptiness and fullness. It is really formless in the sense that it is liberated from both 'form' and 'formlessness'. Thus, in Sunyata emptiness as it is is fullness and fullness as it is is emptiness ; formlessness as it is is form and form as it is is formless. This is the reason that for Nagarjuna true Emptiness is wondrous Being.

This dialectical structure of Sunyata may be logically explained as follows : since Sunyata is realised not only by negating the 'eternalist' view but also by negating the 'nihilistic' view, which negates the former, it is not based on a mere negation but on the negation of the negation. This double negation is not a relative negation but an absolute negation. And an absolute negation is nothing but an absolute affirmation because, logically speaking, the negation of the negation is the affirmation. Yet, it is not a mere and immediate affirmation. It is an affirmation which is realised through double negation, i. e., absolute negation. Thus we may say that absolute negation is absolute affirmation and absolute affirmation is absolute negation. This paradoxical statement well expresses the dialectical and dynamic structure of Sunyata in which emptiness is fullness and fullness is emptiness.

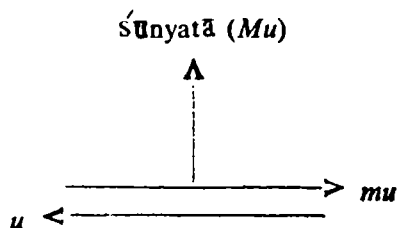
III

Here, we come to a crucial point of the discussion. The above dynamic structure of *Sūnyatā* may be impossible if, as in the Western intellectual traditions, the positive principle is understood to have the ontological priority over the negative principle. Only when the positive and the negative principles have equal force and are mutually negating is the dialectical structure of *Sūnyatā* possible. This is most clearly seen in Chinese and Japanese terms, *u* and *mu*. The term *u* stands for being and the term *mu* for non-being. Unlike Western ideas of being and non-being, to *on* and *me on*, *etre* and non-*etre*, *Sein* and *Nichtsein*, *u* and *mu*, are completely balanced in relation to one another. They are entirely relative, complementary and reciprocal, not being one without the other. In other words, *mu* is not one-sidedly derived through negation from *u*. *Mu* is the negation of *u* and vice-versa. One has no logical and ontological priority to the other. Being the complete counter-concept to *u*, *mu* is more than privation of *u*, a stronger form of negativity than 'non-being' as understood in the West. Further, *u* and *mu* are completely antagonistic principles and therefore inseparable from one another, consisting in an antinomy, a self-contradiction, as a whole. The Buddhist idea of *Sūnyatā* shows the standpoint realised by overcoming the antinomic, self-contradictory oneness of *u* and *mu*.

In Sanskrit, equivalents to *me on* or non-being are *asat* or *abhāva*, which are negative forms of *sat* or *bhāva*. So far the condition does not differ from Greek and other related Western languages. Unlike Greek and so forth, however, as Hajime Nakamura points out, "The Indians think a negative form is not only negative but also positive and affirmative. So in Indian logic the universal negative judgment (E) is not used, and it is discussed after being changed into the universal positive judgment (A); e. g., 'All the speeches are non-eternal' (*anityah śabdah*)". Accordingly in Indian thinking, *sat* and *asat*, *bhava* and *abhava*, instead of having a simple before-after relationship, are rather understood to be, if not opposed to one another, even contradictory to one another. In Buddhism, which propounded "dependent origination", *sat* and *asat*, *bhava* and *abhava*, were also taken to be mutually dependent with the understanding that *sat* or *bhava* is a non-self-existent reality (*asvabhava*). Nāgārjuna's idea of "Emptiness" was firmly established through the idea of "dependent origination"—as the fundamental and positive principle which transcends both *sat* (or *bhava*) and *asat* (or *abhava*).

In the West, since being is considered ontologically prior to non-being, the ultimate, beyond the opposition of being and non-being is Being with a capital B, which can be indicated by a line slanted in the direction of Being (see Diagram II). By contrast, in Buddhism *Sūnyata*, as the ultimate, is realised through a process of directly transcending the very duality of *u* and *mu*, which are on equal footing, are completely reciprocal, and can be represented in Diagram III.

Diagram III

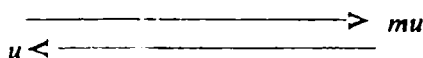


Accordingly the ultimate for Buddhists is not 'Being' itself but formless 'Emptiness' which is neither *u* nor *mu* and which is often referred to as absolute *Mu* as distinguished from relative *mu*.

Strictly speaking, however, if Emptiness or absolute *Mu* is the third thing which simply transcends and stands somewhat outside of the duality of *u* and *mu* (as in Diagram III) it cannot be called true Emptiness or true absolute *Mu*—because Emptiness or *Mu* thus understood

is only *something* named 'Emptiness' or '*Mu*', i. e., Nothingness. In other words, it still stands in a dualistic relation to the *u* and *mu*. It is only by overcoming this kind of duality as well that true Emptiness or true absolute *Mu* is realised. Although the realisation of Emptiness is essential one should not cling to Emptiness as Emptiness. This is the reason that throughout its long history Mahayana Buddhism, which is based on the idea of Emptiness, has rigorously rejected the attachment to Emptiness as a 'confused understanding of Emptiness', a 'rigid view of nothingness' or a 'view of annihilatory nothingness'. In order to attain true Emptiness, Emptiness must 'empty' itself; Emptiness must become non-Emptiness. The result is that true Emptiness is wondrous. Being, absolute U, fullness and suchness of everything, tathāgata, ultimate, Reality which, being beyond *u* and *mu*, lets both *u* and *mu* stand and work just as they are in their reciprocal relationship.

Diagram IV



Śūnyatā (*Mu*)

The above mentioned wrong understanding of and attachment to Emptiness is a result of conceptualising it. The Buddhist idea of Emptiness can be properly realised not conceptually, but only holistically, subjectively, or existentially through the realisation of one's own existence as a self-contradictory oneness of being and non-being, that is *u* and *mu*.

This existential realisation that true Emptiness 'empties' itself indicates that it is not a static state which is objectively observable but a dynamic activity of emptying in which you and I are also involved. Indeed there exists nothing whatsoever outside of this dynamic whole of emptying. In true Emptiness, on the one hand, *u* is not *u* but becomes *mu*; *mu* is not *mu* but becomes *u*, because both are being emptied. Thus reciprocal movements from *u* to *mu* and from *mu* to *u* are fully realised. On the other hand *u* is always *u*; *mu* is always *mu*, because in true Emptiness the above 'emptying' is also 'emptied'. Thus self-identical movements from *u* to *u* and from *mu* to *mu* are also fully realised.

In sum, both (1) the reciprocal movements between *u* and *mu* and (2) the self-identical movements of *u* and *mu* are completely, dynamically, and paradoxically realised in true Emptiness.

It is really a vast, boundless and infinite sphere which in itself is the dynamic whole of emptying activity.

In the realisation of this true Emptiness as an infinite dynamic sphere of (total) 'emptying' affirmation and negation, positivity and negativity, *u* and *mu* are paradoxically and self-contradictorily one and identical allowing any point of the sphere to come to possess the same paradoxical nature.

IV

In this connection the following five points must be clarified.

Firstly, when I said earlier that in Buddhism the idea of nothingness is central and primary I meant that not relative *mu* but absolute *Mu*, i. e., true Sunyata is central and is essential if ultimate Reality, wondrous Being is to be revealed. Without the existential realisation of absolute *Mu* there is no awakening to ultimate Reality. Secondly, however, this is not to say that the realisation of absolute *Mu* is merely a gate to reach the hall of ultimate Reality. Instead it in itself is the hall of ultimate Reality because absolute *Mu* or true Sunyata is existentially realised as such through

overcoming Mu or *ūnyatā* at the third thing standing beyond the relative u and mu, and through returning to and affirming them as they are. True Emptiness and Wondrous Being are completely non-dualistic : absolute Mu and ultimate reality are totally identical, although the realisation of the former is indispensable for the realisation of the latter.

Thirdly, since in Buddhism the realisation of absolute Mu is essential to reveal ultimate Reality, i. e., Wondrous Being, the Buddhist idea of Wondrous Being is clearly different from the Western idea of 'Being' which is also understood as ultimate Reality. In the West 'Being' is not non-dualistic as regards absolute nothingness nor realised through the realisation of Emptiness. It is considered not as being beyond the antinomy of being and non-being but as ultimate, in the sense of its being ontologically prior to non-being.

Fourthly the difference between Western intellectual traditions and Buddhism in their understandings of Being as the ultimate Reality depends on whether or not the realisation of absolute Mu is essential to reveal it and after all whether or not relative mu (non-being) is understood as completely equal and reciprocal to relative u (beings). The negativity of human life is felt more seriously and deeply in Buddhism than among the followers of Western intellectual traditions. This is true to the extent that it is not inferior but equal to positivity.

Fifthly, when positivity (or being) is ontologically prior to negativity (or non-being) it is natural that 'Being' as the quintessence of this ontological priority should be regarded as the ultimate, and as the symbol of liberation. Negativity in this view is no more than something to be overcome by positivity. On the contrary when positivity (or u) and negativity (or mu) are equal and reciprocal it is the antinomic and contradictory tension between positivity and negativity that is to be overcome. Then, as in Buddhism, liberation is realised in Emptiness as the emancipation from the above existential antinomy. And, what is most important, it is necessary and indispensable for true liberation to 'empty' Emptiness as the final step. Here the symbol of liberation is not 'Being' as the point of ontological priority of being to non-being but the dynamism of 'Emptiness' which is simultaneously fullness.

V

The difference between Western intellectual traditions and Buddhism in their understanding of negativity in human life involves not only an ontological issue but also an existential and soteriological one. And when their negativity, particularly in human existence, is understood as inferior or equal to positivity is, in my view, not an issue of whether an individual or religion is optimistic or pessimistic but rather an issue of whether they are idealistic or realistic. Western understanding of negativity in man as inferior to his positivity is based on an attitude to human nature which is not necessarily optimistic but idealistic. On the other hand, Buddhist understanding of man's negativity as equal to his positivity is supported by an attitude which is not altogether pessimistic but radically realistic with regard to human nature.

What has been said about u and mu can be equally applied to life and death, good and evil and so forth. In Buddhism, life is not considered as having priority over death. Life and death are antagonistic processes, negating one another, yet inseparably connected with one another. Since the mutual negating process of life and death is beginningless and endless it is called, in Buddhism, *samsāra*, transmigration or wheel of life and death. Those who follow Buddhism are deeply involved in anxiety of endlessness of *samsāra* and seek for emancipation from it. When the endless process of *samsāra* is grasped not conceptually but holistically and existentially at the present moment of life it is realised as the antinomic, self-contradictory oneness of life and death.

This realisation is called, particularly in Zen, the realisation of 'great Death' because it is the total negation of life-and-death and is beyond a realisation of death as distinguished from life. Nirvāna, the Buddhist realisation of liberation takes place only through the realisation of 'great Death'. For Buddhists it is not essential to overcome death with the power of life and to attain the eternal life in the future, but to be liberated from the self-contradictory nature of life and death and to awaken to freedom from the wheel of life and death. Since this awakening is a thoroughly existential one it can take place where one is, i. e., here and now. In this existential awakening nirvāna is not something apart from samsāra. In the here and now samsāra as it is is nirvāna and nirvāna as it is is samsāra.

Again, in Buddhism good is not understood to have priority to evil. Through the experience of their inner struggle Buddhists can not say that their good is strong enough to overcome evil. Good and evil are completely antagonistic principles, resisting each other with equal force, yet inseparably connected and consisting in an existential antinomy as a whole. However imperative it may be from the ethical point of view, it is, in Buddhism, an illusory view to believe to be able to overcome evil with good and to attain the highest good. Since good and evil are mutually negating principles with equal power, an ethical effort to overcome evil with good never succeeds and will fall into a serious dilemma. Realising this existential dilemma innate in human existence, and speaking of it in terms of original sin, Christians have propounded the necessity of faith in God who delivers man from sin through his redemptive activity. From a Christian perspective, God himself is Good, with a capital 'G' as can be noted in the Biblical statement 'no one is good, but God alone' (Mark 10: 18, Luke 18: 19). Since the law is the expression of God's will, obedience and/or disobedience to the law constitute man's good and/or evil. Moreover, it is emphasised, 'Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good' (II Thess. 3: 13).

On the contrary what is essential for Buddhist salvation is not to overcome evil with good and to participate in the supreme Good, but to be emancipated from the existential antinomy of good and evil and to awaken to Emptiness prior to the opposition between good and evil. Again, Emptiness is realised not conceptually but holistically with one's whole existence and, as I said before, true Emptiness is at once fullness. So in the existential awakening to Emptiness one can be master of, and not slave to, good and evil. In this sense the realisation of true Emptiness is the basis for human freedom, creative activity, and his ethical life.

VI

To sum up, in the West positive principles such as being, life, good, and so forth have ontological priority to negative principles such as non-being, death, evil and so forth. In this sense negative principles are always apprehended as something secondary. By contrast in the East—especially in Taoism and Buddhism, negative principles are not secondary but co-equal to the positive principles and even primary and central. This is, however the case in the sense that the realisation of negativity is crucial to reveal ultimate Reality and the nameless Tao or Emptiness is realised as the root-source of both positive and negative principles in their relative sense. In other words the ultimate beyond the opposition between the positive and the negative is realised in the East in terms of negativity and in the West in terms of positivity.

However, in connection with the Western tradition, I should not overlook the following two facts in which negativity is understood as something positive: one is Christian mysticism,

particularly that named Negative Theology and the other is philosophies of Friderich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger¹.

Firstly, in Christian mysticism which is based on experience of God's uniting himself directly with the soul, God is not a transcendental, personal being over against the soul, called 'Thou', but Godhead from which the personal God himself emerges. As pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite wrote in his Mystical Theology, Godhead is undefinable, unnamable and unknowable, beyond-dark and light, true and untrue, affirmation and negation. Only via negative provides a way applicable to the ineffable God. In German mysticism Godhead or Gottheit is simply grasped as Nichts by Meister Eckhardt and as Ungrund by Jakob Boehme. And the essence of God is not the Supreme Good but beyond good and evil. This is strikingly similar to Buddhist understanding of the ultimate Reality.

Secondly, Nietzsche and Heidegger. As is well known, Nietzsche severely attacked Platonism and Christianity as a two world theory which established the 'true and eternal world' behind this actual and changeable world. In his attempt at a revaluation of all values (*Umwertung aller Werte*) he proclaims the arrival of nihilism in which traditional positive principle are completely negated. He also advocates the over-man (*Übermensch*) as an active nihilist who thoroughly endures nihility without God and accepts eternal recurrence.

Both being influenced by and overcoming Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger takes the issue of nothingness seriously and, perhaps, the most profoundly in Western history. Considering the history of Western metaphysics as the history of the forgetfulness about 'Being' (*Seinsvergessenheit*), he has tried to ask the meaning of Being itself (*Sein selbst*) which is, according to him, entirely different from Being of beings (*Sein des Seienden*) as conceived in Metaphysics since Aristotle. To encounter nothingness is to overcome the forgetfulness with regard to Being. Nothingness opens up Being itself. Again this is strikingly similar to Buddhist understanding of Emptiness.

Christian mysticism is merely a strand within Christianity. Nietzsche and Heidegger are often regarded with suspicion in the West as traitors to the Western philosophical tradition. We must, however, ask what was the historical and philosophical need in the Western intellectual tradition which they felt and attempted to fill? Does not their emphasis on negativity or nothingness have a positive significance? Should we simply neglect them as something unorthodox? If, however, one should agree that Heidegger, Nietzsche and the mystics are to be rejected as unorthodox and unsound, then let me ask again how in the West the priority of being over non-being is philosophically justified in regard to things in general and man in particular?

¹ Hegel may be mentioned here as meaning something different from Nietzsche and Heidegger. As for the author's view of Hegel in contrast to the Buddhist idea of Buddha Nature or *Sunyaia* see 'Dogen on Buddha Nature, *The Eastern Buddhist*, New Series, Vol. IV, No. I, pp. 55-8.

BUDDHIST NIRVANA : ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND LIFE

Masao Abe ¹

I

Nirvana is often misunderstood in the West as being something negative. This misunderstanding sometimes occurs even in the Buddhist world, for the literal meaning of *nirvana* is the extinction or annihilation of passion, often compared to the extinguishing of a fire. But is *nirvana* negative ? What is the real meaning of *nirvana* ?

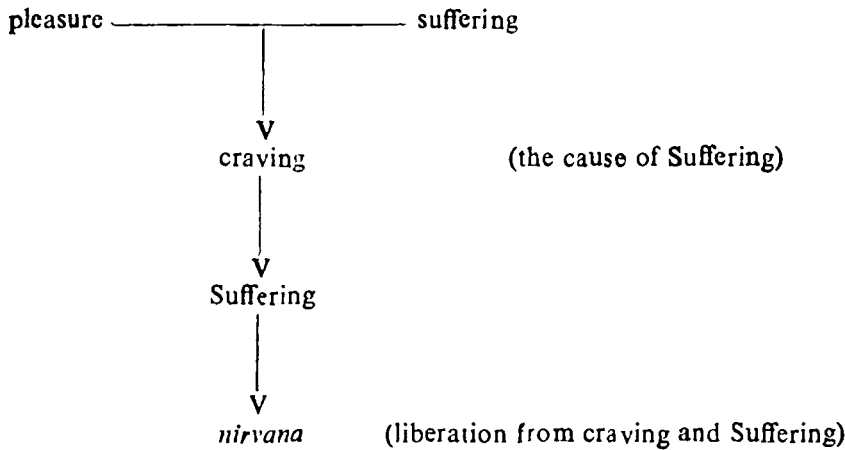
The fundamental teaching of Gautama the Buddha (the founder of Buddhism), the Four Holy Truths, is as follows : that existence is suffering ; that the cause of suffering is craving or habitual thirst ; that by the extinction of craving, existence may attain *nirvana* ; and that the means for the attainment of *nirvana* is the practice of the Eightfold Holy Path : right view, right intention, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.

When Gautama the Buddha says 'existence is (characterized by) suffering' he does not mean that human life is simply full of suffering without any pleasure at all. It is obvious that there is pleasure as well as suffering in human life. In daily life we distinguish between pleasure and suffering seeking for and clinging to pleasure while avoiding and detesting suffering. This is inherent in human nature. However, according to Buddhism, real suffering (henceforth referred to as Suffering with a capital 'S') lies in this very inclination. Pleasure and suffering are in reality inseparable—one is never found without the other—and the position that they are rigidly separable is abstract and unreal. Therefore, the more we try to cling to pleasure and avoid suffering, the more entangled we become in the duality of pleasure and suffering. It is this whole process which constitutes Suffering. When Gautama the Buddha says 'existence is (characterized by) suffering', he is referring to this Suffering and not suffering as opposed to pleasure. It is the reality of this non-relative Suffering which man can realize at the existential ground which lies deep within himself beneath the duality of pleasure and suffering. Since life and death are the fundamental sources of pleasure and suffering human existence is understood in Buddhism to be irrevocably bound to *samsara*, the cycle of birth and death.

Accordingly, when Gautama the Buddha says 'the cause of suffering is craving', he means by craving not simply the attachment to pleasure but a deeper and more fundamental attachment that is rooted in human existence, that of loving pleasure and hating suffering, with its accompanying phenomenon of making a distinction between the two. According to Gautama's teaching, this fundamental attachment originates in an illusory view of life in the world which is the result of basic ignorance innate in human nature. Craving is a human passion linked to man's entanglement in the duality of pleasure and suffering, and deeply rooted in the ego. It is by extinguishing this craving

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The Ecumenical Review Vol. XXV No. 2.

that *nirvana* can be attained. Thus *nirvana* is not a *negative* or *lifeless state* such as the mere annihilation of human passion would suggest, but an *existential awakening* to egolessness, *anatta* or *anatman*, attained through liberation from craving, the attachment to the dualistic view which distinguishes between pleasure as something to be sought after and suffering to be avoided.



The position of Gautama the Buddha can be clearly seen in his first sermon after his enlightenment :

Monks, these two extremes should not be followed by one who has gone forth as a wanderer. What two ?

Devotion to the pleasure of sense, a low practice of villagers, a practice unworthy, unprofitable, the way of the world (on the one hand) ; and (on the other) devotion to self-mortification, which is painful, unworthy and unprofitable.

By avoiding these two extremes the *Tathagata* (the Buddha) has gained knowledge of that Middle Path which giveth vision, which giveth knowledge, which causes calm, special knowledge, enlightenment, *nirvana*.²

In this connection, the following four points are to be noted :

(1) Gautama the Buddha takes the Middle Way, transcending both hedonism and asceticism. Accordingly, he does not negate human desire as such but, in avoiding these two extremes, relegates it to its proper position in human life. However, the Middle Way is not simply a midpoint between pleasure and suffering, but rather is the Way which *transcends* the very duality of pleasure and suffering. Thus living the Middle Way is none other than being in *nirvana*.

(2) For Buddhism, the Middle Way or *nirvana* is not an objectively observable state nor something which can be considered a goal of life, but rather an existential ground from which human life can properly begin without becoming entangled in the duality of pleasure and suffering. By living the Middle Way, in *nirvana*, we can be master of, and not slave to, pleasure and suffering. In this sense, *nirvana* is the source of human freedom and creative activity.

(3) In his awakening to egolessness, Gautama the Buddha transcended not only the particular duality of pleasure and suffering, but duality itself. In other words, he could awaken to egolessness only when he came to be freed from duality itself, and this he achieved through overcoming the particular duality of pleasure and suffering. Accordingly, *nirvana* as the existential awakening to egolessness is beyond any kind of duality, including that of good and evil, right and wrong, life and death, man and nature, and even that of man and God. To attain *nirvana* in this sense is, for Buddhism, salvation.

² *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, Part V. Translated by F. L. Woodward. Luzac for the Pali Text Society, 1391, p. 356.

(4) Although *nirvana*, or the Middle Way, is beyond duality, it is not characterized by a monistic view. Monism is not yet free from duality, for it is still opposed to dualism or pluralism. Being beyond duality, the view of one who has attained *nirvana* is not monistic but rather non-dualistic. This is why Buddhism does not proclaim only one God, but speaks of *Sunyata* (Emptiness). Emptiness is realized by going beyond one God and thus is not the relative emptiness of a mere vacuum. Being beyond one God, Emptiness is identical to, or, more strictly speaking, 'non-dualistic' with respect to individual things, making, them truly individual. Indeed, in Emptiness, all is all in the sense that all is as it is and *at the same time* all is equal in its as-it-is-ness. The following question-and-answer dialogue between the Chinese Zen master, Joshu (778—897), and a monk illustrates the point. The monk asked Joshu, 'All things are reduced to the One ; where is this One to be reduced to? Joshu replied, 'When I was in the province of Tsin I had a monk's robe made that weighed seven pounds.'³ That which is ultimate or universal is not the One to which all things are reducible but a particular thing, absolutely irreplaceable, such as a monk's robe, which has a particular weight and is made at a particular place at a particular time. The universal and a particular thing are paradoxically one in the realization of Emptiness, which goes beyond the understanding which sees all things as reducible to One.

Oneness as a universal principle, if substantial and self-existing, must be overcome ; otherwise we as particulars lose our individuality and cannot possibly awaken to Reality. From the Buddhist point of view, this is true even for God, the only One. On the other hand, if all particular things are respectively self-identical, there is no equality between them and every thing is self-centred. Both Emptiness, the negation of Oneness, and egolessness, the negation of everything's self-centredness are necessary for awakening. In the realization of Emptiness, which is another term *nirvana*, all particular things are respectively just as they are and equal in their suchness. This is expressed in Mahayana Buddhism as 'difference as it is, is sameness ; sameness (of things in their suchness) as it is, is difference'. This very realization is the source of wisdom and compassion in which both ignorance and self-centredness are overcome. Just because *nirvana* is in itself empty, it is full of particular things functioning freely, neither losing their particularity nor impeding each other .

II

What significance does Buddhist *nirvana* hold for us today, East or West, in contemporary thought and life, especially in regard to the problems of understanding ultimate reality, nihilism, the relation of nature and man's personality, the irrational in human existence, achieving true community, and understanding the meaning of history? I would like to deal with these problems from the view point of Mahayana Buddhism a form of Buddhism developed in northern Asia, especially in China and Japan, and based on a dynamic interpretation of Gautama's teaching. First of all, *nirvana* has relevance to man's understanding of ultimate or universal reality in that it overcomes the major objection to monistic absolutism. The concept of one God who is essentially transcendent, self-existing apart from everything relative, is illusory to Buddhism in that He cannot be spoken of without a knower. In Buddhism, mutual relativity is the ultimate truth, and doctrines of absolute truth which exclude other views of truth as false are similarly considered illusory. In *nirvana*, nothing is independent, self-existing, or permanent ; having no permanent selfhood, everything is mutually related to each and every other thing. This is not a fixed relativism simply rejecting absolutes and resulting in a form of scepticism or nihilism, but a dynamic relativism in which even the absolute and the relative, the holy and the secular, the divine and the human, are all totally interrelated. This idea of the total interrelatedness of each and everything at every moment is also termed 'dependent co-origination' in Buddhism, the realization of which is none other than *nirvana*. Dynamic relativism,

³ *Pi-yen chi* (The Blue Cliff Collection), Case 45. See also Suzuki, D. T. : *Introduction to Zen Buddhism* Rider & Co., p, 72,

being beyond the opposition between relativism and absolutism, is at once dynamic absolutism. This paradoxical truth can be realized not through speculation but only through existential practice (e.g., the practice of the Eightfold Holy Path, and Buddhist sitting meditation).

The position of Buddhism toward other faiths is often called 'tolerant' by Western scholars. However, it may be that the term 'tolerant' has been applied according to Western, especially Christian, standards, and is misleading in that it does not get to the heart of Buddhism. The Buddhist position founded in *nirvana*, is a 'positionless position' in the sense that, being itself empty, it lets every other position stand and work just as it is. Naturally, Buddhism does not exclude other faiths as false, but recognizes the relative truths which they contain. This recognition, however, is a starting point, not an end, for Buddhist life. Properly speaking, Buddhism starts to work critically and creatively *through* this basic recognition of the relative truths contained in other positions, hoping for productive dialogue and co-operation with other faiths.

This Buddhist position realized in *nirvana* may prove effective in a contemporary world which is seeing a remarkable rise of a sense of the diversity of values as it becomes more and more closely united. The dynamic relativism of *nirvana* may provide a spiritual foundation for the formation of the rapidly approaching One World in which the co-existence of a variety of contrasting values and ways of life is indispensable.

Secondly, *nirvana* offers a freedom beyond nihilism. One of the serious problems in the world today is the pervasiveness of nihilism such as was proclaimed by Friedrich Nietzsche. The collapse of traditional value systems and a cry of 'God is dead' are somewhat universal phenomena in industrialized societies. A loss of the sense of the holy and despair of established forms of religion prevail in the world today. It has become more and more difficult for modern man to believe in 'God' with the pervasion of the scientific way of thinking; yet people today are searching seriously for something to fill the vacuum which has been created in their spiritual lives. In this respect, Nietzsche is a touchstone for religion, for he advocated as a prototype of future man the active nihilist who, being based on the Will of Power, courageously faces emptiness without God. However, it is unlikely that Nietzsche's active nihilism can successfully serve as a substitute for religion. It would seem that what is needed today and in the future is a religion beyond active nihilism, i. e., a religion beyond 'emptiness without God'. Buddhism, which is based on *nirvana*, is precisely a religion of this sort. Negating the existence of one God, Buddhism advocates *Sunyata* (Emptiness) which is not a nihilistic emptiness but rather a fulness of particular things and individual men functioning fully and without hindrance. In Emptiness, everything is realized as it is, in its total dynamic reality. This radical realism involves not only liberation from 'God' but also the overcoming of an active nihilism such as advocated by Nietzsche.⁴

Nirvana is a realization of great freedom, both from theistic pietism with its dependence on God and from nihilism with its dependence on the Will to Power, making possible self-determination by removing the illusion of a determinator.

Thirdly, *nirvana* has relevance to our understanding of the relation of nature and man's personality. Christian scholars often complain that Buddhist *nirvana* is impersonal. Christian personalism, if I am not mistaken, is based on man's responsibility to the Word of God. Unlike other creatures, man is created in God's image and can respond to the calling of God. Nature is ruled by God through man whom God gave 'dominion over' other creatures. In this sense, Christian personalism is connected with anthropocentrism. Contrary to this, Buddhist

⁴ ABE, MASAO: 'Christianity and Buddhism Centering Around Science and Nihilism, *Japanese Religion*. Kyoto: NCC Study Centre, Vol. 5, No. 3.

nirvana is based on egolessness and is not anthropocentric but rather cosmological. In Buddhism, man and nature are equally subject to change, transitory and transmigratory. Man cannot achieve emancipation from the cycle of birth and death until he can eliminate a more universal problem—the transience common to all things in the universe. Here we see that the *basis* for Buddhist salvation is cosmological, not personalistic as in terms of an I-Thou relationship with God, and thus impersonal and trans-anthropocentric. However, it is only *man* with his self-consciousness and free will who can go beyond anthropocentrism and reach an awareness that transience is not limited to man but is common to all things. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Buddhist salvation is primarily concerned with individual persons, not necessarily man in general, for, as is written in a Scripture, 'One is born alone, dies alone, comes alone, and goes alone.'⁶ In this sense Buddhism may also be said to be personalistic and existentialistic. Yet this does not mean that man is understood in Buddhism in terms of a divine-human encounter in which nature is excluded, but rather that man is understood as a being with self-consciousness and free will on a cosmological basis which includes all of nature. Without the realization of transience and selflessness on such a cosmological basis, a person cannot become an 'awakened one'.⁶

Here we see the following two aspects of Buddhist salvation : (1) Buddhism is primarily concerned with the salvation of man as a person who, unlike other living beings, has self-consciousness and free will and thereby alone has the potential to become awakened to and emancipated from the transience common to all things in the universe. This is the existentialistic and personalistic aspect of Buddhism. However, (2) a cosmological dimension is the necessary *basis* for this Buddhist salvation because the salvation of man is in Buddhism not salvation from sin as rebellion against God, but emancipation from the cycle of birth and death which is part of the transience of the universe. This is the cosmological aspect of Buddhism. These two aspects are inseparable—the more cosmological the basis is, the more existential the salvation is. In this sense, the Buddhist cosmology which is the basis of *nirvana* is an existential cosmology and Buddhist existentialism or personalism may be called 'cosmo-existentialism' or 'cosmo-personalism'.⁷

The Buddhist position with regard to the relation of man and nature may contribute a spiritual foundation toward the solution of a pressing problem that man is faced with today—destruction of the environment coupled with estrangement from nature. This problem is a result of man's anthropocentrism whereby he regards nature merely as a means or obstacle to the realization of his own selfish goals, and thus continually finds ways to utilize and conquer it. On the other hand, the cosmological view which is the basis of Buddhist *nirvana* does not see nature as something subordinate to man, but sees man as subordinate to nature, more precisely as a part of nature from the standpoint of 'cosmos'. Thus the cosmological view both allows man to overcome his estrangement from nature and to live harmoniously with nature without losing his individuality.

Fourthly, let us consider what significance Buddhist *nirvana* may have in dealing with the irrational in human existence. Interest in mythology and primitive cultures as well as an irresistible demand to release instinctive, especially sexual, desire is on the upsurge in highly industrialized societies. This phenomenon may be regarded as a reaction to the emphasis on human rationality and science which grew up in modern European culture and

⁶ *The Larger Sukhavati-vyūha*.

⁷ ABE, MASAO: 'Man and Nature in Christianity and Buddhism', *Japanese Religions*, Vol. 7, No. 1.

⁷ ABE, MASAO: 'Dogen on Buddha Nature', *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. IV, No. 1, Kyoto: Eastern Buddhist Society, Otani University.

formed the basis for industrialization. Western thinkers such as Schopenhauer, Marx, Freud and Jung, and more recently, Camus, Marcuse and others emphasize in various ways the importance of the irrational aspects of human existence. Another important problem of human existence which modern European culture has completely neglected is the problem of death, for modern man the supreme irrationality.

In short, modern European culture with its scientific orientation, pervasive as it is in highly industrialized societies, is based on human rationality and the principle of life, while neglecting to deal with the irrational elements in human existence, especially death. However, it may not be wise for us simply to accept and follow present reactionary tendencies to this emphasis on rationalism. What is necessary today in order to deal successfully with this problem is a profound basis upon which the conflicts between the rational and the irrational, reason and desire, or life and death, can be resolved. Buddhist *nirvana*, or the Middle Way, in which man overcomes duality and extinguishes the 'craving' deeply rooted in human existence, may provide such a basis.

Fifthly, let us consider what significance Buddhist *nirvana* may have in the understanding and achievement of true community. It is the realization of *nirvana*, quoted previously, that 'difference as it is, is sameness ; sameness as it is, is difference' which, for Buddhism, provides an existential ground for true community. We find ourselves equal, not as children of one God, but in the common realization of egolessness or Emptiness, which is at the same time the realization of true Self. Realization of egolessness is not something negative, like losing one's self-identity, but is positive in the sense that through it one overcomes one's ego-centredness and awakens to Reality, that is, to one's own true Self as well as the true Self of others. It is in this awakening that one can live with others in true community, sharing the realization of true Self. In *nirvana*, the loss of ego-self is the gain of true Self, and the sameness among individuals in their egolessness and the difference between individuals in their true Self-ness are paradoxically one.

Accordingly, in the realization of *nirvana*, I am not I because I am egoless, and yet I am absolutely I because I am my true Self. Likewise, you are not you because you are egoless, and yet you are absolutely you because you are your true Self. Moreover, since I am not I, I am you, and since you are not you, you are I. Each person remains just as he is, yet each person is identical in being his true Self. This dynamic interrelationship occurs in the common realization of egolessness and Emptiness. This realization provides the Buddhist foundation for man in true community. Furthermore, this realization applies not only to man's relationship to man, but to all things in nature, from dogs to mountains.

Sixth and finally, what significance does *nirvana* have in regard to understanding the meaning of history ? Since there is no God in Buddhism, there is no Creation or Last Judgement, but rather Emptiness. Thus, for Buddhism, history has neither beginning nor end. This view of history derives from the deep realization of the *karma* of human beings. *Karma* is the universal law of act and consequence which is self-operating in making it self transform unceasingly from one life to another and the world a process of perpetual becoming. Thus it is action-energy which produces various effects according to the nature of the action and which binds men to the wheel of birth and death. Unlike the Hindu concept of *karma*, however, *karma* in Buddhism is not deterministic since there is in Buddhism no idea of God who is the controller of *karma* ; rather, Buddhism takes *karma* as moral energy, emphasizing the possibility of man's final release from the round of transmigration through the exercising of his free will. Accordingly, on the one hand, we are bound by

our own *karma* which shares in and is inseparably linked to *karma* operating in the universe but, on the other hand, we, as beings with self-consciousness and free will, have the opportunity to be liberated from *karma* through our own free act, an act which is based on the total realization within oneself of the beginningless and endless process of *karma*, i. e., *karma* operating in the universe beyond oneself. In this total realization of *karma*, personal and universal, past, present and future, one is liberated from *karma* and awakens to *nirvana*.

At the very moment we truly realize the beginninglessness and endlessness of history we transcend its boundlessness and find the whole process of history from beginningless beginning to endless end intensively concentrated within the here and now. Apart from the moment of realization, there is no history. We realize our true life and true Self at this moment in which beginning and end, time and eternity, and one and all are not seen in duality but in dynamic oneness. This is nothing other than the realization of *nirvana*.

Universal *karma* can be realized not objectively but only subjectively, i. e., in and through the existential realization of personal and individual *karma*—and personal *karma* can be truly transcended only when universal *karma* is subjectively overcome within oneself. Thus (1) *to one who has attained nirvana* through the total realization of *karma*, the whole universe discloses itself in its reality and history as the endless process of operating *karma* ceases, eternity manifesting itself. In this sense history ends in *nirvana*. This is the universal salvation of *nirvana* realized by an awakened one, and represents the wisdom aspect of *nirvana*. At the same time, however, (2) *for the awakened one* history begins in *nirvana* because those who, despite the fact of universal salvation realized by an awakened one, *think themselves* to be 'unsaved', remain innumerable in the world and will appear endlessly in the future. Thus history has a new leaning for an awakened one—it is an endless process in which he must try to actualize universal salvation in regard to those 'unsaved'. This represents the compassion aspect of *nirvana*. Since the wisdom and compassion aspects are inseparable in *nirvana*, history begins and ends at each moment in the realization of *nirvana*.

In short, for an awakened one who is living *nirvana*, universal salvation is completely realized in the here and now, and yet it is to be realized endlessly in the process of history by those who *think themselves* to be 'unsaved'. These two aspects are dynamically united in *nirvana*. Accordingly, at each and every moment of history a development toward the endless future is at once a total return to the root and source of history, i. e., eternity, and *vice versa*, where history is a succession of such moments. This Buddhist view of history leads us to a double realization: in the light of wisdom eternity manifests itself in the here and now, and the present life is not a means to a future end, but is the end itself, while in the light of compassion life is an endless activity of saving others, an instrument for universal salvation.

MEDITATION AND JAINISM

Pratapkumar J. Toliya

Aum Namo Arihantanam
 Namo Siddhanam
 Namo Ayariyanam
 Namo Uvajjhayanam
 Namo Loe Savva Sahunam
 Eso Pancha Namukkaro,
 Savva Pavappanasano;
 Mangalanam Cha Savvesim,
 Padhamam Havai Mangalam

Prostrations—Salutations—to all the **ARIHANTS** (The Attainers of **KEVALA JNANA** or Omniscience, the Possessors of 12 Unique qualities, the Preachers of the Path of Liberation and the Founders of Fourfold Religious Orders).

Prostrations to all the **SIDHAS** (The Liberators of their souls and the Attainers of Moksha : Liberation).

Prostrations to all the **ACHARYAS** (The past and present Pathshowers to the right conduct—**CHARITRA**).

Prostrations to all the **UPADHYAYAS** (The present and past givers of Knowledge).

Prostrations to all the **SADHUS** (The past and present followers of three fold soul-centred way to Liberation, which is **SAMYAK JNANA**, **SAMYAK DARSHANA**, **SAMYAK CHARITRA** Right Knowledge, Right Cognition or belief and Right Conduct).

These five salutations together
Destory all the sins;
And they are the most auspicious,
Of all that is good and auspicious.

These five : the Pancha Parameshthi Param Gurus : Supreme Masters are the possessors of the purified, realised, absolute souls (selves) having infinite potentialities and probabilities : **THE SAHAJ ATMA SWAROPP PARAM GURUS**. May they be meditated upon, may they be prostrated, may they be pleased !

“**AVIRAL SHABDA GHANAOGHA, PRAKSHALIT SAKAL BHOOTAL MAL KALANKA, MUNIBHIR UPASITA—TIRTHA SARAWATI, HARATU NO DURITAN !**”

(All the blemishes and blots of the earth—earthliness—have been washed away with whose congregated clouds of divine words and who is being worshipped upon as a holy place of pilgrimage — **TIRTHA**—by the Munis, may such a Goddess of learning, **SARASWTI**, the holy Speech of Arihanta, Jineshwara wash away and destroy our sins !)

“O. KARAM BINDU SAMYUKTAM, NITYAM DHYAYANTI YUGINAH; KAMADAM MOKSHADAM CHAIVA, OMKARAYA NAMO NAMAH.”

(Salutations to OMKARA which consists ‘O’ with BINDU- point-; which is the provider of both : KAMA—the earthly requirements and MOKSHA—the liberation; and which is being always meditated upon by the YOGIS..)

“AGYAN TIMIRANDANAM, JNANANJAN SHALAKAYA; AJNAN CHAKSHUR UNMILITAM YENA, TASMEI SADGURVE NAMAH.”

(Salutations to SADGURU : the Divine Master : who has opened the inner eyes of the Blinds of ignorance- darkness with the application of subtle “eye-ointment-stick” :)

“JEH SWAROOPA SAMAJYA VINA, PAMYO DHUKHA ANANT;
SAMJAVYU TE PAD NAMU, SRI SADGURU BHAGAWANT.”.....(1)

(Endless sorrows—miseries—I suffered so far,
Following the Self-preventing bondage-bar;
That State Divine who explained and uplifted me,
I bow in reverence, O Master to thee. !)

“DHYANAJJINESHA : BHAVATO BHAVINAH KSHANENA,
DEHAM VIHAYA PARAMATMADASHAM VRAJANANTI;
TIVRANALADUPALBHAV MAPASYA LOKE,
CHAMIKARATVA MACHIRADIVA DHATUBHEDAHA.”(2)

(As a result of the experiment of tremendous fire, various minerals give up their stony-form and get transferred into the form of gold; in the same way, O Jinesha. : as a result of meditation upon you, the fortunate beings attain the Supreme State-Godhood—in a moment after leaving their bodies.....).

“ATMA MANISHIBHIRAYAM TWADBHEDABUDDHYA,
DHYATO JINENDRA, : BHAVATIHA BHAVATPRABHAVAH;
PANIYA MAPYAMRITA MITYANUCHINTYAMANAM,
KIM NAM NO VISHVIKARMAPAKAROTI ?”(3)

(O Jinendra : Does not even the water, intensely thought of as the nectar-Amrita—eradicate the blemishes of poison in the world similarly, this soul also, when intergrately meditating upon thou, becomes as supreme, as influensive, as thou art :).

Namaskar Mahamantra—The solue -based Prime Factor in Meditation :

Before coming to the description, discussion and analysis of the above-referred meditation of the Self and the Supreme, it will be immensely useful to understand the importance and place of the NAMASKAR or NAVAKAR MAHANANTRA in this process. It is said that —

“SARVAVIDYASMRITAVADAU, VACHYA POORNA NAMASKRITIHI. ”.....(4)
i. e., Shri Pancha Namaskar Mahamantra—which is perfect in totality, should be meditated upon before the commencement of all the Vidyas : Learnings (Mantras, Dhyanas, etc.).

Because—

“SHRI NAMASKARAMANTRENA SAKALADHYANASIDDHIHI.....”

All the Dhyanas are attained by Namaskar Mahamantra.

“ETESHAM (CHATURNAM DHYANANAM) NAMANI PADASTHA—PINDASTHA—ROOPASTHA—ROOPATITA BHEDANI SANTI. SARVE DHYANASYA VIPRAKARAH PRATHAMAM NAMASKARE SIDDHE SIDDHA BHAVANTI.....”(5)

The respective names of these four types (or Stages) of meditations are : PADASTHA, PINDASTHA, ROOPASTHA & ROOPATITA. These all types—stages—of meditation are attained on the attainment of SHRI NAMASKAR MANTRA first of all.

Therefore, it is the Prime Factor in Meditation. It (Namaskar Mantra) indicated the supreme.. pure, absolute, natural form of the five PARAMGURUS (Great Masters), who are SAHAJATMA SWAROOPA (Absolute, Natural Soul-form).

And hence, this Soul-based, Namaskar Mantra-based four -fold Dhyanas are clarified as—

“PADASTHAM MANTRAVAKYASTHAM, PINDASTHAM CHATMACHINTANAM;

ROOPASTHAM SARVACHIDROOPAM, ROOPATITAM NIRANJANAM.....”..(6)

Padastha is incorporated in MANTRAVAKYA (the Sentence of Incantation); Pindastha in ATMACHINTANAM (the meditation of the Self) Roopastha in SARVACHIDROOPAM (all forms of Caitanya—the Divine Consciousness) and Roopatita in NIRANJANAM) (the blotless blemishless, formless, absolute, infinite existence-consisting Supreme State).

“ITYUKTAM YAT TASMIN MANTRAVAKYASTHE PADASTHE POORVAM DHYATE SATI CHATURVIKALPA DHYEYAVISHAYA BHAVANTYATA ITYANENA PRAKARENA DHYANAM KRIYATE. TENA ‘SIDDHENA CHA NAMASKARMANTRENA SAKALDHYAN. SIDDHIHI SYAT TASYAM SIDDHAU SATYAM KARMAKSHAYO MOKSHASCHA BHAVATI.....” (7)

Shri Namaskar Mantra is Mantra Vakyastha : Padastha : in the form of incantation-letters. After meditating upon it, the rest of the forms-types-stages- of meditations should, respectively, be meditated upon, as this is the order of Meditation.

To emphasise in short, all the meditations get attained on getting the Namaskar Mahamantra achieved, and the result of the attainment of all the meditations is the destroyal of Karmas and attainment of Moksha.

Dhyan-Yoga : Raj-Yoga : The Kingly path of Meditation and the Essence of Jina Pravachana :

“This Supremely Pure and Pious, four-fold DHYANA-YOGA (the Meditative way of the Spirit) is the essence of SHRI JINA PRAVACHANA : The Divine Gospels of the Jinas”—so says Acharya Samantabhadra, as quoted by Shri Siddharshi Gani :—

“TASMAT SARVASYA SAROSYA, DWADASHANGASYA SUNDARA :

DHYANYOGAH PARAM SHUDDHAH, SA HI SADHYO MUMUKSHUNA :

SHESHANUSHTHANAMAPYEVAM, YATTADANGATAYA STHITAM, MOOLOTTA-RAGUNADHYAM TAT, SARVAM SARMAUDAHRYUTAM.”..... (8)

The Essence of all the JIN PRAVACHANA—in form of ‘DWADASHANGA : . The Twelve Great Divine Gospels Compiled : is the extremely pure Dhyan Yoga, because all the first and last virtues and all the external rites and rituals meant for the seekers (the house holders as well as the Munis) are prescribed only for this DHYANYOGA.

Thus, it was this Dhyān Yoga, Rājā Yoga (or Apramāda Yoga, in other words, in their deeper sense), which was preached, practised and prescribed by all the Jinās right from Bhagawan RISHA-BHADEVA to Bhagawan MAHAVIRA, it being the Kingly Path and Essence of all.

What this DHYAN YOGA, the spiritual meditative path, is ? Before coming to its analysis, form and description, let us go a little into the history, origin and approach of different trends and traditions of Meditation.

The Eternal Human Quest

Time immemorial has been passed since the adoption of Meditation—the state of concentrating, contemplating, meditating upon God or the Invisible Hidden Mystery or the Self; the state which is considered to be inexpressible in words and which crosses the limits of Time and Place. This adoption has been undertaken by several individual seekers, several religious orders, several schools of spiritual practices, several trends and traditions and several nations and generations in course of the history of human evolution spiritually. It has remained the eternal human quest to seek and acquire lasting peace, bliss and happiness and to reach unto the deeper as well as higher states of Divinity by attaining Self Realization through Meditation, to the extent of one's best of ability.

And hence, no doubt that every seeker, school and trend has tried its best in its efforts to reach and cover the realms of higher meditation in its own way depending upon one's ability, originality, individuality and diversity of nature, but only a few, very few, have been successful to realize, visualize and attain the ultimate reality, the limitless form and the absolute state of meditation.

Various ways and trends of Meditation

Due to the diversity of efforts, likings, saṃskaras, approach and nature, etc., the above referred several schools, trends, traditions and cults of meditation have sprung in course of history all over the world. These various schools are identified under a number of names—Eastern as well as Western; Indian as well as Global. But the balanced and impartial study of these all reveal that many or most of them have mispracticed, misplaced, mis-understood and misinterpreted Meditation. To be very precise, Meditation is not a "Miracle", Mystical Confusion, Circus Show, mere physical or mental exercise or one-sided view/approach of things based on imagination.

Meditation Misunderstood and Misinterpreted

When meditation is mistaken as referred to above, then what is its right form, right understanding, right interpretation ?

Well, the books or this speaker will not be able to provide your required answer, or interpret it completely and correctly, since, firstly, it is the faculty of only the realized Souls and great Seers, while the one before you is only an humble seeker and beginner ; and secondly, it is the subject of one's own practice, self-experience and realization, but with the grace of Param Gurus, the Supreme Masters, only an indication may be made in this direction.

In fact, one will have to find it in deeper integrity of one's own being after, following the path and process as prescribed by the realized Omniscient Master, Seers and the Adored ones—the Arihantas the Jinās, by surrendering one's Ego and by giving up the feelings of fear, hatred and grief. This will enable the truth seeker to acquire the strength of discrimination, analysis, all-sidedness and observation in totality. This ability, which will be both-scientific and spiritual—will lead one to decide for himself the true form of Self, the Atman in Ultimate reality. And when the appropriate understanding and decision about the true form of the Self or one's own being, one's own "existence" is arrived at the path of right meditation becomes quite clear and easy.

Unless this is done, neither the required answer will spring up from within, nor the meditation misunderstood and misinterpreted could be brought back on the right track.

Lack of the Vision of “Syadavada” the Important Obstacle

As indicated earlier, no doubt all the seekers have tried to tread the path of meditation to the best of their abilities and sincerity, but due to the want of the proper Guide and Process, only those few were fortunate to succeed in their ultimate reality, who had the clear SAMYAK- right-understanding, integrated vision and appropriate decision. of the nature and form of the Self, God and the Universe. For the rest, the BRAHMA DHYANA (Meditation of God) has remained BHRAMA DHYANA (Illusion.) :

It is rightly observed by the realized seers that :—

“AVIDYAVIKRANTEHI CHAPALCHARITEIR DURNAYASHATEIR
JAGALLUPTALOKAM KRITAMATIGHANDHVANTNICHITAM.

TWAYOCHCHHEDYASHESHAM PARMATATAMOV RATAMATULAM
PRANITAM BHAVYANAM SHIVAPADAMAYANANDANILAYAM”.....(9)

O JNANI ATMAN ! (Wise Self) you achieve the eternal blissful home of salvation, for which you follow the process of Dhyana by taking the shelter of the path of SYADAVADA (the approach and vision of totality, integrity and all-sidedness). Because, due to the adoption of one-sided, incomplete, compartmental and obstinate view of things, the scholars and seekers (the so called scholars) have sidetracked themselves and the people of the world and have pushed the world into dense dark state of affairs.

Therefore, it is expected of the persons of right understanding that they should bring the world back on the right track by SYADAVADA- based Dhyana, since the form and nature of thing is not EKANTIKA (One-sided); i. e., not always in NITYA (Eternal) or ANITYA (Non-eternal); EK (One) or ANEK (many) SHUDDHA (pure) or ASHUDDHA (impure)..... Because of this type of one-sided understanding, the differentiative results of DHYATA-DHYANA-DHYEYA (Meditator-Meditation -Object of Meditation) are not achieved. Hence, the path and preaching of Dhyana, by the scholars and seekers without the vision of SYADAVADA and SAMYAK SHRADDHA (right Cognition) or SAMYAK DARSHAN of the existence and form of the Self is only an illusion—a Bhrama.

To clarify this more clearly —

“NITYATAM KECHIDACHAKSHUHU, KECHIT CHA ANITYATAM KHALAHA,
MITHYATWANNAIVA PASHYANTI, NITYANITYATMAKAM JAGAT.”(10)

Some see and prove only one-sided eternity of thing\$ (the Soul and the Universe), while some see otherwise, i. e., non-eternity while some momentaries. But it is a pity that, due to the lack of right understanding and experience, they do not acquire the proper angle and approach of seeing at the Universe, which is both—NITYA (Eternal) and ANITYA (Non-Eternal) considering from relative and opposite points of views.

A number of meditators, without following this Syadavada point of view, get satisfied in the so called\$ achievements of DHYANA by their mere imagination. But they do not acquire the achievement of their DHYATA-DHYANA-DHYEYA in its true sense.

It is rightly said therefore that—

“DURDASHAMAPI NA DHYANASIDDHIHI SWAPNE API JAYATE, GRINHATAM
DRISHTIVEVEIKALYAD VASTUJATAM YADDACHCHHAYA.”(II)

They do not attain the achievement of Dhyana even in dream by deciding the form of the things as per one's imagination based on unclear, unstudy, one-sided thinking.....—

Jainism's Approach and Contribution to Meditation : "Paridarshana"

Jainism has its own,.....the Omniscient—prescribed unique approach, analysis, form, path and process of meditation (as pointed out in the beginning) based on Integrated Total, All sided, "Syadavadic", SOUL-CENTRED observation of thing and being. This totality of view—PARIDARSHANA is acquired by knowing and realizing the one, the Self, as visualized and preached by BHAGAWAN—MAHAVIRA :—

"JE EGAM JANAI, SE SAVVAM JANAI".....(12)

(HE KNOWS EVERYTHING, WHO KNOWS THE ONE : WHO REALIZES THE SELF—THE SOUL)

This realization is materialized by the above-mentioned Integrated form of Meditation (which will be analysed more clearly hereafter while analysing the SHUKLA DHYANA in its varied forms). This may also be identified as "PRASHASHTA DHYANA" (the worthy, true, pure, appropriate one) and "APRAMAD YOGA"—the state of total, integrated, all sided, self-pointed awakening—full awareness and uninterrupted continuous observation of the Self and its existence.

And for this meditation and realization, it is very much essential to know, analyse and decide the nature and form and function and capability of the Soul, the Self as observed by the omniscients and highly realized ones :—

"ATMA CHHE TE NITTYA CHHE, CHHE KARTTA NIJKARMA, CHHE BHOKTA, VALI MOKSHA CHHE, MOKSHA UPAYA SUDHARMA."..... (13).

This important Gujarati couplet, containing the essence of Jain Philosophy, simplified by the great modern Seer and the Spiritual Guide of Mahatma Gandhiji known as SRIMAD RAJCHANDRAJI, means that—

1. The soul "is", 2. It is Eternal, 3. It is the doer of its own actions, 4. It is the enjoyer (of the fruits of these actions) 5. There is liberation, and 6. There is the means of Liberation, True Religion.

This form, function and capability of the Soul understood in proper perspective, enables the seeker to proceed steadily in the proper direction of Meditation and Realization.

Accordingly, while tracking the path of appropriate meditation—PRASHASHTA DHYANA—, constant awareness—APRAMAD YOGA—and all sided observation in totality—PARIDARSHANA—'a fire, an unseen fire, is lit within, which provides and gradually develops the eight-fold "vision" or "insights" known as—

1. MITRA. 2. TARA. 3. BALA. 4. DIPTA. 5. STHIRA. 6. KANTA 7. PRABHA, 8. PARA.....(14).

These are called "YOGADRISHTIS". This is a unique approach of Jainism to Meditation.

Moreover, the observation, fixation, prescription and adoption of KUNDALINI, SHAD CHAKRAS (the six \$\$\$\$\$\$ Centres), PRANA, NADA (Sound), SWARA (Breathing), NADI (Veins), etc., in the process of Yoga and Dhyana as per the Jain way, is quite unique, original and resourceful, compared to the processes prescribed by Shaiva, Bouddha, Siddha, Natha and Hathayoga (Pantajala) cults. SWARODAYA JNANA by great Jain Seer CHIDNANDAJI, YOGADRISHTI—SAMMUCHAYA by great Jain Acharya HARIBHADRASURI (8th Century) and YOGASHASHTRA by Kailikala Sarvagya Acharya HEMCHANDRA (12th Century) are some of the recent past's contributions, which deserve mention here.

In short, PARIDARSHANA, SYADAVADA-ANEKANTAVADA, ATMA-ASTITWANITYATTWA, APRAMADA YOGA, YOGADRISHTI, SWARODAYA JNANA, PRA-SHASHTA DHYANA- SHUKLA DHYANA-ATMA DHYANA YOGA are some of the unparallel, unique and great approaches and contributions of Jainism to the world of Meditation.

Since the limitations here do not provide time and place here to deal with these ocean-like subjects, only the precise mention is possible as regards the forms, types, structure, etc. of Meditation according to Jainism.

Structure, Classification and Analysis of the Jaina way of meditation : Four Types of Dhyana :

Minute observation of all the human beings provides that each and every one has concern with meditation in one way or other. Everyone goes on “meditating” (?) either on the right or the wrong path. This state is classified in terms of four types or kinds:—

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. ARTTA DHYANA | ASHUBHA or DURDHYANA { (Inauspicious,bad, grief-born-
{ hatred-born, fear-born ill-
{ thinkings.) |
| 2. ROUDRA DHYANA | |
| 3. DHARMA DHYANA | SHUBHA or SUDHYANA. (Auspicious, good, joy-born) |
| 4. SHUKLA DHYANA | SHUDDHA-PRASHASHTA-ATMA DHYANA. Pure, con-
dition less, limitless, realization of the Self). |

Out of these, the first two dragging one on the wrong path of degrading states of the being, are strongly deplorable, as they are not subliming or elevating one's soul, and hence, they are not acceptable as "meditation" in the true sense of meaning.

While the last two (Dharma Dhyana—Shukla Dhyana) are regarded as the most auspicious, the most sacred, the most pious and the only states of meditation acceptable and practicable as per the Jain way.

The Results & Importance:

The results of the first two—the Artta & Roudra Dhyana—are mentioned as—

“DURDHYANAT DURGATER BIJAM, JAYATE KARMA DEHINAM,
KSHIYATE YANNA KASHTENA, MAHATAPI KAT HAMCHANA ”..... (15)

(Due to the ill-thinking, the dark-life-states-providing inauspicious Karma is born, which does not get destroyed even by great sufferings:)

The result of the third (Dharma or Shubha Dhyana which consists of the Five Mahavratas and threefold path of right cognition, right knowledge, right conduct), on the other hand, is prescribed as:—

“SHUBHADHYANAPHALODBHOOTAM, SHRIYAM TRIDASHSAMBHAVAM,
NIRVISHANTI NARA NAKE, KRAMADYANTI PARAM PADAM”.....(16).

(A human being enjoys the prosperity and pleasures in heaven and gradually attains salvation as a result of Shubha Dhyana).

And the result of the last (Shukla or Shuddha Dhyana) is described as—

“NIHSHESHNIESHKIRMUKTAM, SWABHAVAJAMANASHWARAM; PHALAM
SHUDDHOPAYOGASYA, JNANARAJYAM SHARIRINAM.”.....(17)

(The result of the meditation of the Pure Self is to attain the Nature-born Absolute, sorrows less, limitless realm of knowledge : the KEVALA JNANA).

Thus, it is clear that the meditation of the Pure Self produces the ultimate knowledge, the omniscience, the KEVALA JNANA

“ATAM BHAVAN BHAVATAN JIV LAHE KEVAL JNANA RE.....”(18)

Definition of Shukla or Shuddha Dhyana :

“KSHINE RAGADISANTANE, PRASANNE CHANTARATMANI; YAH SWAROOPA-LAMBHAH SYATSA SHUDDHAKHAKHYHA PRAKIRTITAH”.....(19)

It is Shuddha Dhyana wherein the joy of the Self, born of the destroyal of Raga (attachment) Dwesha (hatred), etc., brings the dependence of own pure Self.

The Place and Powers of Shukla Dhyana :

The Great Seer Shubhachandracharya reveals :—

“DHYANAMEVAPAVARGASYA, MUKHYAMEKAM NIVANDHANAM ;

TADEVA DURITVRATAGURUKAKSHAHUTASHANAM.....(20)

“This Prashashta Dhyana is the kingly (chief) path to Salvation and this fire of life is only capable of burning the dark dense forests of sins.”

The Great Yoga-Reformer Hemachandracharya proclaims :—

“Atmajnana—knowledge of the Self—is necessary for attainment of Parama Pada—the Supreme State—and it is attainable through Meditation of the Self—the Atma Dhyana..... through Atma Dhyana the Soul attains Godhood.. ”.....(21)

The Path And Process :

How this Atma Dhyana is to be practised and followed ? The path and process is prescribed by the great realized Seers :—

“By controlling and winning AHAR (diet), ASAN (sitting) and NIDRA (sleep), one should follow the orders and teachings of Jineshwara; the realized omniscient Super Souls ; and then to meditate through all sided observation upon the Self”(22)

“Meditate upon the Atma—the Self—after knowing its true form as visualized and described by the SARVAJNA from a true Master and after practising it properly well.”.....(23)

“The meditator who sits on Sukhasana facing the East or North and who possesses pure conduct and sacred physique, gets absorbed into Samadhi....”(24)

“That Meditator, then, by getting steady on Palyankasana and by preventing the activities of mind, speech and physique, should concentrate the vision upon the point of the nose and should take slow, deep, breathings.....”(25)

“Then he should condemn and deplore his own previous bad deeds, should seek pardon from all the creatures, should avoid idleness and unawareness, should stabilize the Chitta (Mind's higher state) and should meditate (upon the Pure Self) until the previously bound—accumulated—Karmas get destroyed”(26)

The Unification : Communion With The Super Existence :

And here follows the expansion of the above-referred definition of Dhyana : Meditation ; and Yoga : Communion

According to Acharya Hemachandra, Jain Yoga indicates to commune and unite : the Communion and Unification of the Soul with the Super-Soul (Paramatma) : “YUJYATE ITI YOGAH”.. (27)

In other words, there follows the transformation of the soul from “JIVA” to “SHIVA” (God) in course of long Sadhana —practice—, by meditation upon the purest self and supreme self, Just as the transformation of the butterfly from a small insect.

Farther classification of varied forms and types of Dhyanas :

The previously referred four types of Dhyanas (Artta, Roudra, Dharma, Shukla) are further classified as under :—

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (1) Artta Dhyana : | There are four parts or symptoms of it : |
| 1. ISHTA VIYOGA : | The separation from the dear ones. |
| 2. ANISHTA SAMYOGA : | Contacts and Unions with the Undesired ones. |
| 3. ROGA VICHARA : | Worries of diseases, etc. |
| 4. AGRA SHOCH (SHOKA) : .. | Grief and sorrowful thinking. |
| (2) Roudra Dhyana : | It also has four parts or forms : |
| 1. HIMSA : | Violence or killing : thought of mentally. |
| 2. MRISHA : | Lie or Untruth : thought of mentally. |
| 3. CHORI : | Stealing or theft : thought of mentally : |
| 4. SAMRAKSHANANUBANDHI : | Fears and Cruel procreative thoughts to overcome them. |

These both types of Dhyanas or Sinful, hell-providing, degrading—ill-plannings are, as mentioned earlier, highly deplorable and are to be given up.

(3) Now comes the classification of Dharma or Shubh Dhyana, defined earlier :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. AJNA : | Orders or Commandments or Prescriptions of the Omniscient Arihantas to be followed with inner faith. |
| 2. APAYA : | Religious Practice craved at. |
| 3. VIPAKATIYA : | Thinking of the ripening of the karmas and blaming none other than one's ownself for the same. |
| 4. SANSTHANA VICHAYA : .. | Concentration and contemplation uplifted from one's physique and various parts of it. |
| (4) Shukla Dhyana : | It has two parts in two groups : |
| A : 1. PRITHAKTVA VITARKA : | Realizing the separation of the self' |
| 2. EKATVA VITARKA | Thinking of lone aloofness of the Self from all. |
| B : 1. SAPRAVICHAR : | With Thoughts. |
| 2. APRAVICHAR : | Without Thoughts. |

This Shukla (White) Dhyana or Shuddha (Pure) Dhyana is the highest form of Meditation as per Jainism. It has four Stages :

1. PADASTHA : Concentration on Mantraksharas—Padas : Navkar.
2. PINDASTHA : Meditation upon the physique of Siddha, Arihanta or body—form Atma. (One that is in or with body to be meditated upon).
3. ROOPASTHA : Meditation of Devine Consciousness—possessing form or image of Arihanta who is encircled with “Atishayas” The Divine Powers or of Enlightened Self or of a highly resolved Self.
4. ROOPATITA : Formless, Thoughtless Meditation of Siddha Bhagawan (without Physique), the Niranjana or Exactly Similar SIDDHA SWAROOPI SHUDDHA NIJATMA : One’s Own Supremely purified Self.

Padastha Dhyana :

It begins with sacred Pada-Mantras like Namaskar Maha-mantra, “Omkara” Nada, “Arham”, “Soham” and varied other forms of Nada Brahma and Shabda Brahma. Padastha Dhyana is defined by Acharya Hemchandra as under :

“YATPADANI PAVITRANI, SAMALAMBYA VIDHIYATE ;

TATPADASTHAM SAMAKHYATAM, DHYANAM SIDDHANTPARAGEIH” (28)

“The Masters of principles have authoritatively said that the process of meditation followed systematically by the Meditator by adopting the right dependence of sacred padas-sentences and incantations, is PADASTHA DHYANA.”

In this process, meditation of ARHAM with lotus forms and Nadas is especially prescribed ARHAM—the indicator of ARIHANT PARAMATMA is at par with OMKARA. In taking dependence of the Pada of ARHAM, it begins with STHOOLA (Gross) NADA (Sound) and goes unto SOOKSHMA (Subtee) NADA. In other words, it commences with the “VEIKHARI” type of speech-sounds, passes through the States & stages of “MADHYAMA” and “PASHYANTI” and reaches unto “PARA”.

In the practice of PADASTHA DHYANA the place of the conjugation of NADA is at the top of all, because, as a result of it NIRVIKALPA DASHA (State of thoughtlessness) is easily achieved.

Again, from this external (AHAT) Nada, the internal (ANAHAT) Nada is born through scientific yogic process.

Pindastha Dhyana

“PINDASTHAM—SHARIRSTHASYA DHYANAM” and “PINDASTHAM SWATMA CHINTANAM” : these phrases of definitions indicate the meditation of either the Siddha Arihanta having body or of the Self. This stage is the further progress from the stage of PADASTHA DHYANA. There is a very interesting process of the internal voyage of these Dhyanas. Limitations here prevent its narration.

Roopastha Dhyana

Roopastha Dhyana is defined by the phrases like “ROOPASTHAM PRATIMAROOPASYA DHYANAM” and “ROOPASTHAM SANKALPITATMA SWAROOPAM” pointing to the mediation of the Divine Powers Possessing Arihantas’ image or form or that of the highly resolved, purified and enlightened Self. By meditating upon the Image form of Arihanta and one’s own purified Self, this Dhyana is attained.

Roopatita Dhyana

Acharya Hemachandra has described this Supreme Dhyana as under :

“AMOORTASYA CHIDANANDROOPASYA PARAMATMANAH ;
NIRANJANASYA SIDDHASYA DHYANAM SYAT ROOPAVARJITAM” (29)

This indicates that the Roopatita or formless meditation consists of the vision and realization of SIDDHA, NIRANJAN, CHIDANAND PARAMATMA or that of one’s own self achieving that state or emerging in it :

“SACHCHIDANANDI SIDDHA SWAROOP, AVINASHI MAI ATMASWAROOP”

(I am that immortal form of Self, which is as pure and as realized one as SAT, CHIT, ANANDA possessing SIDDHA BHAGAWAN.)

Internal Voyage

The process and path of the above-indicated four-fold meditation (Shukla-Prashashta or Atma Dhyana) is entirely an internal Voyage. It wonderfully goes on with unutterable joy within, from stage to stage. If the seeker is fortunate enough to acquire the guidance and shelter of Self-realized Master and ready to follow commands and prescriptions, if he has enormous faith in the teachings of this Master and the Supreme Masters ; The Param Gurus : the Omniscient Arhats, and if he is determined with the discrimination of the true form of the Self, he is bound to attain the immediate as well as ultimate results and destinations of this unusual voyage. The immediate result is ‘living in the PRESENT with unbound Joy’ and the ultimate destination is the Realization and Liberation of the Self

From ‘Aham’ to ‘Arham’

The main obstacle in the above-referred Internal Voyage is AHAM (Ego). Unless it is totally eradicated in its subtlest form, this voyage can not commence at all. If it is done away with by replacing it with surrenderful humble attitude of zeroness, the NAHAM, then the pilgrimage from AHAM to ARHAM (The Omniscient State) is certain. This pilgrimage has to pass through the discriminative, investigative, analytic stages of KOHAM(WHO AM I ?) unto SOHAM (I am that, the eternal existence, the ultimate reality, the Shuddha and Siddha ATMA).

May the inclination spring and grow within us for treading this unforeseen path, for undergoing this journey within, this internal voyage from AHAM to ARHAM !

Arham, Soham, Navakar, Simplified

This ARHAM or SOHAM, NAVAKAR or OM KAR, is nearly one and the same. ARHAM-ARHAT-ARIHANT form at the top of the NAVAKAR Mantra, is the first letter in “OMKARA” and it leads to the final stage of SIDDHA, the SOHAM ! Afterall, it is this SIDDHA form, potentially inherent in each and every soul, which is to be attained through Meditation upon ARHAM or Navakar (Namaskara Maha Mantra) in the sound and soundless, image and imageless, virtues and virtue-crossed processes.

This Navakar Mantra (Pancha Parameshthi Mantra) is centred round the Souls and Soul-forms from pure to purest, realized, supreme ones. The centre of this whole Mantra is **PARAM GURU** : The Supreme Master : which is **SAHAJATMA SWAROOPA** : the Absolute, Pure, Natural, Realized form of the SELF, the "NIJ PADA". And what a miracle it is, that by meditating upon the "JIN PADA" (The state and form of the JINA : **ARIHANTA & SIDDHA**), this "NIJPADA" is transformed into the **JINPADA** !

And hence the simplification of the Navakar Mantra is **OMKAR, ARHAM, SOHAM** or **SAHAJATMA SWAROOPA PARAM GURU**.

Sahajatma Swaroopa Param Guru

The Padastha Dhyana beginning with any of the above Padas or the last **SAHAJATMA SWAROOPA PARAM GURU** will lead to the **PINDASTHA, ROOPASTHA & ROOPATITA DHYANA** in course of time and will burn all the **KARMAS** accumulated in lakhs of Births, just like darkness-destroying Sun :—

"JANMALAKSHARJITAM KARMA. DHYANENANEN YOGINAH TAMAH SOOR-YODAYENEV TATSARVAM NASHYATI KSHANAT." (30)

May all acquire strength for this internal voyage of Dhyana Yoga : Sahaj Shuddha Dhyana Yoga ; **SAHAJATMA SWAROOP PARAMGURU**.

"SHIVA MASTU SARVA JAGATAH"

JAINA ETHICS AND THE META—ETHICAL TRENDS

Dr. Kamal Chand Sogani

The main questions with which meta-ethics is concerned are usually three: (1) What is the meaning or definition of the terms like 'good', 'bad' and 'wrong' used in normative ethics? (2) What is the nature of normative judgements of ethics (Moral judgements) in which the terms good, right, etc., are used? (3) How can moral judgements be justified? Modern ethics is occupied with these questions and is predominantly devoted to the philosophical analysis of ethical terms or judgements. It may not have any relevance to our practical problems, but a sort of conceptual understanding and clarification is essential prior to any use of ethical concepts. In Jaina terminology the questions reduce themselves to the following: (i) What is the meaning or definition of the terms like Subha and Asubha? (ii) What is the nature of judgements in which these terms are used, (iii) How can such judgements be justified and supported? I shall take these questions one by one and discuss the answers of Jaina thinkers regarding these contemporary questions of meta-ethical concern.

The first question that confronts us is: What is 'good' or 'Subha'? This question, as Moore says, should not be confused with the question, what is 'the good' or the 'Subha' or what thing or things are good or Subha? The former question is more basic than the latter one. It may be asked whether the question of 'good' or Subha can be decided in a universe where there is no element of consciousness. In such a universe according to the Jaina, there will be material things, but in the absence of the consciousness good and bad are inconceivable. Thus a universe without consciousness would be a universe without value. "Whatever is good, then, must stand in relation to consciousness". In the history of ethical thought good has been defined in various ways, namely, good-pleasant, good-liked by me or most members of the group, good-an object of favourable interest and so on.

Any serious student of Jaina ethics would outright reject these definitions of 'good' or 'Subha'. According to the Jaina ethics, 'Subha' is an experience in tune with Ahimsa. Since there are degrees of Ahimsa, so there are degrees of 'Subha' or 'good'. The ingredients of this experience which is complex but unified are emotions, and knowledge issuing in end seeking action. Satisfaction on the fulfillment of ends is the accompaniment of the experience. The implication of the definition of 'Subha' or 'good' is that goodness does not belong to things in complete isolation from feeling; a thing is good, because it gives rise to an experience in tune with Ahimsa. Besides, that a thing does this is an objective fact and not an imaginary construction. The question: What is right can be answered, according to the Jaina by saying that right cannot be separated from the good. Thus right is that which tends to produce as much experience in tune with Ahimsa as any alternative.

The question, what is Subha? in the realm of ethics is like the question: What is Dravya? In the realm of metaphysics. The definition of Dravya given by the Jaina Acaryas is: Dravya is that which is Sat (being). Here 'being' is used in a comprehensive sense, and not in a particular sense. But it is to be borne in mind that no particular can be apart from being. In a logical way we can say that being is the highest genus whereas the particulars are its species and the relation between the two is identity-in-difference. Similarly, when I say that 'Subha is an experience in tune with Ahimsa', I am using the term 'Ahimsa' in the comprehensive sense and not in a particular sense. No particular Subha can be separated from Ahimsa and Ahimsa manifests itself in all particular Subhas. In a logical sense, it can be said that Ahimsa is the highest genus and particular Ahimsas

are its species, and the relation between Ahimsa and Ahimsas is a relation of identity-in-difference. As for example, in non-killing and non-exploitation, though the identical element of Ahimsa is present, yet the two are different. So the above is the most general definition of Subha just like the definition of Dravya. It may be noted here that we can understand 'being' only through the particulars since general being is unintelligible owing to its being abstract, though we can think of it factually, i. e., value-neutrally. Similarly, the understanding of general Ahimsa shall come only through the particular examples of Ahimsa, e. g., non-killing, non-exploitation, non-enmity, non-cruelty, etc. though we can think of it evaluatively. I may point out in passing that particular kinds of Ahimsa are a matter of exploration. Every age develops many kinds of subtle Himsa which are a matter of exploration. Gross Ahimsa like non-killing is easily recognisable but subtle Ahimsa like non-exploitation is a matter of discovery. Thus different forms of Ahimsa will ever be appearing before us by our exploring outlook and tendencies. In fact., Ahimsa pre-supposes a realm of living beings both human and non-human. So Subha will be operative only in such a realm of living beings. In other words the experience of Subha will always be in relation to living beings. No living beings no Subha. Thus the definition of Subha as the experience in tune with Ahimsa is the most general definition like the definition of Dravya as that which is Sat. The former can be thought of evaluatively, just as the latter can be thought of factually i. e. value-neutrally.

The above definition of good or Subha presented by the Jaina thinkers avoids the two extremes of naturalism and non-naturalism, subjectivism and objectivism which are the present day-meta-ethical trends. According to naturalism moral terms like 'good' or 'right' can be reduced to the empirical terms of psychology, biology, sociology, etc. For instance, good means actually desired by 'oneself' or by people generally, or what tends to further human survival' or what makes for social stability. The defects of these definitions are: (a) they reduce ethics to a branch of natural science thus robbing it of its autonomy. (b) they do not leave any place for 'ought' experience, since they refer only to what is. Frankena¹ is right when he says "when we are making merely factual assertions we are not thereby taking any pro or con attitude towards what we are talking about. But when we make an ethical or value judgement we are not neutral in this way; it would seem 'paradoxical if one were to say 'X is good', 'Y' is right, but he is absolutely indifferent to its being sought or done by himself or anyone else". The merit of naturalism is that it regards value in the world as relative to consciousness.

According to non-naturalism, moral terms cannot be reduced to non-moral terms of science. No doubt 'good' or 'right' have objective properties for their being recognised as such, but they are indefinable in non-ethical terms. "They are of a very different kind, being non-natural or non-empirical and so to speak normative rather than factual". For instance, if we say that 'knowledge is good', it means that it is good by virtue of the the non-natural character of goodness in knowledge known to us directly and not by any empirical observations. The defect of non-naturalism is that it regards good as simple, unanalysable and indefinable, but the merit of this position is that it regards goodness as objective and not merely subjective.

Now when the Jaina says that 'Subha' is an experience in tune with Ahimsa, he is accepting the merits of both naturalism and non-naturalism. The statement that Subha is an experience in tune with Ahimsa, accepts value in the world as related to consciousness and leaves room for 'ought' experience. For example to say that kindness is an experience in tune with Ahimsa, implies that we ought to be kind. Besides, this experience is not of the type 'liked by me' or 'approved by me' so not subjective or reducible to feeling but possesses an objective character, and at the same time this experience is not simple, unanalysable but complex and analysable therefore, definable as has been explained above.

1. Frankena, Ethics, P. 83

The second and third meta-ethical questions that draw our attention are: (2) What is the nature of normative judgements of ethics? or what is the nature of ethical judgements (obligatory and value) according to the Jaina? (3) What is their justification?

Let me now state the first question more clearly. There have been recognised three kinds of knowledge. (1) Knowledge of fact, as this flower is yellow; (2) knowledge of necessity, as $7+5=12$ and (3) knowledge of value, as A was good man or murder is wrong. The question under discussion reduces itself to this: Are ethical judgements expressive of any cognitive content in the sense that they may be asserted true or false? Or do they simply express emotions, feelings, etc.? The upholders of the former view are known as non-cognitivists (emotivists). When we say that Himsa is wrong, are we making a true or false assertion or are we experiencing simply feeling? Or are we doing both? According to the cognitivists, the ethical judgement, Himsa is wrong is capable of being objectively true and thus moral knowledge is objective, whereas the non-cognitivists deny both the objectivity of assertion and knowledge, in as much as according to them ethical judgements are identified with feeling, emotions, etc. Here the position taken by the Jaina seems to me to be this that though the statement, 'Himsa is evil' is objectively true, yet it cannot be divested of the feeling element involved in experiencing the truth of the statement. In moral life knowledge and feeling cannot be separated. By implication we can derive from the Tattvarthasutra that the path of goodness can be traversed by knowledge (Jnana) and feeling and activity (Caritra)^a. Amrtacandra says that first of all knowledge of right and wrong, good and evil is to be acquired, afterwards moral life is to be practised. Thus the conviction of the Jaina is that the knowledge of value and obligations is tied up with our feelings and that in their absence we are ethically blind. In fact, our feelings and knowledge are so interwoven into a complex harmony that we have never a state of mind in which both are not present in some degree. So the claims of cognitivists and non-cognitivists are onesided and are very antagonistic to the verdict of experience. Blandshard¹ rightly remarks 'Nature may spread before us the richest possible banquet of good things, but if we can look at them only with the eye of reason, we shall care for none of these things; they will be alike insipid. There would be no knowledge of good and evil in a world of mere knowers for where there is no feeling, good and evil would be unrecognisable. Again "a life that directs itself by feeling even of the most exalted kind will be like a ship without a rudder". Thus the nature of ethical judgement according to the Jaina is cognitive-affective. "The achievement of good is a joint product of our power to know and our power to feel"²."

The next question in meta-ethics is to ask how our ethical judgements (value and obligation) can be justified. That the ethical judgements are objectively true need not imply that their justification can be sought in the same manner as the justification of factual judgements or ordinary and scientific nature. The reason for this is that value cannot be derived from fact, ought from is. In factual judgements our expressions are value-neutral, but in ethical judgements we cannot be indifferent to their being sought by ourselves or by others. That is why derivation of ought from is, value from fact is unjustifiable. The value judgements according to the Jaina are self-evident and can only be experienced directly, thus they are self-justifying. The conviction of the Jaina is that no argument can prove that 'Himsa is evil' and 'Ahimsa is good'. What is intrinsically good or bad can be experienced directly or immediately. The justification of right can be sought from the fact of its producing what is intrinsically good.

(a) Tattvarthasutra, Chapter I, 1

1. Blanshard—Reason and Goodness, P. 68

2. Blanshard—Reason and Goodness. P. 68

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE NOBLE TRUTHS-- A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

G. C. Nayak

“We feel that he was a great man; probably the greatest man India has ever produced. He was a thinker of no mean order. He possessed not only a great mind, but a magnetic personality as well. He was, without doubt, a great leader of man”¹. It is not only the conviction of a single Buddhist scholar, Mr. Ward; non-Budhists all over the world also would not hesitate to join hands with him in paying this glowing tribute to one of the greatest persons that ever lived on this earth, i.e. Lord Buddha. But what is it exactly that made him great? It will be clear to us if we concentrate on the problem of suffering and the unique solution offered by Buddha to this burning problem of humanity at large.

“Everything is suffering” this is the first noble truth profounded by the Buddha (the enlightened one) long ago. In fact, his entire thought is directed to this problem of suffering to which he is said to have found a unique solution. But then what is puzzling here is that the fact of suffering has been given the status of a noble truth which the enlightened one had the unique privilege of discovering. No enlightenment seems to be involved in emphasizing the dark side of things and what is more, there seems nothing unique in the realisation of the fact of suffering. And yet the Buddha says:—This is the noble truth of pain. Thus, monks, among doctrines unheard before, in me sight and knowledge arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, light arose” What then is the significance of this first noble truth of suffering propounded by the Buddha?

The first noble truth runs as follows:—“Now this, monks, is the noble truth of pain, birth is painful, old age is painful, sickness is painful, death is painful, sorrow, lamentation, dejection and despair are painful. Contact with unpleasant thing is painful, not getting what one wishes is painful. In short the five groups of grasping are painful.” What is unique in this assertion? Do we not find the *Upanisad* pointing in its characteristic manner to the same truth? What mortal can exult in living very long after scrutinizing the enjoyment of dancing and singing? (Abhidhayan varnaratipramodnatidirghe jivite ko rameta)”, asks Naciketan to Yama in the *Kathapanisad*. As a matter of fact, “every religion” we may agree with Radhakrishnan, “exaggerates the suffering of life, for the aim of religion is the redemption from sin and suffering. With a happy world, there would have been no need for religion”. Moreover, there is another question to consider. “The Buddhist view of life”, says Radhakrishnan, “seems to be lacking in courage and confidence. Its emphasis on sorrow, if not false, is not true. The predominance of pain over pleasure is an assumption”².

Considering the second question first it should be borne in mind that the Buddha does not only point to the predominance of pain over pleasure but asserts that everything is suffering.

1 C. H. S. Ward, *Buddhism* Vol. II. London—1952, pp. 150—151

2. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* Vol. I, (London 1951) p. 364

It is not merely an emphasis on sorrow but an assertion that there is only sorrow. Is Buddha then unaware of the pleasures of living? Is he blind towards the bright sides of life? It seems not. In that case he would not be the enlightened one (the Buddha). What Buddha really wants to point out is the fact that everything, being perishable, belongs to suffering. That he does not blur the ordinary distinction between pleasure and pain is evident from the following assertion of his: "That there are three kinds of sensations, I have taught: pleasure, pain and that which is neither pleasure nor pain. And again I have taught: whatever is felt, belongs to suffering. Thus alone in regard to the impermanence of things I have said that whatever is felt belong to suffering, having regard to the fact that things are subject to annihilation to destruction; that pleasure in them ceases, that they are subject to cessation, to changeable-ness"¹. It is thus that the transitoriness of things is taken as the ultimate criterion of suffering in Buddhism. "Whatever is transitory is painful"². The Bhagavad Gita also points out in a similar manner that this world is painful because it is impermanent (Anityamasukham lokam.....). Duhkha is defined by Gautama in his Nyaya Sutras as follows:

"Badhana laksanam duhkham" Even if I may get the utmost satisfaction by the acquisition of certain object it can cause pain by its subsequent passing away. There is no question of absolute certainty in the empirical domain, and yet we aspire for a fulfilment of the will that is everlasting and immutable which it is impossible to find, and hence suffering is inevitable. That which is felt as obstructing or antagonistic to the will cause suffering. Vatsyayana defines duhkha as Pratikula vedaniyam. Even a so-called pleasant object in that case can also cause suffering by being snatched away from us or through its destruction. Every satisfaction of the will may be said to belong to suffering in so far as the object in question is taken away from the person concerned. Here only the logical possibility of the object coming to naught is sufficient. Why it is that this impermanence is taken to be the criterion of suffering, what is the justification in classifying all impermanent things under duhkha will be considered in the sequel.

The next question to be considered is whether the Buddhist view of life lacks in courage and confidence. The answer to this question will be evident when we consider the other question—what is unique in Buddha's assertion of duhkha or suffering. Buddha it may be noted, had the most penetrating and original insight into the problem of suffering. And what is more, his was the most ruthless spirit in devoting itself to an analysis of this problem. He never allowed his imaginative and speculative faculties to take the upper hand in dealing with this problem. He had no palliatives, makeshifts or practical compromises to offer in solving this problem. No personal god or salvation in the aparoksanubhava of an immutable self is visualised by Buddha to console the suffering humanity. The Bhagavad Gita finds solace in self-surrender to a personal god who is called Purusottama—"Anityamasukham lokam immam Prapya bhajasva mam". Sarva dharmau paritijaya mamckam saranam braja, Aham tvam sarva papebhyo moksiasyami ma sucah' These are the words of comfort and solace uttered by Lord Kṛṣṇa for his devotee in the Bhagavad Gita. Buddha has no such words of solace to give to his most intimate disciple—Ananda. Buddha neither points to any saviour of humanity nor does he pose himself as the saviour as a personal God, before his disciples. The only saviour is the truth, the four noble truths, discovered by him. In this farewell address to Ananda he again and again emphasises the point that the Tathagata is not indispensable for the order and his individuality being as perishable as the rest of the world Ananda is asked

1.=Samyutta Nikaya—XXXVI, 11.

2.=I bid., XXXV, 1.

to take resort to the truth and nothing else. The passage is worth quoting at some length if only because it makes us see clearly the unique spirit of Buddha as distinguished from those of other world-teachers who have equally left their foot-prints on the sands of time.

“What, then, Ananda, does the order expect of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truth, Ananda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher who keeps some things back.

Surely, Ananda, should there be any one who harbors the thought ‘It is I who will lead the brotherhood’ or, ‘The order is dependent upon me’, he should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the order. Now the Tathāgata, Ananda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him.

Why then should the Tathāgata leave instructions in any matter concerning the order?

I am now grown old, Ananda, and full of years; my journey is drawing to its close. I have reached the sum of my days. I am turning eighty years of age.

Just as a worn-out cart can only with much difficulty be made to move along, so the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going with much additional care.

Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Seek salvation alone in the truth. Look not for assistance to any one besides yourselves”. Such was the uncompromising analysis of the problem made by Buddha. The Upanisads, no doubt, point to the transitoriness and consequent misery of, existence on different occasions, as for example in the dialogue between Yama and Naciketas. The Upanisadic analysis, however, points at the sametime to a resting place, to something immutable (Kūṭastha nitya), in the Ātman or Brahman (Brahma puchham pratistha). The quest for certainty, the quest for something unchanging amidst change (Asariram sariresu anavasthesva-vasthitam) does not go in vain. The restless mind gets its final resting place, a complete satisfaction, in the Ātman or Brahman. “Ānandam Brahmano vidvāna vihheti kutaścana”. Such were the comforting words of the Upanisads. But the question that occurs spontaneously to the doubting mind is whether this so called resting place may not be sheer illusion. And the Buddha affirms that this self, which is the dearest of all in the words of Yājñavalkya, is one of the most fundamental illusions which numbs us all. “It is conventional language (Sammuti) which has spoiled the purity of conception (Paramattha-ultimate sense, the supreme thing-meant), though, in some cases, language does remain pure enough, as when we say, “It rains”. Who rains? what rains? Simply it rains, meaning, there is rain. Likewise, the concept should not be: “I think”, but, “there is thinking”. This is the teaching which came to be known as the doctrine of anatta”⁵. To express the same idea in the words of Wittgenstein, “A picture held us captive. And we could not get outside it, for it lay in our language and language seemed to repeat it to us inexorably”⁶.

The metaphysical and speculative genius of mankind must not be allowed to blur the truth, however ghastly it may be. As Stcherbatsky very aptly remarks, “The existence of God, immortality of the soul, and freedom of will,—these three main ideas are the postulates of every religion; no doctrine of morals can be built without these—This is the view of Kant and

5. G. P. Malah sekera, “Some aspects of Reality as taught by Theravada Buddhism”, Charles A. Moore (Ed.) ‘The Indian Mind (University of Hawaii Press, 1967) p. 74.

6. Philosophical Investigations sect. 115.

of the European philosophy in general, as also the conviction of wide sections of educated people. But there also exists a religion which glows in the hearts of millions of its followers with a bright flame of living faith—a religion that embodies in itself the highest ideals of the good, of love for one's fellow beings, of spirited freedom and moral perfection, a religion that has ennobled the peoples of Asia and introduced civilization into their lives—and which nevertheless admits neither God nor immortality of the soul, nor even freedom of will". And for this very reason, it may be added, Buddhism is not a religion in the strict sense of the term. The Buddhist theory of *ānattā* is a standing testimonial to Buddha's uncompromising analytic attitude towards the problem of suffering. Everything is transitory, the idea of eternity being only an illusion. Transitoriness being the criterion of *dukkha*, it necessarily follows that everything belongs to suffering. Any metaphysical speculation that provides with a temporary relief must be avoided, for it only gives a false hope and is therefore ultimately conducive to greater suffering. As is said in *Majjhima Nikāya*, "The jungle, the desert, the puppet show, the writing, the entanglement of such speculations is accompanied by sorrow, wrangling, resentment, the fever of excitement. It conduces neither to detachment of heart, nor to freedom from lust, nor to tranquillity, nor to peace, nor to wisdom, nor to the insight of the higher stages of the path, nor to Nirvana". Suffering is so burning a problem to Buddha that nothing is allowed either to minimise its poignance or to offer a superficial solution in the form of salvation through a personal deity or the self. The following assessment of Buddha's philosophy, though to some extent an exaggerated one, is quite significant in containing important elements of truth. "All the remaining Buddhist doctrine may, more or less, be found in other philosophic systems and religions, but the *Anattā* doctrine has been clearly and unreservedly taught only by the Buddha. Whoever has not penetrated this impersonality of all existence, and does not comprehend that in reality, there exists only this continually self-consuming process of arising and passing bodily and mental phenomena, and that there is no separate Ego-entity within or without this process, he will not be able to understand Buddhism....." ⁷ This *Anattā* theory of Buddha is what gives the problem of suffering in Buddhism its uniqueness and poignance, for it prevents the problem to have an easy solution through metaphysical speculations of an immutable self or *Atman*. And it is this unredeemed and profound sense of suffering which gives the first noble truth propounded by Buddha its unique status.

The similarity of thought between Hume and Buddha with regard to the *anattā* theory is too well known to be elaborated here. The wellknown passage of Hume which is usually quoted in this connection runs as follows—"There are some philosophers who imagine we are every moment intimately conscious of what we call ourself; that we feel its existence and its continuance in existence; and are certain, beyond the evidence of a demonstration, both of its perfect identity and simplicity.....For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call myself, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch myself at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception.....I may venture to affirm of the rest of mankind, that they are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement". The above passage is very much similar in thought to the following passage of *Samyutta Nikaya*. "Five groups of existence, forming the objects of attachment have been taught by the blessed one. Corporeality, feeling, perception, mental formation, consciousness. With regard to these five groups I do not find any ego, *atta* or something 'belonging to an

7. Stcherbatsky "Philosophical Doctrine of Buddhism", Further papers of Stcherbatsky, translated from Russian by H. C. Gupta, Indian Studies, Past and Present, 1971.

8 Nyanatiloka, Buddhist Dictionary

ego' attaniya". Further similarities can easily be noted between the example of chariot given by the sage Nagasena in the questions of King Milinda to propound the theory of anattā and the example of University given by Gilbert Ryle to explain the category mistake⁹. Buddhism may thus be seen to be an example par excellence of the uncompromising analysis of the notion of self which makes the problem of suffering assume a unique dimension making it all the more difficult to solve. There is no soul or self beyond the transitory world and hence there is nothing transcending sorrow.

But why should the transitory be painful? Why should this lack of certainty in the empirical level be considered a defect? Everything is uncertain, changing, is in a state of flux, but why should everything belong to suffering? Here lies the most puzzling mystery of man which only the genius of Buddha was capable of unravelling. It is not the impermanence of things, it is not the absence of something eternal amidst change, which causes suffering but it is the craving (tanha) for permanence based on ignorance (avidyā) of the fact that everything is impermanent that makes us suffer. This craving for something which it is impossible to find, this intransigence on the part of man to come to terms with that which is non-substantial (anatta) and evanescent (Anicca), a sort of childish persistence to achieve something impossible even at the cost of truth—this is what ultimately causes suffering from which there is no deliverance until the naked truth is recognised and admitted with candour. And Buddha does admit the possibility of such deliverance, this being the message of hope he gives to the suffering multitude.

Deliverance or liberation in Buddhism however consists in illumination or enlightenment alone. One becomes enlightened (the Buddha) and lo, there is freedom. There is no question of acquiring some peculiar excellence or attaining certain peculiar status. It is a state of illumination¹⁰ or enlightenment pure and simple. It is the undue demand that we make due to our ignorance, it is our search for the will-o'-the-wisp in the form of certainty in the world of uncertainty and impermanence which is at the root of all suffering. Impermanence is neither pleasant nor painful by itself; it is the craving for eternal existence which makes impermanence painful for us. When one is firmly entrenched in the truth of impermanence and anattā and is consequently freed from craving he no longer suffers although the same law of impermanence continues to hold for the things of the world. Buddha states the third noble truth of the extinction of suffering as follows:—"It is the complete fading away and extinction of this craving, its forsaking and giving up, the liberation and detachment from it" and "Be it in the past, present or future; whosoever of the monks or priests regards the delightful and pleasurable things in the world as impermanent (anicca), miserable (dukkha) and without an ego (anattā), as a disease and sorrow, it is he who overcomes the craving". Nirvāna, as Candrakīrti has aptly remarked in his commentary on Mūla Madhyama Kārikā, consists only in the complete extinction of all the false constructions of our imagination (Niravasesa kalpanāksayrāpameva Nirvanam). It is this cessation of suffering in the form of freedom from the false idols which Buddha suggests to the suffering humanity as its ideal. With a ruthless mind one is to uproot the false ideas and aspirations which cause immeasurable sufferings in the world. "It is just as if there were a great tree and a man were to come with axe and basket, and were to cut down that tree at the root. Cutting it by the root he were to dig a trench and were to pull out the roots even to the root-lets and root-fibres..... Verily that great

9 Cf Gilbert Ryle, The Concept of Mind

10—Satori in Zen Buddhism, it is worth mentioning in this connection, is "essentially a sudden illumination, a sudden transformation of the attitude towards life and things". Cf. my paper "Zen Buddhism—An Exposition" (lecture delivered at the Literary Society, Somerset, U. K.) published in Path-way to God, June 1971.

tree thus cut down at the root would be made as a palm-tree stump, a nothing, incapable of growing again in the future. Even so in him who contemplates the misery in all that makes for grasping, craving ceases; because craving ceases grasping ceases, when cease becoming, birth, decay and death...suffering. Even such is the ceasing of this entire mass of ill"¹¹. There is no solace to be obtained from the false imaginations or metaphysical speculations of a permanent self or a personal deity. The only salvation lies in the acknowledgement of the truth of impermanence and anattā. It is needless to point out in this connection that it requires rare courage and confidence to face such a truth in its utter nakedness without being swayed away by human passions and longing. Buddha's solution of the problem of suffering is unique in so far as it does not believe in any imaginary vanishing of the problem by the assumption of certain metaphysical entities. The problem is faced in its stark nakedness and a solution is suggested which is within the reach even of a lay man. That "the thirst for pleasure, the thirst for being the thirst for power" is the root cause of evil even in the contemporary world cannot be denied. Buddha's solution, therefore, is as significant and appropriate in the present context as it used to be in the days of the Buddha himself. Little imagination is needed to see that Nirvāṇa as the extinction of greed¹² or tantrā-nibbāna which is humanistic solution to the pressing problem of suffering in the human world is the most urgent necessity of our time.

Here it may not be out of place to consider the following remarks about Buddha's teaching. Buddha's "resemblance with the Charvakas in rejecting God, soul and the Vedas" says a writer on Buddhism "is superficial; what is essential to Buddha's teaching is the chain of karma, the salvation from the cycles of births and rebirths and the attitude of passivity and non-resistance to social evil. Whereas the great epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana taught the people to hate and destroy the unjust forces of society, Buddha taught men not to see evil outside themselves but to practise the cessation of desires"¹³. Now I must confess that I fail to see any logical force in this argument. It is true that Buddha believed in karma and rebirth, but his rejection of God, soul and the Vedas can hardly be superficial. The theory of anattā is central to his philosophy and the Vedic authority and the idea of God are in no better position than that of the soul. Dharmakīrti goes to the extent of enumerating the acceptance of the authority of the Vedas and of some one as the creator as two of the five characteristics of stupidity (Vedā prāmāṇyam kasya'it kṛtīvādaḥ...dhvasta-prajñānām pañca-lingāni jādye). It is true that Buddha taught men to practise the cessation of desires but it is difficult to see how from this one can arrive at the conclusion that he preached non-resistance to social evil. It is the desire, the thirst, the craving in man which is the root of all suffering and when individuals belonging to a society learn to curb their inordinate greed it takes us a long way in the direction of eradicating social evils also.

Buddha visualised the abolition of social evil through the enlightenment of the individual, and the cessation of tanhā is a necessary feature of this enlightenment. The key to the solution of social evils is to be found in the uprooting of the cause of all evils as such, viz., tanhā. It is therefore too much to say that Buddha showed an attitude of passivity and non-resistance to social evil. Human life, according to Buddha is "caught in the grip of turbulent desires and passions which are the source of paralysing inner conflict and the disturbing hostilities

11—Samyutta Nikaya II, 88

12. Of. Anguttara Nikaya—III, 53. "The extinction of greed, the extinction of anger, the extinction of delusion: this indeed is called Nibbana."

13. R. B. Sharma, "Some Aspects of the Teaching of Buddha" Buddhism, the Marxist Approach (People's publishing House, January, 1970).

which these produce between man and his fellow creatures. The turmoil within human personality cannot be transcended without the active participation of every individual in the long and arduous labour of cleaning up the underground of his own confused and compulsive motivations, a labour that eventually eliminates the conflict until this work on the inner man has been carried to a successful conclusion, all the splendid aspirations for freedom and justice in human affairs must remain but empty dreams, bringing frustration in their wake and disenchantment that grows as one decade follows upon another Freedom cannot become a social fact until the battle has been won within¹⁴. If this is what was of Supreme importance to Buddha, which I think the case to be, then it would be definitely wrong to take him to task for being oblivious to social evils. Rather it should not be fantastic to hope that different nations of the world will not be disappointed in making experiments with the Buddhist technique (the noble eight fold path) for tackling the problem of evil and suffering both on the individual and the social planes.

It has been remarked by an eminent Buddhist scholar that in the negation of the soul he (Buddha) saw the main trait of his doctrine and of its superiority over all others. Where there is personality, there is property belonging to it. Where there is 'I', there also is my and where there is personal property, there necessarily emerges a love for it in one form or the other. This attachment to personal property is the root of all evils, the root of every personal action as well as of all social injustice. Thus by negating the existence of the soul Buddhism gives us very profound philosophical basis for the negation of the right of personal property. What personal property can be possible where even the personality itself is not there. Therefore, a real Buddhist is only he who has renounced personal property—and not merely property but also family, home, etc. once for all¹⁵. Although such a view has some basis in truth it can not be regarded as wholly true. It is true that the peculiar philosophy of life and of escape taught by the sage from Sakya was directed primarily to his fellow ascetics, to those who were prepared to renounce the household, worldly life for the worthy life of the wanderers and hermit¹⁶. But from this it will be wrong to infer that true Buddhists cannot be found from amongst the householders.¹⁷ It is the greed, the *taṇhā*, which is at the root of all evils according to Buddha and the Buddhist doctrine of *anattā* to *mā* mind though antagonistic to *taṇhā* is not incompatible with personality as such. Personality in Buddhism has of course none of those connotations that are associated with this term in metaphysics having the implication

14.—N. P. Jacobson, *Buddhism; the Religion of Analysis*, (London, 1966) pp. 21-22.

Cf. Thakur Anukul Chandra as quoted in *Who thou the Revolutionary* "I understand revolution to be that which brings a radical change, not only in the outside world, but also in the innermost being of a man. Merely changes in the world would not be of any use unless a change comes from within so that we can adapt ourselves to the environment.

15.—Stcherbatsky, *Op. cit.*

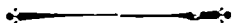
16.—G. F. Allen, *The Buddha's Philosophy*, London, 1959, p. 33

17.—Cf. *Majhima Nikaya*, 99 Discourse—

The Brahmins, O Gotama, speak thus: who lives the household life, does apply the right method, a whole—some conduct, who goes out from home cannot do so. Now what does Lord Gotama think about this? For that matter I distinguish, O Brahmin, not do I pronounce a simple judgement Whether one lives the household life or whether one goes out from home if he is living wrongly I do not praise it. For who so lives the household life, O Brahmin, and who so goes out from home: if he lives wrongly on account of his wrong living he can not apply to the right method, to a wholesome conduct. Whether one lives the household life O Brahmin, or whether one goes out from home if he lives rightly, I praise it. For whoso lives the household life, and who so goes out from home if he lives rightly on account of his right life he applies the right method, a wholesome conduct.

of an abiding, enduring or everlasting entity. But from the fact that Buddha did not subscribe to a view of the abiding self or Ātman, it will be a misinterpretation of Buddha's teaching to suppose that he was absolutely opposed to all ideas of personality whatsoever with which we are acquainted in our ordinary parlance. In this respect atleast Buddha was a philosopher of strong commonsense and hence his opposition to any metaphysical notion of self. But Buddha's own unique personality itself stands before each one of us through eternity as a model for our personal as well as social life. A community of such enlightened personalities or Buddhas is the goal set before us which must be achieved if the mankind is not to perish. It is, therefore, difficult to conceive how Buddhism can be said to stand for the denial of personality as such along with all that it entails. The impersonal personality of a Buddha, if I may be permitted to use such a term, is not so much incompatible with property, family or home, as it is with *taṇhā* or greed which in its turn is based upon the wrong notion of a permanent self or Ātman¹⁸.

18.—In preparing the present paper I have at places taken the help of my paper "the problem of suffering—The Buddhistic approach" which was presented at the International Seminar on Buddhism held at Bodhagaya in 1972.



THE WHEEL OF DHAMMA

Shraddhakar Supakar

There is something sublime and grand about the first sermon, which Lord Gautama Buddha preached, while laying down the first and fundamental principles of a new religion. The doctrines of the new religion, as the Lord said, were not the doctrines handed down from the seers of the preceding ages, but which arose within His own eyes, as He clearly perceived them. He knows the nature of these doctrines and after understanding the causes, He began to preach the wisdom to guide the path of tranquility with a view to dispelling the darkness of ignorance.

We may go back for a moment to that day about two thousand and five hundred years ago, to about 519 B. C. to be little more exact, (taking the date of birth of the Enlightened one to be about 560 B. C.) when the Buddha decided to keep His sacred mission no longer to Himself but to let His disciples know and let the world know through His disciples, the profound truth which dawned on Him in His meditations.

The time was evening. It was a historic occasion. Later poets wrote of the solemnity of the occasion in beautiful language as follows :—

“The evening was like a lovely maiden, the stars were the pearls upon her neck, the dark clouds her braided hair ; the deepening space her flowing robes. As a crown she had the heavens where the engels dwell ; these three worlds were her body ; her eyes were the lotus flowers which open to the rising moon ; and her voice were as it were the humming of the bees. To do homage to the Buddha and to hear the first preaching of his words, this lovely maiden came. The angels (devas) throng to hear the discours until the heavens are empty ; and the sound of their approach is like the rain of a storm ; all the worlds in which there are sentient beings are made void of life, so that the congregation assembled was in number infinite, and at the sound of blast of the glorious trumpet of Sakka, the king of the gods, they became still as a waveless sea. And then each of the countless listeners thought that the Sage was looking towards himself, and was speaking to him in his own tongue, though the language used was Magadhi”.¹

The place was Isipatana (R̥ṣipattana) Migadāya (near Saranath close to Varanasi). The most important persons in the audience were the five ascetics, who had been His companions at the time of His penance in Uruvela. In the sermon the Lord ANNATA mentions only Kondanna who became Ananta. The others were Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji, who were converted on the subsequent days. Myriads of devas listened to the sermons and were converted to the new faith leading to Nirvāṇa.

Like the Sermon on the Mount of the New Testament the Sermon of the Wheel of Dhamma is eloquent yet simple, appeals to all men and women high or low, the learned and the common people.

Though the Lord said that the new faith was His own, yet later Scholars, like Buddhaghosa, interpret it as the accumulation of the wisdom, the result of accumulated meditations of the Lord in His presence as well as His previous incarnations of Buddhahood.

Lord Buddha preached from His own experience. He had performed very strenuous penance for six years continuously undergoing a lot of suffering and had found that the time, the trouble and the suffering had yielded no substantial results. He, therefore, asked His disciples not to undergo self-mortification by ascetic practices, which He characterised as painful, unworthy and unprofitable.

He advised the Bhikkhus, his disciples to avoid the other extreme—a habitual practice of those things whose attraction depends on the passions and specially on sensuality—a low and pagan way of seeking satisfaction, unworthy, unprofitable and fit only for the worldly-minded.

He preached the following of the middle path—avoiding the two extremes—a path which opens the eyes, bestows understanding, leads to peace of mind, higher wisdom and to feel enlightenment and finally to Nirvāṇa.

“The Middle path”, He said, “is Ariya Atāṅgiko Māggo”—the noble eight-fold path”.

The eight-fold path he enumerated to be —

- (1) Right view,
- (2) Right aspiration,
- (3) Right speech,
- (4) Right conduct,
- (5) Right livelihood,
- (6) Right effort,
- (7) Right mindfulness, and
- (8) Right contemplation.

From the above gospel, we at once see that the new religion laid emphasis on human conduct and action. Though Gautama Buddha had been a recluse meditating during the best part of his youth, he preached a religion of action, a religion of pure conduct and thought. This we can describe as Karma Yoga.

It was a religion independent of any godhood or any other agency, whom human being could pray or rely on for his salvation. Man is the maker of his own religious salvation, or damnation. Whatever man sows, he reaps. The Buddha did not claim to be a saviour or a messenger of God.

The Enlightened one showed the eight-fold path to His disciples and to the world and gave the reason why man must follow this noble eight-fold path.

If man wants to free himself from the four pains, he must follow this path. The four pains are the pains of birth, the pains of decay, (in old age), the pains of disease, and the pains of death.

It may be recalled that during the early youth of Gautama Buddha, His father, King Suddhodana had been warned that the four signs or sights which might lead the young prince away from the kingdom and the world should be avoided. But the Prince could not help seeing the decrepit old man, the diseased, the dead and the ascetic and these sights led Gautama since those days to brood over the miseries of human life and existence and a quest to find a solution to problems of human miseries and pains.

By the time of the preaching of the first sermon, He had found the solution. Therefore He told His audience—

“This then, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning suffering.

Now this, O Bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the origin of suffering”.

He said that thirst was at the root of all sufferings. Thirst for gratification of passions, thirst for a future life, and thirst for success in the present life when these thirsts are not satisfied, there is pain.

For a true follower of the Buddha, eternal happiness in the heavens, a life of perpetual pleasure and of deathless existence is not coveted. Equally so, an Epicurean life of the followers of Charvaka (or Omar Khayam), “Eat, drink and be merry for you will be dust when you are dead” is not for the Buddhists.

If craving or thirst is the cause of pain or suffering, suppression or control of the thirst or craving is the only method of destroying the suffering.

So he says “Verily it is this destruction, in which no passion remains of this thirst ; the laying aside of, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harbouring no longer of this thirst.

This then, O Bhikkus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of suffering.”

A similar idea is to be found in the Bhagabad Gita, where Lord Krishna tells Arjuna,

“A Sthitaprajña (firm in wisdom and judgement) is he, who forsakes all the cravings of his mind and is satisfied within his self by his self, a man who is not perturbed by sorrow nor has any craving for (worldly) happiness and who has got control over lust, fear and anger.”

The eight-fold path is the way to an ideal life. Lord Buddha exhorted His disciples (the Bhikkus) to lead an ideal life—a life of truthfulness, honesty, non-violence, self-control, noble thoughts and deeds.

The first sermon was evidently meant for the individual. The organisation, (the Sangha) evolved later.

That evening, Lord Buddha set the royal chariot wheel of Dhamma rolling onwards,. The wheel moved, and Buddhism spread in India in and out of its borders to Ceylon, Kabul, Iran, China, Japan, Malaya and South East Asia. It became the religion of the masses. Whereas contemporary Aryan literature was pantheistic, preached mainly by the Brāhmanas, who had a monopoly of teaching the Vedas, written in a language for the learned, Buddhist religion was in the language of the masses and found acceptance among the people belonging to all castes, creed and sexes. Āmrapāli, the courtesan, Chunda the worker in metals, and others were the hosts and disciples of the Lord. The Mallas performed His funeral in Kusinirā.

The wheel of Dhamma moved to different countries of Asia and had a civilizing influence on the people of those countries. The wheel had no spoke of bigotry or compulsory proselytization but worked through peaceful persuasion.

It is a pity that Buddhism was banished from the country of its birth. But we are proud of the fact that India was the cradle of Buddhism. From the historic land of Kalinga, Asoka the cruel, was converted into the Great propagator of faith,—Devānam piyo Piyadassi. We are proud of the fact that great scholars like Hieun Tsang, It sing and others came to this land to study and collect Buddhist Scripture. We are proud of the fact that the Dharma chakra, the wheel of Dhamma is the heart of the national flag of India. We are also proud of the fact that the formula “Dharma Chakra Pravartanaya” adorns the central place in the Lok Sabha, the House of the People of India.



LAW OF KARMA AND REBIRTH

A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

Acharya Buddharakkhita

I. INTRODUCTION

In order to explain the inequalities, the turmoils, pains and pleasures of life, thinkers in India from the earliest times, have sought to examine the validity, efficacy and fruits of all actions, good and bad. In this, with the exception of the Cārvāka materialists, all the systems of Indian philosophy postulate a higher standard, a moral basis, to judge all actions. This is known as the doctrine of Karma and Rebirth.

Dr. S. N. Dasgupta in his monumental work 'A History of Indian Philosophy' writes—
“All the Indian systems agree in believing that whatever action is done by an individual leaves behind it some sort of potency which has the power to ordain for him joy or sorrow in the future according as it is good or bad. When the fruits of the actions are such that they cannot be enjoyed in the present life or in a human life, the individual has to take another birth as a man or any other being in order to suffer them.”

History

Historically, the rudiments of the Indian doctrine of Karma are to be found in the vedic sacrifices where it is still a simple ritual almost magical in nature, and has not attained the somewhat philosophical and ethical significance of the Upanishadic period. In the Upanishads we find a clear distinction arising between a mechanical ritual and ethical action. Buddhism transformed the very content of the doctrine of Karma by making the ethical character depend upon volition, thereby blending it into a perfect psycho-ethical system. Thus, Karma, in Buddhism, is a Law and not just a doctrine.

Materialists' view

Side by side with the development of spiritualism in the history of Indian thought there also flourished a school of materialism from the earliest of time in India. Mention of this growth are to be found in the records of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains alike.

While the doctrine of Karma formed one of the fundamental tenets of the former, the latter, the materialists, completely rejected any moral responsibility of actions (karma).

Bruhaspati Laukya of the Rig Veda is the earliest exponent of this creed. Cārvāka, who is said to be his follower, was the celebrated teacher who gave the final form to this philosophy. His dictum was that matter is the ultimate reality and all things, animate and inanimate, are the products of matter. Mental phenomenon is like the intoxication that comes out from the mixture of some

ingredients which themselves are not intoxicating. Hence, there is no such thing as moral responsibility. Enjoyment and gratification of the senses are the only reasonable ends of man—(Kāma Ekaika Purusharthah). Pain is there but only to enhance the taste of pleasure like the intermittent separation of two lovers. In short, the materialists said :

Yāvat jivet sukham jivet,

Runam krutwa ghrutam pivet ;

Bhasmi bhūtasya dehasya

Punarāgamanam kutah ?

When the body is burnt

Where is returning ?

So while you live, live happily ;

Take ghee even if it has to be borrowed.

In the West, Epicurus and Aristippus, the two celebrated counterparts of Cārvāka, preached an identical creed rejecting any higher standard or moral basis for actions.

The Two Main Positions

Among the believers of the doctrine of Karma, there are two main trends or positions ; one, those who associate the idea or presence of a soul-entity in relation with an retributing authority : and the other , those who do not believe in a soul (Atman) and who interpret Karma purely as a Law or Norm based on 'psychological and ethical grounds.

Again among the former, there are two views—theistic and non-theistic. The Brahmanical or the general Hindu tradition holds the theistic view of karma and rebirth, in which there is an ultimate authority (Ishwara) who guides the moral standard and who, therefore, is the giver of the fruit of all actions (Phaladāta). Beings are ceaselessly performing all kinds of actions, according to which they are receiving retribution—pleasure and happiness for good action (Shukla Karma), and pain and misery for evil action (Krishna Karma); or a mixed reward of pleasure and pain for a mixed action of good and bad (Shukla-Krishna Karma). It is due to actions that beings undergo rebirth, again and again, in various planes of existence. It is desire and illusion (Vāsanā and Māyā), that occasion all actions. When a person is completely divested of vāsanā (desire) through pure deeds or as in Gītā, Nishkāma Karma, that one ceases to accumulate new karma and thus becomes a Mukta (Liberated one). And it is then that one finds within one-self the 'actionless self' which neither suffers nor enjoys. So long as one accumulates karma, the 'self' thus imprisoned in it, undergoes ceaseless reincarnation through varied planes of existence, reaping as it were, the fruits ordained by the Authority (Ishwara).

Karma Yes, Rebirth No.

The Christians, Muslims, Parsis and Jews come under this category with, however, this important difference. While they believe in the moral retribution of actions as ordained by God, they do not believe in the doctrine of Rebirth which is an essential corollary from the point of view of the Hindus, Jains and Buddhists.

In his 'Reincarnation and the Law of Karma' W. W. Atkinson says that even the ancient Egyptians, Peruvians, the Druids, Greeks, Romans and the Chinese—all believed in some sort of Karma. He also mentions that although the official Christian Church or the Islamic and Jewish ecclesiastic authorities, do not accept the concept of rebirth, many eminent theologians and leaders of these respective bodies have, however, recognised and accepted individually, the doctrine of Rebirth. In any case, the proposition of an eternal hell or heaven after death, as taught by these religions, does presuppose some kind of after-life, which, in effect, means rebirth.

Thus, the general belief, regarding karma, according to these theistic (Atmavādin) believers, requires the existence of a supreme judging authority, and it is further considered that, without such as authority, it is not possible to construct ethics.

Non-theistic

The other Atmavādin concept of karma is non-theistic, as formulated by the Jains. According to the Jains, karma is two-fold,—bhāva karma or mental passions (also called Kāshāya) and dravya karma or material atomic aggregates. As a result of the mental passions the atomic aggregates relate themselves in bondage with the soul. Just as, a piece of wet cloth attracts and is covered by dust particles, even so, these passions, attract, as it were, the dravya karma particles and the soul is thus kept in bondage, and the four fundamental qualities of the soul viz., Knowledge (Gnana), Belief (Darshana), Energy (Virya) and Bliss (Ānanda), are distorted and obscured and the being is led to ceaseless cycles of rebirth. Moksha, liberation, to the Jains, accordingly, consists in the total clearance of these karma particles. This view of karma is also known as Atomic Pluralism.

From this brief survey of the doctrine of Karma, as propounded by various schools, it is clearly evident that the idea of a 'soul' is invariably associated as a 'doer', as well as 'a reaper' of the fruits, in conjunction with or without an ultimate judge or authority as the dispenser of the fruits or judgments.

II. THE ANĀTMAVĀDIN POSITION

Buddhism, in this respect, is unique and distinct in the history of religion and philosophy, in as much as it advocates a perfect ethics purely on psychological postulates without the need of any moral retribution and without assuming the presence of a 'soul' or ātma. Buddha's presentation of the Law of Karma is entirely on new lines and on a fundamentally different perspective. It is based on what is called 'Dependent Origination' (Paticca Samuppāda) and 'Unsubstantiality' (Anatta), two fundamentals of Buddha-Dhamma, to be dealt with later.

Karma, not Fatalism :—

Karma, according to Buddhism, is not fatalistic, i.e., it is not geared to a retributing authority who decides the fate, nor to a soul principle which gets inextricably caught, as it were, requiring the invoking of help from some higher power, nor is there such a thing as a pre-determined or fixed action which one is destined to do, and to be released from which or from the results of which, one must seek a saviour. Fatalism induces grave mental inertia in the effort to make karma subservient to something else. Nor is karma in Buddhism an idle intellectual speculation trying to explain, rather explain away, certain happenings of life for which no other satisfactory answer could be found. It is a Norm, a Law, that operates on its own ground, just as any other law, effective in other spheres of life.

The Five Laws

Buddhism distinguishes five laws called 'Pancha Niyāma Dhammā', which operate in different spheres of animate and inanimate existence. These are :—

1. *Bija Niyama* :— *Bīja Niyāma* is the Law which governs the reproduction of species, such as, man giving birth to man, a dog to dog, or a mango tree producing only mangoes.

2. *Utu Niyama* :— *Utu Niyama* is the Law which governs seasons, change of temperatures and other physical conditions—such as thunder, storm, flood, epidemic, famine, good or bad harvest, etc.

3. *Citta Niyama* :— *Citta Niyāma* is the Law which governs mental or psychic phenomena, such as function of a particular type of mind or consciousness (*citta*), in a particular way ; in a conjunction with its concomitant factors. For instance, the wholesome (*kusala*), unwholesome (*akusala*), resultant (*vipāka*) and functional (*kriyā*) types of *cittas*, working together with their respective concomitants (*cetasikas*) in a regulated or ordered way.

4. *Kamma Niyāma* :— *Kamma Niyāma* is the psycho-ethical Law of Cause and Effect, otherwise called Moral Causation. That is to say, relating a cause to an effect on the basis of certain conditions, such as the evil and hateful acts producing painful and disagreeable results, and vice versa.

5. *Dhamma Niyama* :— *Dhamma Niyāma* is the Law which obtains in rare and special circumstances causing unusual and miraculous manifestations. For instance, when great and spiritually perfected beings, such as the Buddhas, appear, all the phenomenal changes that are witnessed during such events, like unprecedented prosperity and various other miracles—all these come within the perview of this law.

Thus karma is one of the *Niyāmas*, laws, which operates in the sphere of morality and which determines rebirth in a particular plane of existence, occasioning the varied experiences of pain, pleasure, poverty, prosperity etc. Thus, too the Law of Karma is intimately linked with the bondage (*bandhana*), as well as with Deliverance (*Nirvāna*).

Heirs of Actions

The following passage in the *Anguttara Nikāya* is indeed illuminating in this context :

Idha, bhikkhave, ekacco pānatipāti hoti...., adinnādāyi hoti.....,
kāmesu micchachari hosi,... musāvādi hoti....., pisunavaco hoti.....,
pharusavaco hoti,sammappalāpi hoti,abhijjhalāhoti,
byāpannacitto hoti, micchaditthiko hoti, ti

So saṁsappati kāyena, samsappati vācāya, saṁsappati mānasā ; tassa ejuimhaṁ kāyakammaṁ hoti, jīmham vacikkammaṁ, jīmham manokammaṁ, jīmha gati, jīmhapatti.

Jīmhatikassa kho panāham, bhikkhave, jīmhapattikassa dvinnāṁ gatināṁ aññataraṁ gatiṁ vadāmi. Ye vā ekantadukkhā niraya, ābā saṁsappajātikā tiracchānayoṇi...

Itikho, bhikkhave, bhuta bhutassa upapatti hoti. Yaṁ karoti tena upapajjati. Upapanamenāṁ phassā phusanti. Evamaham, bhikkhave, kammadāyadā sattāti vadāmi. Kamassakā, bhikkhave, sattā, kammadāyadā, kammayoni, kammabanduhu, kammapatisaranā. Yaṁ kammaṁ karonti kalyāṇaṁ vāpāpakaṁ ā, tassa dayda bhavant

“Here, Monks, some one destroys living beings, . . . , takes what belongs to others . . . , has unlawful intercourse with the other sex . . . , speaks the untruth . . . , is a tale-bearer . . . , uses harsh language . . . , is an empty prattler . . . , is covetous . . . , is hateful . . . , follows perverted views.

So he warps in his actions by body, speech and mind. Hence crooked are his deeds, words and thoughts, crooked his course and destiny. But I tell you, Whoever pursues crooked course and destiny, will have to expect one of these two consequences either the torments of hell, or birth amongst the creeping animals.

Thus it is Monks, commensurate with what they are, is the rebirth of beings; whatever one does according to that is one reborn. And having been reborn, beings experience the results of their actions. Therefore, monks, do I declare, that heirs of their actions are beings. Beings, monks are owners of their actions, heirs of their actions, their actions are the womb whence they spring their actions alone are their friends, their actions are their refuge. Whatever actions they do—good or evil—of such are they the heirs.

A. X. 21.6

Dhammapāda the most widely read book of the Buddhists, pens with very similar thoughts :

Manopubbangamā dhammā manosetthā manomayā ;

manasa ce padutthena bhāsati vā karoti vā,

tato naṃ dukkhamanveti cakkam va valato padma.

Manopubbangama dhamma manosettha manomaya,

manasā cepassannena bhasati vā karoti vā,

tato naṃ sukhamanveti chāyā vā anapāyini.

Mind precedes all unwholesome states mind is their chief ; they are all mind-wrought. If with an impure mind a person speaks or acts, misery follows him like the wheel that dogs the hoof of the ox.

Mind precedes all wholesome states, mind is their chief ; they are all mind-wrought. If with a pure mind a person speaks or acts, happiness follows him like his never-departing shadow.

There are many Suttas (Discourses) where the Buddha has made clear the complex and profound Law of Karma through such simple yet penetrating teaching.

Dependent Origination

Karma as mentioned already, has been clearly enunciated by the Buddha by means of a precise and succinct formula known as the ‘Dependent Origination’ or ‘Causal Genesis’ (Paticca Samuppāda), which reduced to its simplest equation, means the moral causation of all life. That is to say, the conditioned arising of all those psycho-physical phenomena, generally summed up by the conventional term ‘being’, ‘person’ etc. Said the Buddha :

1. Avijjā pacca sankharā :—Dependent on ignorance arise karma-formations, i.e., occasioning rebirth—producing volitional activities.

2. *Shanbhārā paccayā viññāṇaṃ*—Dependent on karma-formations (of the past life) arises the (relinking) consciousness (of the present).

3. *Viññāṇa paccayā nāmarūpaṃ*—Dependent on (the relinking) consciousness arise the (aggregate of) the psycho-physical complex (which make up our so-called individual existence)s

4. *Namarupa paccayā salāyatanaṃ*—Dependent on the psycho-physical complex arise the six bases (that is, the five physical sense organs and consciousness as the sixth).

5. *Salavatana paccayā phasso*—Dependent on the six bases arises the (sensory and psychic) impression.

6. *Phasso paccayā vedanā*—Dependent on impression arises feeling or sensation

7. *Vedanā paccayā tanhā*—Dependent on feeling arises craving

8. *Taṇhā paccayā upādānaṃ*—Dependent on craving arises clinging.

9. *Upādāna paccayā bhavo*—Dependent on clinging arises the process of becoming (consisting of the active and passive life-flux, that is to say, the rebirth-producing karmic-process. *Kamabhava*, and as its result, the rebirth process. *upapatti bhava*).

10. *Bhava paccayā jāti*—Dependent on the (rebirth-producing karmic process of) becoming arises rebirth (in a plane of existence).

11. *Jāti paccayā jarā maraṇa-soka-paridava-dukkha-domanassa-upāyāsā sambhavānti*—Dependent on rebirth arise decay and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, depression and despair.

The following diagram shows the relationship of dependence between three successive lives :—

PAST.	1. Ignorance (<i>avijjā</i>)	Karma-Process (<i>kammabhava</i>)
	2. Karma-formations (<i>sankhārā</i>)	5 causes : 1,2,8,9, 10
PRES.	3. Consciousness (<i>viññāṇa</i>)	Rebirth-Process (<i>upapattibhava</i>)
	4. Corporality & Mentality (<i>nāma-rūpa</i>)	5 results : 3—7
	5. Six Bases (<i>āyatana</i>)	
	6. Impression (<i>phassa</i>)	
	7. Feeling (<i>vedanā</i>)	
	8. Craving (<i>taṇhā</i>)	Karma-Process (<i>kamma-bhava</i>)
	9. Clinging (<i>upādāna</i>)	5 causes : 1, 2, 8, 9, 10
FUT.	10. Process of Becoming (<i>bhava</i>)	
	11. Rebirth (<i>Jāti</i>)	Rebirth-Process (<i>upapattibhava</i>)
	12. Old Age and Death (<i>jarā-marana</i>) etc.	5 results : 3—7

(See Buddhist Dictionary by Venarable Nayanatiloka Mahā Thera.)

Three Cycles and Four Aspects :

The first two propositions, i. e., *avijjā* and *sankhārā*, represent the past life, and the last two, i. e. *ājāti* and *jararāna*, etc., the future course, and the remaining eight concern the present life. These are the three cycles of existence.

The four aspects of cause-effect relationship are :

1. The active karmic-process of the past life, comprising *avijjā* and *sankhārā* (in which are also to be included *tanhā*, *upādāna* and *kammabhavo*).
2. The passive karma-resultant or *vipāka*-process of the present life consisting of *viññāṇaṃ*, *nāmarūpaṃ*, *sālayatanaṃ*, *phassa* and *vedanā*.
3. The active karmic-process of the present life, (dependent on the acquired passive karma-resultant), comprising *tanhā*, *upādānaṃ* and *kamabhavo* (in which the inclusion of *avijjā* and *sankhārā* is understood).
4. The passive *vipāka*-process of the future life, consisting of *upapattibhavo*, *jāti*, *jarāmaraṇa* etc.

Now, dependent on the past *avijjā*-based *sankhārā* or volitional activities, certain conditions were wrought which formed the passive aspect of our present life. This in turn sets in motion the active karmic-process as represented by *tanhā*, *upādānaṃ* and *bhavo*. This active karmic-process is similarly fashioning the course of our future life i. e., the passive aspect of it. Thus, through this chain of cause-effect relationship, the process of karma and rebirth goes on, *ad infinitum*, in *samsara*, phenomenal existence without a break, in various forms, under different circumstances, now as a man, now a *deva* (god) and now an animal.

Now, these eleven propositions (in twelve *angas* or links) explain the entire process of karma and rebirth psychologically, ethically and metaphysically.

Psychological—Psychologically, it shows the cause-effect relationship by way of the 24 conditions (*paccayas*) of all mental phenomena which keep the continuity of the life-process in a state of flux, combining and recombining at varied levels, as it were, in different planes, according to the ethical character of the psychic factors.

Ethical—Ethically, it shows how a particular type of action performed through any of the three modes, that is, by body, speech and mind, produces corresponding results exactly in proportion to the ethical nature of the act.

Metaphysical—Metaphysically, the law of karma and rebirth is correlated to the process of bondage and liberation. Karma, based on the principle of causal genesis, does away with the two extremes of nihilism and eternalism. How the nihilistic position has been rejected is shown above while the materialist's views were presented. In a changing world the eternalistic position of permanent entity, from the point of view of causal genesis, is a metaphysical fiction as also a logical contradiction. For, if the *ātma* or permanent entity, remains unaffected in spite of any changes, then what is it that is in bondage ? And for something which is unaffected by change, what need is there for liberation ?

Sassata diṭṭhiyā sati brahmachariyavāso na hoti,
 uccheda diṭṭhiyā sati brahmachariyavāso ca na hoti ;
 Sacca Sangaho

When the ternalistic as also the nihilistic, perverted views (or dogmas) prevail living the holy life has no relevance (because no improvement is possible in either case). —Sacca Sangaho

Further, if it is granted that this permanent entity is covered, as it were, for some reason or other, with some adventitious matter, then what is the guarantee that after it is freed from the state of bondage, it will not fall back (from liberation) to the same state (of bondage) again, since its fundamental nature remains unchanged and unaffected any how ? This also brings the difficulty of a 'first-beginning' and its corollaries. Metaphysically, therefore, according to the Buddhist law of karma, there is nothing that transmigrates but there is only a process of *nāma-rūpa* (psycho-physical aggregation), which continues, in a flux, and which is 'neither the same nor different' (*naca so na ca añño*), arising and passing [away from existence to existence depending on the concatenation of Conditions.

Flame-like

There is the classical analogy of a lamp that burns the whole night. The flame in the first watch cannot be said to be the same as that of the last watch. Neither could it be said to be entirely different. But there is a relation between the flames of these two periods, one occurring dependent upon the other. Karma is like the oil—the fuel, which keeps the manifestation of life—the flame, going on and on. But each life-manifestation, originally based on a single Janaka karma is a series of units (of consciousness that works itself out in rapid succession, maintaining thus an apparently unbroken continuity, even as a flame, though a succession of combustions due to the rapidity maintains an appearance of continuity.

Confusing Karma and Vipaka

The fatalists believe that everything, even the present active karmas, are predetermined or predestined factors. This means confusing two very different issues, namely, Karma and Vipāka. Karma, according to Buddhism, is volition (*cetanā*), included in the second proposition (*sankhāra*) and vipāka is the fruition of karma as represented by the passive aspect of our life. All our present karmas are 'independent' and 'new' actions, and not necessarily based on karmas of past lives, or their vipākas—results, though the results (of past actions) may have an alimantal relation. But to be related is not to be entirely wrought, fashioned, or formed by the relation. If this possibility of being 'independent' was not there, it would be impossible to shape the course of our future life. And to exert for higher spiritual attainments would also be useless. Likewise, a miserable poor man or animal will always remain in the same state, in all the future course of existence, if he/it were so inextricably bound by past karma. There is no karma-to-karma relation, but there is karma-vipaka and vipāka-karma relations; determining the future course of existence. There can be a succession of karmas by way of various paccayas (conditions), such as, *Āsevanā*-repetition, *Ahāra*-aliment, etc But this is not predeterminism.

Optimistic :

Thus, Buddhism, is truly optimistic in that it sees the possibility of changing the future course by the efforts of the present karmas. And one need not worry about the effects of past karmas, because through a strong 'counteractive' or 'destructive' karma (*upapīlaka* and *upaghātaka*) of the present, one can certainly attenuate, even modify, the evil effects of past karmas. That is why Buddhists devote themselves to the active-present, and not to the passive-past, in accordance with the dictum of the Buddha : '*Cetanaham, Bhikkhave, kammaṃ vadāmi ; cetayitvā kammaṃ karoti, kāyena, vācūya, manasā.*' 'Volition, Monks, do I call Karma (Action) ; through volition does one act in deed, word and thought.'

The Three Modes

There are three modes, or 'doors'—*karmadvāra*, as they are called picturesquely, through which all actions are performed. These are :

1. *Kāyakarma*—Action in deed ;
2. *Vacikarma*—Action in word ;
3. *Manokarma*—Action in thought

These may be either *kusala*—morally wholesome, or *akusala*—morally unwholesome, depending on what they are rooted in. There are six roots—*Lobha*-greed, *Dosa*-hatred, *Moha*-delusion ; *Alobha*-non-greed, *Adosa*-non-hatred, *Amoha*-non-delusion. Karmas are called *kusala* when they are rooted in *alobha*, *adosa* and *amoha*, and *akusala* when rooted in *lobha*, *dosa* and *moha*.

Akusala

There are twelve *akusala* karmas, also known as *akusala cittas*, eight of which are rooted in greed (*lobhamūlika*), two in hatred (*dosamūlika*) and two in delusion (*mohamūlika*), all obtaining in the three spheres of existence (*kāma*, *rūpa* and *arūpa lokas*).

Kusala

Likewise, there are twenty-one *kusala* karmas or *cittas*, of which four are supramundane (*lokuttara*), and seventeen mundane (*lokiya*) i. e., belonging to the three lokas or spheres of existence. The *lokuttaras* do not belong to any particular sphere, as such, but are attainable from any of the three spheres. For, these are also *Nānas*—Insights. Out of the seventeen *lokiyas*, eight are *kāmāvacara kusalas* (belonging to the sensual sphere), five are *rupāvacara* (belonging to the sphere of subtle matter) and four are *arupāvacara* (belonging to immaterial sphere). Of the eight *kāmāvacara kusalas* four are *du-hetuka*, i. e., rooted in *alobha* and *odosa* only, and the remaining four, and the nine *rūpa* and *arūpa kusalas*, are *ti-hetukas*, i.e., rooted in all the three *kusala*-roots—*alobha*, *adosa*, and *amoha*. It is to be noted that, here *karma* is equated with *citta*—consciousness to emphasize the underlying psychological import.

Ethics of *karma* has been expressed in terms of *Karmapatha*, i. e., *karma* performed through the three doors of deed, word and thought, as mentioned already. These, either *kusala* or *akusala*, are to abstain from, or to commit, the acts of killing, stealing and adultery, constituting the three-fold wholesome or unwholesome bodily actions (*ksyakarma*); to abstain from, or to indulge in, lying, tale-hearing, abusing and gossiping, constituting the fourfold verbal actions (*vacikarma*) ; to abstain from, or to yield to, covetousness, ill-will and evil views, constituting the three-fold mental actions (*manokarma*).

In terms of the ontology of *Karma*, dealing with bondage (*bandhana*) and liberation (*Nirvana*), the *akusalas* keep beings fettered to the cycle of birth, death and repeated existence, like the silk-worm which spins a cocoon only to bring its own bondage and death. *Kusalas*, per contra, purify beings, leading to the attainment of spiritual insight, and ultimately to liberation. Like pulling out a thorn by another thorn, *kusalas* uproot mental defilements and thus help insight—*ñāṇa*, to bring about ultimate liberation.

Fourfold Analysis

The Abhidhamma, which treats things from the stand-point of ultimate reality, gives a four-fold analysis of karma distinguishing it in terms of :

- (1) its functions (kiccavasena),
- (2) its relative effectiveness, i. e., the order in which or the strength and readiness with which, it takes effect (pākadāna-pariyāyana),
- (3) the time according to which it takes effect (pākākalaasena)
- (4) the place in which it works out its effect (pākathānavasena).

This is a comprehensive classifications which knits the subject into a perfectly integrated psycho-ethical system.

Functions

Functionally, karma is fourfold viz.—

- (i) Janaka karma—Generative action
- (ii) Upahambhaka karma—Supportive action
- (iii) Upapīlaka karma—Counteractive action
- (vi) Upaghātaka karma—Destructive action.

The function of generative karma is to generate rebirth –consciousness (patisandhi viññāna, which links one state of existence to another), and the succeeding subconscious state-bhavaṅga or life-continuum, and the five kinds of resultant sense-consciousness, viz., eye-consciousness, etc.

Supportive karma supports all that has been produced by generative karma at rebirth. Shawe Zan Aung, in his article 'On the Forces of Character' (Published in 'Buddhism', Rangoon) says—Generative (Janaka) karma is 'like the mother that causes' and Supportive (upatthambhaka) karma 'the nurse that nourishes'. If one is born wealthy it is due to Janaka karma and if one continues to be wealthy, it is due to Upatthambhaka karma.

Counteractive karma is that which weakens, obstructs, interrupts or retards fruition of the janaka karma by counteracting the function of uppatthambhaka karma. Janaka karma can be effective only when supported by upatthambhaka karma. Therefore, if upapīlaka karma intervenes, the total effect on the former two, can be, to a considerable extent changed and attenuated. For instance, if there is a strong counteractive kusala karma, then it may quite easily attenuate the evil effects of akusala upatthambhaka karma, and thereby a akusala, janaka karma also. Like the case, for example, of a skillful dog who, by virtue of its special merit, has earned the privilege of being treated exceptionally well, attenuating thus much of the anguish and pain that generally befalls his kind.

Destructive karma is much stronger than counteractive karma. It can completely annihilate a supportive karma of the opposite kind and further enforce its dire power. It is a very strong karma of superlative good or bad.

Thus, according to function, while the first (janaka) is always the passive side, the remaining three may be both passive and active, that is, these may operate either as a dormant karmic-force of the past (karma-samangi), working out the effects as suitable opportunities present themselves, or as active karma of the present life. To put it more precisely—

- (a) A passive state due to past karma may be supported or strengthened, counteracted, destroyed or terminated, either by another passive state of the past life, or by an active state based on present karma.
- (b) An Active state based on the present karma may be strengthened, counteracted and terminated either by a passive state due to past karma or by another active state based on present karma.

Thus the interactions of these karmic-forces upon life, viewed from the stand point of *samsāra*—phenomenal existence, as a whole, are undoubtedly very complex in nature.

Relative Effectiveness

Karma is again four-fold according to its relative effectiveness, viz—

- (i) Garuka karma—Weight is action ;
- (ii) Āsanna karma—Death-proximate action ;
- (iii) Ācinna karma—Habitual action ;
- (iv) Katattā karma—Accumulated action.

Of these, the first three belong to the active side of the present life, and the fourth is the heritage of our former lives. It is the karmic-force held, as it were, in reserve, to be worked out whenever favourable opportunities are present.

Weighty karma is so called because of the quickness and power with which it is effective. It may be both good or bad, and, in its function, either generative or supportive, counteractive or destructive. Akusala garuka karmas are those superlative evil acts known as the five *anantarikas* which produce immediate effect in hell. And the kusala garuka karmas are the *jhānas* (absorptions) and *saṃpattis* (higher spiritual attainments) which are effective in the *kāmasugati bhūmi* (happy states in the *kāma* world, like those of human beings and *kāmāvacara devas*), *rūpāvacara* and *arūpāvacara bhūmis*.

(ii) Death-proximate or Āsanna karma is the karma of the last thought-moment before death which determines the course of next life ; hence its very great importance in the mind of the Buddhists who, in order to fashion, as it were, a good future life, recall, to the dying men, all the good deeds he or she had performed during that life time. It is the point, as it were, at which the *karmabhava* transforms itself into *upapattibhava*. This type of karma may also function in any of the four ways of the functional (i. e., Janaka, etc.) group depending upon the degree of its intensity.

(iii) Habitual or Ācinna karmas are the active kusala or akusala actions we habitually or repeatedly perpetrate during the course of our present life. It may produce results in the same lifetime or, in the absence of proper opportunities, fructify in future existence.

(iv) Accumulated or Kaṭattā karma is a stock of latent karmic-forces awaiting suitable opportunities to bear fruit now or hereafter. This is a kind of reserve of potential good or evil inherited from every past life.

Time of Working out Effects

Karma is four-fold according to the time in which it's effects are worked out, viz :

- (i) *Ditthadhammavedanīya*—Karma bearing fruit during lifetime.
- (ii) *Upapajjavedanīya*—Karma bearing fruit in next life,
- (iii) *Aparāparivāvedanīya*—Karma bearing fruit in later lives; and
- (iv) *Ahosikarma*—Karma which has become ineffective or defunct.

In this classification the subject has been treated rather technically in terms of what is called the 'Javanakhaṇas'—Moments of Impulsions, i. e., karma-impulse-carrying thought-moments. There are altogether seventeen thought-moments (*khaṇas*) required to complete a particular mental process (*citta vīthi*). Of these, one is functional (*kriyā*), nine resultants (*vipākas*) and the remaining seven are 'impulsions' or active karmic-moments (*javanas*). Out of these seven *javana-khaṇas*, the first one bears fruit during the present lifetime (*diṭṭhadhammavedanīya*), the last one in the following birth (*upapajjavedanīya*), and those in between these two moments will bear fruit in later lives (*apparāparivāvedanīya*). If the first two kinds fail to be effective for being 'spent-off' or feeble in force, or due to the opposition from counter-active or destructive karmas, these then become *ahosi* karmas i. e., ineffective or defunct, their potency having lapsed or expired. The *apparāpariya* karmas will, however, be effective whenever and wherever suitable opportunities (*upatthāna Samangi*) present themselves. Most of the *kaṭattā* (accumulated) karmas are in this category.

Place of Working out Effects

Karma is again four-fold, according to the place for working out it's effects, viz :

- (i) *Akusala Karma*—Morally unwholesome action effective in the *kāmaṇvacara duggati*—Woeful states in the sensual sphere.
- (ii) *Kāmaṇvacara kusala karma*—Morally wholesome actions effective in the *kāmaṇvacara sugati*—Happy states in the sensual sphere.
- (iii) *Rūpāvacara kusala karma*—Morally wholesome actions effective in the sphere of subtle matter.
- (iv) *Arūpāvacara kusala karma*—Morally wholesome actions effective in the immaterial sphere.

The details of these have been already treated above. It may be noted that the *lokuttara kusalas* are absent here. It is because the effects of the *lokuttaras* are not worked out in any place or sphere. Whereas the function of these fourfold karmas are productive in some sphere of existence, the function of the *lokuttara kusalas* is just the opposite ; i. e. it is destructive. That is to say, it destroys or uproots those factors and conditions which make existence possible in any sphere (of existence).

The Ten Meritorious Karmas :

The *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha* gives a further set of ten kusala karmas known as *Puññākiriya-vatthūni*—bases for meritorious actions. These are—

- (1) *Dāna*—Acts of giving,
- (2) *Sīla*—Practice of moral precepts,
- (3) *Bhāvanā*—Practice of meditation or mental culture,

- (4) Apacāvana—To pay due reverences,
- (5) Veyyāvacca—Service to parents, teachers, etc.,
- (6) Pattidāna—Sharing one's merits with others,
- (7) Pattānumodana—Appreciating or rejoicing in others good deeds,
- (8) Dhammassavana—Listening to lectures or sermons on Dhamma—Teachings of the Enlightened One,
- (9) Dhammadesanā—Preaching or giving sermons on Dhamma,
- (10) Diṭṭhujjukamma—Developing right understanding and wisdom, literally, straightening of views.

Foundations of Karma

As already mentioned, the Law of Karma, in Buddhism, rests on three distinct foundations, viz., the psychological, the ethical and the metaphysical. When a kusala or akusala karma is termed as kusala or akusala citta, it is the psychological aspect that is emphasized ; and when it is called kusala or akusala karmapatha, it is the ethical side that is stressed. Likewise, when we are considering the Law of Karma and rebirth, as a whole, in relation to the actualities of bondage and liberation we, are then obviously treading on the ground of metaphysics.

There is, a difference, however, between the ethical terms karma and karmapatha. That is, while karma implies the above-mentioned four-fold classifications and also kusala or akusala in general, karmapatha is more specific . It means only those tenfold karmas, through deed, word and thought, that are capable of producing paṭisandhi—relinking-consciousness, i. e., it is confined only to janaka karma.

Now, having glanced at the complex structure of the Law of karma, a few questions yet remain to be clarified.

III. DYNAMICS OF REBIRTH

It is well-known that Buddhism does not postulate a permanent entity or substance called ātman or soul which transmigrates from life to life without any fundamental change in its inherent nature. In the words of a Vedantin—the change of the physical form at death is like changing clothes as we do everyday, and the ātman remains constant like ourselves in spite of the change in clothes. The question is, if there is no such entity which reaps the fruit of actions or again which receives the fruit of actions from the retributing authority, then what is it that passes from one life to another ? Or to put it more objectively, how does this passing from existence to existence occur ?

This brings us to an examination of the actual mechanism of the process of rebirth. The Bactrian King Milinda had asked the same question to the Buddhist, saint, the Venerable Nāgasena, about two thousand years ago, saying :

No self

“But how, Venerable Sir, can rebirth take place without the passing over of anything ? Please illustrate this matter to me.”

“If, O King, a man should light a lamp with the help of another lamp, does, in that case, the light of one lamp pass over to the other lamp”?

“No, Venerable Sir.”

"Just, so, O King, does rebirth take place without the transmigration of any soul."

In Visuddhi Magga too we find —

"Kamassa kāraṇa natthi,

Vipākassa ca vedako..."

"Evaṃ kamme vipāka ca,

Vattamane sahetuke,

Bhījarukkhādikanāṃ vā,

Pubba koṭi na ñāyati...."

"Na hettha devo brahmā vā,

Samāsārassatthi kāraṇa,

Suddhadhammā pavattanti,

Hetu sambhārā pacchaya ti".

"No doer of deed there is,

Nor one who reaps the result thereof...."

"And while the deeds and their results,

Roll on and on, conditioned all,

There is no first beginning found,

Just as it is with seed and tree...."

"No God, no Brahmā can be called,

The maker of this wheel of life,

Impersonal phenomena roll on,

Dependent on conditions all."

(V. M. 19/20)

Like a Wheel

The nature of karma, as a psycho-ethical continuum, therefore, is to be understood as something dynamic, something in flux. Birth and death are merely two points of this ever-changing process.

This dynamic movement has been compared with that of a rolling wheel which, in its rotation, rests, at a given moment, only on a particular point. Our life is similarly supported by a succession of single thought-moments that are constantly changing. Further, just as through this very rotation the wheel maintains its balance, in the same way, the very rapidity of this psychic-process keeps the continuity of our life with a firmness and stability that produces the illusory notion of a substance.

Three Phases

Every thought-moment consists of three points or phases, viz., *uppada*; *thiti*; *bhanga*—arising, continuing and ceasing. And every time a particular thought-moment ceases, this very 'ceasing' becomes a condition for the arising of the next thought-moment. Just as a wave arises whipped up by external forces, like wind, and then falls, and this, 'falling' itself becomes the condition for the arising of a new wave, even so is the mental process-arising, continuing and ceasing, in succession, conditioned by way of proximity and congruity (*anantara* and *samanantara paccaya*). Just as, it cannot be said that the first wave was transformed into the second wave, but that there was only 'a transmission of new volumes of energy that cause new successive waves, in the same way, as it were, whipped up by karmic-energy, *cittas* arise and cease, each preceding one being only a 'helper' is (*paccaya*) to the succeeding ones. So from birth to death, life is only a rapid succession of thought-moments. Therefore, in the ultimate sense, each moment we are dying, each moment we are being born, as it were, as our thought-moments arise and cease. What we call death' is, ultimately, only such a 'cessation', a mere break-up, of a particular psycho-physical combination, which we call a 'being' only to give rise to a new combination so long as there is karmic-energy to replenish this process. Thus, endlessly goes on the process of 'breaking up' and 'recombining' of *namarupa*—corporeal and mental aggregation, in *samsara*.

'At the moment of Death' says Shwe Zan Aung, Karma, as it were, takes a leap, a move *per saltum*,—the *kamma bhava* or active karma of the preceding life being changed or transformed into the *upapatti bhava* or passive karma of the succeeding life." (On the forces of Character 'Buddhist' Rangoon). Thus when the *maranasanna citta* of one life ceases, the subsequent thought-moment, the *patisandhi citta* of the next life, arises, dependent upon the former, and in conformity with the psychological law of *citte niyame*. The physical change that takes place in this 'change-over' is not the concern, however, of this law, but of a different set of laws, where morality plays a dominant role. For instance, if a man dies and is reborn as a dog, the physical change thus effected is due to the moral or ethical character of the *patisandhi*. In the ultimate sense 'time' and 'space' do not exist. These are mere 'concepts'—*annatti*, mentally created intellectual expedients. Both the psychological process and the ethical principle have ultimate values and are entirely ungoverned by the relative concepts of time and space. A person can visualize, within the same time-duration, objects he has seen only a few yards away, as well as in a place that lies a few thous and miles away. This proves the relativity of time and space. Thus it is that when a person dies in New York and is reborn in Bangalore, the question of distance and duration is immaterial. If the relinking consciousness (*patisandhi*) of the dying person at New York finds a suitable material basis (i.e., in keeping with its ethical nature), in Bangalore, the distance between these two widely separated places will not, in any way, matter because mind is not hindered by the relative factors of time and space. It is only when we allow relative concepts to encroach upon things that have ultimate values that confusion arises.

The Law of Affinity

The physical change that takes place, at rebirth, is governed by the 'Law of Affinity' (*ekra, satvam*) which regulates, as it were, this change. A cruel man who indulges in killing, carries deep within himself a disposition (*sankhara*) which shortens even his own life. And if this life-shortening disposition, at death-moment, becomes a condition for the arising of *patisandhi*, by way of *kamma*, *kamma-nimitta* or *gathi-nimitta*) then this very disposition, by virtue of 'affinity' will grasp the material basis (in the mother's womb) that is destined to be short-lived. Likewise a niggardly and envious man who carried deep within himself a tendency to grudge everything will, attracted by 'affinity' as it were, be born in poor and miserable circumstances wherein only

such tendencies could find the proper expression. Again, if a man dies with a disposition charged with anger and rage, the only suitable 'germ' or material base, for him to grasp would be in the womb of wild ferocious creature, say a tigress, in which state this tendency or disposition will find full expression.

Hence it is the 'Law of Affinity' that regulates rebirth in conjunction with psychological and moral laws—all synchronizing as it were, in a conditioned occurrence without being affected the least, by any abiding principle or entity.

Buddha's law of karma and rebirth, thus established a high moral order without the interference of a divine authority or the postulation of an atman or soul-entity.

Mention has been made of the Law of Affinity being the regulator of rebirth. How does this law work ? In the Abhidhammattha Sangaha it is succinctly said that rebirth is determined by the immediately preceding mental process known as maranassna citta or death-proximate consciousness.

A Stream

Life according to Buddhism is like a stream—*nadi soto viva*. Units of the mental process, comprising in consciousness and its concomitant mental factors, flow on and on from the time one is born, i.e., with the relinking-consciousness. And death does not stop this process per se. It only passes on, so to say, the karmic-energies of the last mental unit of the previous life to the first mental unit of the new life. Death, therefore, causes a renewal of the mental process in a changed 'vehicle' and environment. This metempsychosis, as it is called, is, in reality, not much different from the changes that occur, from moment to moment, even while the flow of life continues.

To understand the mechanics of rebirth it is essential that one should have a grasp of how the mind works. Just as a line consists, in reality, of a series of dots, or the flame of a lamp is nothing but a series of combustions, even so is the mind, a series of mental processes or units (*citta-vitti*). Preference is given to the term 'process' rather than 'unit' to indicate the dynamic nature of the mind. No mental process, however, can arise without an *arammana*—an object. These objects are the counterparts of the sense-organs—the 'doors' or 'bases' of consciousness; that is to say, a visible object being the counterpart of the eye-base (eye-door or eye-consciousness). Similarly, sound, smell, taste, touch and idea or concept, respectively, of ear, nose, tongue, body and mind base, door or consciousness.

Mental Objects : (Karma)

The last mental process, in a given life, i.e., the death-proximate consciousness, has as its object these three phenomena viz., Karma, Karma-nimitta and Gati-nimitta. Here, karma means, any of the four categories of actions, already mentioned in terms of relative effectiveness (*paka-dana-pariyayena*), namely the *garuka* (weighty), *asanna* (death-proximate), *acinna* (habitual) *katatta* (accumulated) karmas. These four-fold karmas could either be good or bad, committed by the dying man during his life-time.

The weighty good karma is the attainment of meditative Absorption (*jhana*) or other supra normal achievements (*samapatti*), and a weighty bad karma is matricide, patricide, killing of a saint—*Aranant*, etc. The weighty karmas are so powerful and vivid to the mental eye of the dying

person that they elbow out all other types of action and become effective, determining the next mental process which is the relinking-consciousness in a new state of existence. One who has attained Absorption (jhana-labhi) is sure to find an access into the divine realm of the Brahmas, because the weighty karma presented at the death-moment rebirth, is of the order of the consciousness of a Brahma-God; and a man who has killed his mother, father or a saint, is sure to be reborn in hell because his murdering consciousness is of the order of the consciousness of the denizens of hell. Thus, by virtue of the Law of Affinity, rebirth is occasioned.

In the absence of a weighty karma, asanna karma, that is, the action which immediately precedes death, takes priority. It is a well-known practice among Buddhists that sutras are recited, so that the dying man is reminded of the Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha and also of the various good and meritorious deeds he has performed, or he is advised to meditate, or to think of something that elevates his consciousness. This death-proximate (maranasanna) karma, when operative, determines rebirth according to its relative strength and effectiveness. In the absence of an asannakarma a habitual (acinna) meritorious or demeritorious karma takes precedence the habitual karma i.e., routine actions committed in day to day life arises as the mental object of the death-proximate consciousness and thus conditions rebirth according to its effectiveness.

When these three fail to register themselves as mental objects, the last one, i.e., accumulated (katatta) actions stored through many lives, become operative, conditioning the next mental process, i.e., relinking-consciousness, according to its strength.

Karma-Nimitta

This brings us to the second, that is to say, Karma-nimitta. Nimitta means a sign or a symbol, i.e., any agent, instrument, implement or belonging, associated with one's Karma—action. For instance, a man given to destruction of life might see a knife or a gun as a karma-nimitta. To a holy man, a temple, an image of the Buddha or a robe, may appear as the karma-nimitta, determining his rebirth.

Gati-Nimitta

The third, gati-nimitta, is the 'pre-view' symbol or sign that marks one's destiny. Gati means destiny. And the sign which indicates where one is going to be reborn, presents itself (karma and karma-nimitta), in the absence of the first two the rebirth-producing death-proximate, consciousness. For instance, the dying person might see a hellish fire or animals mating, darkness or a fearful forest, etc., indicating an unfortunate future in the duggati—the four sub-human states of woe. Or, he might see a beautiful city, a human family or a celestial mansion, indicating a fortunate birth in the sugati, the worlds of the human being and the gods. It must be noted that the indications of the future, if they are bad, can be changed to conduce a better rebirth, by skilfully influencing the thoughts of the dying person. If the dying person is enabled to think in a good way, the janaka karma, which has presaged itself by way of a gati-nimitta, can be overtaken, so to say, by this induced good thought, amounting to a good maranasanna karma. This technique of karma supplanting a nimitta is widely prevalent among Buddhists.

No Reincarnation

Having adumbrated the mechanics of the Law of Affinity, determining rebirth, it is essential to point out that rebirth is not the same as reincarnation. Reincarnation presupposes an agent—a soul, self or ego, incarnating again and again or migrating from one state to another, without

being effected intrinsically, despite the change brought about by transmigration. Rebirth, on the contrary, as already mentioned, brooks no such agency. It is part of a self-sustaining mechanism known as Samangi dhamma requiring no adventitious element—a soul, for its working.

Four Samangis

The dynamics of the Law of Karma has been set out by the Buddha by means of what is called the four-fold Samangis, as found in the Abhidhamma. Samangi means something with which one is inherently endowed or equipped, an accomplishment, that propels the life-flux. These are cetana-samangi (the volition-equipment), Karma-samangi (the karmic-force equipment), Upatthana-samangi (the opportunity equipment), Vipaka-samangi (the resultant-equipment). The four samangis constitute a circuit, as it were, to complete the karmic cycle, commencing with volition and concluding with the resultant. It is like a transmission circuit which starts from the generation point, where electricity is produced, and ends in the consumers tapping point, a light, fan, motor etc. In-between, the energy travels along hundreds of miles of the transmission line and through many relay or distribution stations. It has been mentioned that karma, strictly speaking, is volitional activity. Volition thus constitutes the core-element or the nucleus of the karmic process. It is with volition that one commits an action, in deed, word and thought. Like the generator which produces electricity, volition is the generator of karma. Having set in motion, through volition, an action, until the resultant, is accrued, karma obtains as a potent force, i.e., as karmic-energy, flowing along with the life-flux, awaiting for a suitable 'opportunity' or occasion for it to fructify. Lighting of the bulb or working of the fan etc., represent, so to say, the end resultant. Until this manifestation, the energy that is generated is transported through varied vehicles or means. Similarly, the karmic energy, until it is suitably manifested in the form of rebirth or other life-situations like health, ill-health, beauty, ugliness, prosperity, adversity, etc., continues as a dormant power in the form of karma-samangi, awaiting opportunity or opportune moment upatthana samangi—for it to fructify as the resultant—vipakæ samangi.

Opportunity

As to the timefactor connected with the manifestation of the fruits or results of karma, mention has been made already, in terms of the 'Time for working out Effects'—karma bearing fruit at life-time, in next-life, in later lives or becoming ineffective. Upatthana samangi, the opportunity, though an adventitious condition, plays a very crucial role in the entire scheme of the working of karma. Just as the wire or the bulb or any other electrical accessories, help or provide suitable opportunity for the electrical energy to manifest, even so upatthana samangis are certain occasions, or modes of life, that help the karmic-energy to mature and produce result. For instance, in the Mangala Sutta, certain conditions have been construed as productive of 'Great Blessings', such as, the avoidance of wrong company, association with the wise, reverence for elders etc., or residing in a suitable locality, being possessed with merits of past deeds, setting oneself on the righteous course, etc. When one aligns oneself to these conditions, the meritorious karmic-energy finds the opportunity so to say, for it to be matured, and bring forth the happy results thereof. Contrarily, if one is given to wrong company, if one is irreverent, if one lives in a notorious locality, is devoid of merits, and follows the unrighteous course, then all these modes become an opportunity for the demeritorious karmic-energy to fructify and produce unhappy results. This is how the karmic cycle, imbedded within our minds, rotates and completes the circuit.

MORAL ACCOUNTABILITY

All inequalities in the world could be ultimately traced to one's own conduct in life. In the following Sutta, Lord Buddha clearly enunciates the correlation between the action and the results

of action. For many inexplicable factors in life, scientists point out the cause to be in the sphere of genetics and heredity. There is the genetics and heredity of the mind, so to say, whence arise volition, which constitutes the quintessence of karma or action.

If, therefore, the mind can be set right through the practice of meditation inequalities in the world could certainly be levelled up.

In the name of humanism, politicians often talk of equality and good standard of living and so on. What is more important is to improve the quality of life, rather than the so-called standard of life and thereby purify our actions leading to genuine equality and happiness.

'What goes out of one, returns to one' is a well-known Buddhist adage. That is to say, whatever actions are committed, the consequences thereof boomerang in mathematical precision. This, of course, does not mean a fatalistic condemnation to a given end which cannot be changed or even attenuated. In fact, by skillfully designing a mode of conduct, one can surely bring about modification.

A volitional action is a 'course' leading to a destination. If one commits an act of pettiness signifying poverty of mind, the result thereof would be to be born in petty circumstances, undergoing the hardships of poverty. The course laid by pettiness when completed ends up in petty circumstances. This is the dynamics of the law of karma as enunciated by the Enlightened Buddha.

In this Sutta is mentioned the various inequalities so evident in the world—shortness of life or longevity, ill-health or good-health, ugliness or beauty, being powerless or powerful, being poor or wealthy, low-born or high-born, ignorant or wise, Subha, the son of Todeyya, is perplexed, but the clarity with which the Buddha enunciates the cause, saying : "Owners of their action, O youth, are beings, heirs of their action, action is the womb whence they are born, action alone is their friend and action their refuge. It is the action that differentiates beings as inferior or superior" renders an otherwise abstruse and confusing proposition into something indeed practical and true.

ANALYSIS OF KARMA (CULAKAMMA VIBHANGA SUTTA—M. 135)

Thus have I heard. Once the Blessed One was staying at the monastery of Anathapindika, in Jeta's Grove, near Savatthi. Now, Subha, a young man, the son of Todeyya, went to where the Blessed One was ; having approached, he greeted the Blessed One. And having greeted and exchanged words of reverence, he sat down at one side. After sitting at one side, the young man Subha, son of Todeyya, spoke to the Blessed One thus :

"Revered Gotama, what is the cause, what is the reason, that among human beings are found some as low and some as high ? It is found, Revered Gotama, that there are human beings who are short-lived, and those that are longlived ; there are those who are sick and those who are healthy ; there are those who are ugly and those who are beautiful ; there are those who are void of power and those who are powerful ; there are those who are indigent and those who are wealthy ; there are those of low-birth and those of high-birth ; there are those who are ignorant and those who are wise. What, O Revered Gotama is the cause, what the reason, that among men, among human beings, are found (the inequality) of the low and the high ?"

"Owners of their actions, O youth, are beings, heirs of their action, action is the womb whence are they born, action alone is their friend and action their refuge. It is the action that differentiates beings as inferior and superior."

"I cannot make out fully the meaning of this saying which the Revered Gotam has declared briefly and without a detailed analysis. Well indeed, it would be, if the Reveved Gotama will so expound the Dhamma to me that I will be able to fully grasp the meaning of this saying which the Revered Gotama has declared briefly and without a detailed analysis."

"In that case, young man, give ear and attend well in mind. I shall now expound."

"Very well, Sir," so saying Subha, the young man, the son of Todeyya, replied to the Lord. And the Blessed One spoke thus :

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man destroys life, is predatory, with hands stained by blood, is given to killing and beating, and is void of mercy towards living beings. He, by this action, committed thus, and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell, but he comes to be reborn as a human being, wherever he be born, he becomes short-lived. For, young man, this is the cause leading to shortness of life, namely, destroying life, being predatory, with hands stained by blood, being given to killing and beating, being devoid of mercy towards all beings."

"But on the other hand, young man, here a certain woman or man, having given up destruction of life, refrains from killing, has laid down the cudgel and the weapon, is conscientious and endowed with mercy, living with a heart imbued with compassion, promoting the weal of all beings. He, by this action, accomplished and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death is reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world, but he comes to be reborn as a human being, wheever he be born, he is long-lived. For, young man, this is the course leading to longevity namely, giving up of the destruction of life and refraining from killing, laying down the cudgel and the weapon, being conscientious and merciful, living with a heart imbued with compassion, promoting the weal of all beings."

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man is in the habit of torturing living beings with hand, or a clod of earth, a stick or a weapon ; he by this action, committed and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then wherever he be born, he suffers acute ill-health. For, young man, this is the course leading to many illnesses namely, being in the habit of harming living beings with hand, or a clod of earth, a stick or a weapon."

"But , on the other hand, young man, here a certain woman or man, is not in the habit of hurting living beings with hand, or a clod of earth, a stick or a weapon ; he, by this action, accomplished and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, in reborn is the realm of bliss in the heavenly world. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then wherever he be born he enjoys very good health. For, young man, this is the course leading to good health, namely being not in the habit of hurting living beings with hand, or a clod of earth, a stick or a weapon."

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man, is by nature angry and is given to much turbulence ; at mere remark, he takes offence, gets enraged, is upset, and resents and shows anger, hatred and displeasure. He, by this action, committed and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body

after death, is reborn in the realm of woe, in the World of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery in the fallen state, in hell, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then wherever he be born, he becomes ugly. For young man, this is the course leading to ugliness, namely, being offensive, enraged, upset, or resentful, and showing anger, hatred and displeasure."

"But, on the other hand, young man, here a certain woman or man, is not angry by nature, nor is given to much turbulence. Even when accused much, he does not take offence, does not get enraged, is not upset nor resents and shows not anger, hatred and displeasure. He, by this action, accomplished and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world. If on the breaking up of the body after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then then wherever he be born, he becomes beautiful. For youngman, this is the course leading to beauty, namely, not being angry, nor given to much turbulence, and even when accused much, he does not take offence, does not get enraged, is not upset, nor resents, shows not anger, hatred and displeasure."

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man has a jealous mind, he is envious and harbours jealousy towards others for the gain, honour, reverence, respect, homage and worship they receive. He, by this action committed and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then, wherever he be born, he becomes a non-entity. For, young man, this is the course leading to voidness of power, namely, to be jealous minded, to be envious, vengeful and grudging towards others for the gain, honour, reverence, respect homage and worship they receive.

"But, on the other hand, young man, a certain woman or man is not jealous-minded, is not envious, vengeful or grudging towards others for the gain, honour, reverence, respect, homage and worship they receive. He, by this action, accomplished and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then, wherever he be born, he becomes powerful. For, young man, this is the course leading to great power, namely, not to be jealous-minded, not to be envious, vengeful or grudging towards others for the gain, honour, reverence, respect, homage or worship they receive."

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man, does not give in charity to monks and priests, foods drink, clothing, modes of travel, garlands, perfumes, unguents, bedding, lodging, lighting materials; he, by this action, committed and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then, wherever he be born, he becomes indigent. For, young man, this is the course leading to indigence, namely not giving in charity to monks and priests, food, drink, clothing, modes of travel, garlands, perfumes, unguents, bedding lodging, and lighting materials."

"But on the other hand, young man, here a certain woman or man gives in charity to monks and priests, food, drink, clothing, lodging and lighting materials; he, by this action, accomplished, and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the heavenly world. If

on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world, and comes to be reborn as a human being, then, wherever he be born, he becomes wealthy. For young man, this is the course leading to great wealth, namely, giving in charity to monks and priests, food, drink, clothing, modes of travel, galrands, perfumes, unguents, bedding, lodging and lighting materials."

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man is haughty and self-conceited, does not greet one worthy of greeting, does not rise up to receive one who is worthy to be so received, does not offer seat to one worthy of being offered a seat; does not make way for one worthy of given way to, does not honour one who is worthy of honour, does not revere one who is worthy of reverence, does not respect one who is worthy of respect, does not worship one who is worthy of worship. He, by this action, committed and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell, and he comes to be reborn as a human being, then wherever he be reborn, he is of low birth. For, young man, this is the course leading to birth in low family, viz., being haughty and conceited, not greeting one worthy of greeting, not rising up to receive one who is worthy of being offered a seat, not making way for one who is worthy of given way to, not honouring one who is worthy of honour, not revering one who is worthy of reverence, not respecting one who is worthy of respect, not worshipping one who is worthy of worship."

"But on the other hand, young man, a certain woman or man is not haughty nor is self-conceited greets one worthy of greeting; rises up to receive one who is worthy to be so received, offers a seat to one who is worthy of being offered a seat, makes way for one who is worthy of being given way to, honouring one who is worthy of honour, revering one who is worthy of reverence, respecting one who is worthy of respect, worshipping one who is worthy of worship. He, by this action, accomplished and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world, and comes to be reborn as a human being then, wherever he be born, he is of high birth. For, young man, this is the course leading to birth in high family, viz., not being haughty, nor being self-conceited, and greeting one who is worthy of greeting, rising up to receive one who is worthy to be so received, offering a seat to one who is worthy of being offered a seat, making way for one who is worthy of given way to, honouring one who is worthy of honour, revering one who is worthy of reverence, respecting one who is worthy of respect, worshipping one who is worthy of worship."

"Here, young man, a certain woman or man, approaching a monk or a priest does not inquire 'Venerable Sir, what is good? What is evil? What is blameworthy? What is being blameless? What should be practised? What should not be practised? What when done tends to my harm and suffering for a long time? On the other hand, what when done leads to my welfare and happiness for a long time?'. He, by this action, committed and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body after death is reborn, in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of woe, in the world of misery, in the fallen state, in hell, and comes to be reborn as a human being, then wherever he be born, he becomes ignorant. For, young man, this is the course leading to ignorance, viz., not approaching a monk or a priest to inquire 'Venerable Sir, what is good? What is evil? What is blameworthy? What is being blameless? What should be practised? What should not be practised? What when done tends to my harm and suffering for a long time? On the other hand, what when done leads to my welfare and happiness for a long time?'"

“But on the other hand, young man, here a certain woman or man, having approached a monk or a priest inquires: ‘Venerable Sir, what is good? What is evil? What is blameworthy? What is being blameless? What should be practised? What should not be practised? What when done tends to my harm and suffering for a long time? On the other hand, what when done leads to my welfare and happiness for a long time? He, by this action, accomplished and undertaken thus, on the breaking up of the body, after death, is reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world. If, on the breaking up of the body, after death, he is not reborn in the realm of bliss, in the heavenly world and comes to be reborn as a human being, then wherever he be born he becomes very wise. For, young man, this is the course leading to great wisdom viz., having approached a monk or a priest making enquiry ‘Venerable Sir, what is good? What is evil? What is blameworthy? What is being blameless? What should be practised? What should not be practised? What when done tends to my harm and suffering for a long time. On the other hand, what when done leads to my welfare and happiness for a long time.’”?

This, indeed, young man, is the course leading to shortness of life, bringing about short-life, the course leading to longevity, bringing about, longevity, the course leading to much illness, bringing about ill-health, the course leading to few illnesses, bringing about good-health, the course leading to ugliness, bringing about ugliness, the course leading to beauty bringing beauty, the course leading to voidness of power bringing about the state of being a non-entity, the course leading to great power, bringing about the state of being powerful, the course leading to indigence, bringing about the state of being indigent, the course leading to great wealth, bringing about the state of being wealthy, the course leading to low birth, bringing about the state of being born low, the course leading to high birth, bringing about the state of being high born, the course leading to ignorance bringing about the state of being ignorant, the course leading to great wisdom, bringing about the state of being very wise. Owners of their action, O youth, are beings, heirs of their action, action is the womb whence they are born, action alone is their friend, and action their refuge, it is the action that differentiates beings as inferior or superior.

This being said, the young man Subha, son of Todeyya, said this to the Blessed One: Wonderful, Venerable Gotama; Indeed, wonderful, Venerable Gotama; Just as, Venerable Gotama, one might set upright that which is upside down or lay bare that which is concealed or show the way to one who has lost his way or hold a lamp in the dark so that those with vision might see things; even so the Dhamma has been revealed unto me in many ways by the Venerable Gotama. Therefore I go to Venerable Gotama for refuge and to His Teachings and to His Order of monks. Deign the Venerable Gotama accept me as a lay-disciple who has taken refuge from this day onward till life's end.



'NIRVANA' : A PROBLEM

N. C. Padhi

It is an article of belief in Buddhism that cessation of sorrow and suffering lies in extinction of all desires and thirsts. This is called Nirvāna. This concept is interpreted in different ways. Let us see through the interpretations with the hope to get clear understanding of the concept.

I

Budhists of different sections and ages have unanimously agreed that the state attained after the extinction of all desires is called Nirvāna, translated as cooling away or blowing out. This concept and its implications, as has been pointed out by Maxmullar, is not a revolutionary one as its synonyms like 'Moksa'; 'apavarga', 'Nishreyas', etc. had already occurred in the literatures of Brahmans, Mahabharat, etc.,. This earliest Buddhist literature concerning 'Nirvāna' is available in Buddhist canons, settled at the first Council after Budha. Nirvāna, as thought both in the metaphysics of Kasyapa and Prajñāpāramitā of Northern Buddhist and in Ratnasutta is annihilation, no absorption. Ratnasutta states :

"They, who by steadfast mind have become exempt from evil desire, and well trained in the teachings of Gautama; they, having obtained the fruit of the fourth path and immersed themselves in that ambrosia, have received without price, and are in the enjoyment of Nirvana. Their old karma is exhausted, no karma is being produced; their hearts are free from the longing after future life....."

In certain quarters it is taken to be a positive state equivalent to Advaitin Moksa. As against this and keeping mostly the true spirit of the original sources, 'Nirvāna' is interpreted as a negative state by others. Still others failing to give it any exact status, accept it as it is.

To the Mahayāna Budhists, Nirvāna means the return of Budha to his 'Dharma-body' (the body identical with 'dharma' or ideal). There is at this state the extinction of Dharma-dhatu in the dynamic sense of the world, i. e. the manifested world. But there will be the Dharma-dhatu in the static sense of the world, i. e. as it is in itself; that is thusness or suchness, the ultimate state of

* Some materials to prepare this article have been taken from my article problem of Budhistic 'Nirvano' published in Sambalpur University Journal 1969-70, Vol. 3.

MAXMULLAR, Studies in Buddhism, Chap. III d. 44 [Sushil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta.]

Cf. RHYS DAVIDS , Buddhism, Chap., IV p. 111 (London, 1899)

Cf. TAKASUSU, JUNJIRE, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, Chap. III, pp. 49—52 (Asia of publishing House, 1956).

Nirvāna, the Mahāparinirvāna or Samyak sambuddhi (the properly and perfectly Enlightened one) 4. This positive view of 'Nirvāna' is supported by Dr. Radhakrishnan⁵ who identifies it with Advaitin's Moksha.

Hinayāna School of Buddhism, adhering mostly to the spirit of Texts, take Nirvāna to be mere extinction or annihilation of pain. A galaxy of philosophers like Mrs. Rhys Davids (earlier view), Bishop Bigandet, Paul Dalke, Edward Caire (Evolution of Religion) and Sherbatske etc., belong to this camp. According to this view then, Nirvāna is mere extinction of all suffering.

A slightly modified view in this connection, is advocated in Buddha vāsa 7, according to which Nirvāna does not mean the extinction or negation of being, but the extinction or the absence of passions. This state, attained in this life, is nirvāna with certain limited adjuncts (upādhis) corresponding to the Jivan mukti of orthodox systems. At death, the remaining adjuncts are extinguished and the state is known as 'parinibbāna.' complete extinction (known in other words as Nirupādhi seasa, Nibbana dhatu, etc.) From this consideration, Rhys Davis⁸ thinks, "Nirvana is, therefore, the same thing as a sinless, calm state of mind, and if translated at all, may best perhaps be rendered, 'holiness'-holiness, that is in the Buddhist sense perfect peace, goodness and wisdom. Maxmullar⁹, balancing both positive and negative interpretations, maintains with Dhammapāda that the passages discussing Nirvāna do not mean annihilation. Not also it refers to the establishing of a permanent soul. Maxmullar in agreement with Burnouf states. "Nirvana in his (Buddha's) 10 mind was not yet complete annihilation, still less could it have been absorption into a Divine Essence. It was nothing but selfness in the metaphysical sense of the word, a relapse into that being which is nothing but itself. ¹¹".

II

The concept of Nirvāna interpreted in any sense whatsoever lands us in puzzle.

At the outside, 'Nirvana' itself cannot be used in the sense of being the end of all endeavours as that would contradict the whole spirit of Buddhistic reality, that is taken as a process. If every thing is a process Nirvāna must be a process too.

Taking the different interpretations into account, one is more and more entangled in problems. If according to the positive interpretation it is a state of positive bliss, or for that matter identification with universal consciousness, then there are two possibilities. The state of positive bliss may be a separate state. This being so, the problem is how to describe such a state with our modes of expressions that are out-come of our constant acquaintance with our present environment. One cannot

4. Cf. I bid, pp. 50-51)

5. RADHAKRISHNAN, Indian philosophy, Vol. I Chap. on Buddhism.

6. Cf. SHERBATSKE, The Central conceptions of Buddhism, Chap. XIII, p. 44 [Sushil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta, 1956.]

7. RHYS DAVIDS, loc. cit, p.15.

8. RHYS DAVIDS, loc. cit, p.112.

9. Cf. MAXMULLAR, Discussion on Dharmapada, (Nos. 1—11) and Childers' Khudala patha (Nos. 12—14).

10. My addition for better understanding

11. MAXMULLAR, Studies in Buddhism, loc. cit. ,p. 47

avoid the issue by saying that it is indescribable, since that would give no information at all. On the other hand, if this state is a mere extension of this life then attainment of Nirvāna would merely mean the repetition of the present cycle. To over-come these difficulties, if Nirvāna is interpreted negatively, i. e. in the sense of complete annihilation then one is surely stunned to see how one desires to annihilate desire itself for some attainment. This position leads either to an argument in a circle or to a fallacy of regress infinitum. If we take resort to the other interpretation of taking Nirvāna as it is i. e. as Nirvāna, then the statement 'Nirvana is Nirvana' would be a tautologous one, being empty of content. Moreover, such linguistic expressions as 'state of bliss', 'state of self-realization' etc. are highly confusing and problem loaded.

III

Such problems are bound to come if we make an ontological commitment in describing or speaking about Nirvana. We make an ontological assertion in this connection, when we claim that corresponding to the word, Nirvāna there must be such a real state of affair, as corresponding to the words like table, chair etc., there are actually such articles. This is a sort of unifying tendency in our linguistic behaviour -12. We are also entangled in a metaphysical puzzle due to a sort of picture thinking. We feel that it is a sort of resting place, a place of relaxation where we can live with absolute peace. Even persons who deny such a state, but believe in a state of complete extinction of all thirsts and desires are not free from this confusion. They confuse between meta-empirical expressions with empirical expressions. Such metaphysical statement according to Urban -13, are those in which "The subjectsare meta-empirical, the predicates are always taken from domains of experience (of phenomenon).

However, to my mind, the description of a state of Nirvāna or bleiss, or liberation serves a great purpose in our normal life. Of course, the logic of our language fails to describe such a state, but they bear enormous pragmatic importance. The negative interpretation cautions us against our uncontrolled desires and the positive interpretation certainly consoles us, gives us hope in this life of disaster. Metaphysical statements, in this connection, do not describe any state of affair. Their merit consists in prescribing certain course of actions, useful in leading a balanced, happy and prosperous life. Metaphysicians like Budha have rendered great services to society in this sense.

12. WITTGENSTEIN, LUDWIG, Blue hand Brown Books, pp. 17-18

13. URBAN, W. M., Language and Reality Chap. XIII, p. 636 (Macmillan, 1961)



PROLEGOMENA ON BUDDHOLOGY

L. M. Joshi

The study of Buddhism on modern lines began in Europe about one hundred and fifty years ago. A great deal of excellent work by way of research and interpretation has been done and published by the scholars of Buddhism in Japan, India, Europe and North America. Buddhist scholars have justly devoted their labours to historical, philological, philosophical, moral, monastic and sociological studies of Buddhism. It appears to me that one important branch of Buddhist studies has been nearly neglected by the Buddhist scholarship community. This branch may be called Buddhology. While there are many good histories of Buddhism of Buddhist art and literature, and several excellent treatises on Buddhist philosophy, logic, ethics, esoteric culture, psychology, meditation and monastic system, there is not even one book on Buddhology.

What is Buddhology? It is a scientific discipline whose object is Buddhahood, just as theology is a science whose object is God. Buddhology is the scientific study of the Buddha. His work, and His ultimate nature. A systematic or scientific study of the Buddhist ideas, beliefs, myths and values concerning the Buddha is the main task of Buddhology. It is a branch of Buddhist Studies and is directly connected with all the manifestations of Buddhism or the Dharma.

Contrary to the fashion obtaining among contemporary Buddhist scholars, I consider Buddhology to be the most important area within the field of Buddhist Studies. In my opinion here we are concerned with the innermost core (hridaya) of the entire Buddhist Tradition. The ideal of Buddhahood is the genesis and consummation of the Buddhist religion. The essential origins of Buddhist religiousness lay in the Enlightenment-Experience (bodhi-lābha) of Sakyamuni. His vision of the Ultimate Reality (paramartha satya) is our supreme source of Dharma. His teachings, however, constituted only the communicable part of that awakening which is ineffable though realizable. Much of what he did not teach but had known and 'seen'¹ was incommunicable in speech. This incommunicable and transcendental aspect of the Dharma is described sometimes as "the infinite and invisible Consciousness shining everywhere", and sometimes as "profound, difficult to see, difficult to understand, excellent, preminent, beyond discursive reasoning, subtle, and to be realized by the wise"². This Profound Reality (gambhira dharma) is identified with the Buddha. "He who sees the Dharma, sees the Buddha; he who sees the Buddha, sees the Dharma"³. The ancient Buddhists tried to indicate this Reality by several words or symbols such as Paramartha, Suya Prīṭya ramit, Bhūtakṛti, Dharmodhātu, Tathat or Tathagata. They also stressed the fact that all these and other conceivable terms or symbols fall short of the supramundane Reality. It is for this reason that the Buddhist sages and philosophers sought to express the inexpressible through negative descriptions.

This Ultimate Reality or Supreme Meaning (parāmartha) found a concrete manifestation in the person of the historical Buddha. The Enlightenment of Śākyamuni was thus a truly cosmic event.

1. Dighanikaya (Nalanda Edition), Vol. I, p. 190—Vinnanam anidassanam anantam sabbatopabham.
2. Mahavagga (Nalanda Edition) p. 6; Lalitavistara (Darbhanga Edition), p. 289.
3. Samyuttanikaya (Nalanda Ed.) Vol. II p. 341; Salistambasutra (in B. S. T. No. 17) p. 100.
4. Bodhicharyavatara-Panjika (Darbhanga Ed.) p. 171.

of the highest importance. By realizing Bodhi Gautama had become a Tathagata and thus transcended human limitations. He had not become a god. He was far superior to the gods and all the other celestial beings. In the Pali Canon, He is clearly described as neither a man, nor a god¹. The Buddha is then an indescribable and incomprehensible. Being whose essence is called 'the state of being just so' (*tathata*) or 'Suchness'. Let me draw your attention to two more Buddhological passages in the Pali Canon. A question is raised by Upasīva: "Does he who goes to rest not exist, or does he (last) for ever without disease? This, O Sage, do well declare to me, since this *dharma* is known to you." To this the Exalted One made the following reply: "There is no measure to him who has gone to rest: he keeps nothing that could be named. When all *dhammas* are abolished, all paths of speech are also abolished²." Another passage describes the Perfected One as omniscient and pathless: "He whose conquest is not conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the All-perceiving, the trackless?"³

These passages give us an insight into what the ancient Buddhists believed about the sphere of Buddhahood. We cannot make an attempt at describing what is beyond description. But we want to know what were the Buddhist notions, beliefs and myths concerning the Buddha. A historical biography of Gautama Buddha may give us an account of the Buddha of history; a good hagiography of the Stage of *ākyas* may make an interesting reading; but we want to study the Buddha of faith, the Buddha of the Buddhist religion, the Lord who is the only true Refuge (*sarana*) of millions of Buddhist followers. The Buddha is the Bhāgavan of the Buddhists, but he is unlike the God of Brahmanical tradition or of Christianity. The Buddha is not a creator-God; our Buddhology therefore is not a theology of Buddhahood. Although the ancient Greek Thinkers like Plato and Aristotle employed the word theology (*theologia*) in a pre-Christian pagan sense, it has now assumed almost an exclusively Christian theistic sense. In a non-theistic religious tradition like Buddhism, there is no justification for the use of the word theology.

Some recent attempts to depict ancient Buddhism as a rationalistic and moralistic system are grounded in a fundamentally defective approach. It is easy to construct such a picture of early Buddhism based on a body of highly selective passages from the Pali Canon. It should be emphasized that the Pali Canon represents only the Theravādā version of the Dharma. A Buddhologist cannot afford to remain a mere Theravādin. He has to consider all the available reports of the Buddha's Doctrine. Historians of Buddhism recognize four canonical languages as authentic, viz., Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. Besides literature, assistance is taken from archaeological sources, architecture, sculpture and painting inspired by Buddhism are quite authentic sources of Buddhism. The approach to Buddhism should be historical and integral and not sectarian or selective. The Buddhism religion should be studied not from the Brahmanical or Christian standpoint, but from the Buddhist standpoint. Buddhism is not what one may think it should be. Buddhism is what it is, what it has been all through the ages. A careful study and interpretation of the documents of all the schools in all the Buddhist lands alone can give us a complete perspective of Buddhism. This, in brief, will be the method to be adopted in a systematic Buddhology. The Enlightenment-Experience of Sakyamuni is the one common source of inspiration behind all the diverse manifestations of the Dharma. The task of a Buddhologist is to discern this unifying and universal ground in all the manifestations and to interpret this for a modern student of the subject.

¹. *Anguttaranikaya* (Nalanda Ed.) Vol. II, pp. 40-41.

². *Suttanipata* (in *Khuddakavagga*, Vol. I, (Nalanda Ed.) p. 430 English translation by E. Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1962, pp. 78-79.

³. *Dhammapadam*, verse 179; English translation by Irving Babbitt, New York, 1965.

The history of Buddhism can be viewed as the history of Buddhological ideas and beliefs. These ideas and beliefs have inspired and sustained the creativity and vitality of Buddhist religiousness throughout the ages. The Buddhist art and literature, piety and devotion, morals and metaphysics, methods of meditation and monastic culture, all these aspects of Buddhist civilization derive their inspiration from the life and work of the Buddha. The Buddha idea is, therefore, the heart of Buddhism.

An insight into this profound idea is offered by the formula of 'refuge' (Śaraṇa). It is out of a sense of ultimacy and total concern that a Buddhist says: *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* 'To the Buddha, I go for refuge.' Who is this Buddha, the 'Refuge' What kind of 'protection or 'shelter' does a devout Buddhist seek in the Buddha and why? What is the relationship between the Buddha and human beings who go to Him for refuge? These are some of the questions a Buddhologist has answer. A historical biography of Gautama Buddha does not answer these questions. The obvious conflict between the Buddha of history and the Buddha of faith is a challenge to all Buddhologists and historians of Buddhism.

I do not think that it is the human and historical Buddha who is 'the Refuge par excellence' of a Buddhist when he says: *Buddho me Śaraṇaṃ varam*. Needless to say, Buddhology cannot underestimate the importance and significance of the historical Buddha who is the paragon of Buddhist ideals and virtues. Śākyamuni having himself realized the Dharma revealed it to others out of Supreme compassion. Without the historical Buddha we would not have heard of the Dharma or the Buddhahood. The humanity or historicity of Gautama Buddha is the basis of our study of Buddhological concepts. But the Dharma to which Gautama awoke had existed before him and it exists after him. The human body of the historical Buddha decayed and disappeared; but the Buddhahood which he had realized was eternal. In other words, the real Buddha or the Dharma is timeless. It is to this Timeless Buddha that a Buddhist goes for refuge. It is this dateless and deathless Buddha that is called the refuge par excellence. The Timeless Buddha is neither human nor divine. That which is without marks or characteristics is called the Unconditioned (*asaṃskṛita*). Characteristics and attributes pertain to what is conditioned (*saṃskṛita*). It is a cardinal principle of Buddhist thought that whatever is conditioned is impermanent and ultimately unreal¹.

The Unconditioned is called the 'Reality-Limit' (*bhūta-koṭi*). That Buddhahood which is the 'Refuge par excellence' of the Buddhists is identical with this Reality-Limit. Śākyamuni became an Awakened One by realizing this Reality-Limit. Having gone beyond human existence which is conditioned, the Sage passed into immortality (*amṛita*). Before reaching this final state, the Blessed One had revealed the ways and means of reaching that state. These way and means constitute the *mārga-dharma* or Buddhism as we now call it. We honour and worship the historical Buddha as the Torchbearer of mankind (*ukkādhāro manussānaṃ*) and as the Teacher of gods and men (*satthā deva manussānaṃ*). He opened for us the doors to Deathlessness² and showed the way to freedom from suffering and the self-system. He thus formed a real relationship between this sentient word of history and Buddhahood which is transhistorical. This relationship between the transcendental Buddhahood and the *saṃsāra*, the phenomenal realm of birth, bondage and suffering, is a subject of careful study and investigation.

¹ See e. g. *Vajracchedika Prajnaparamita*, ed. et. tr. by Edward Conze, Rome, 1957, p. 92:

As stars,, a fault of vision, as a lamp,
A mock show, dew drops, or a bubble,
A dream, a lightning flash, or cloud,
So should one view what is conditioned.

² *Mahavagga* (Nalanda Ed.) p. 7 *apapuretaṃ amatassadvaranā*; *Lalitavistara* (Darbhanga Ed.) p. 293-*apavṛitaṃ stesam amṛitasya dvāra*.

It is not enough to quote Nāgārjuna and say that there is not even the slightest difference between nirvāṇa and saṃsāra.¹ We have to take note of the special standpoint from which this philosopher is speaking this verse. The inconceivability of Nirvana or Buddhahood constrains him to say that all views about Nirvana are wrong views that all conceptions about Nirvana are misconceptions². From the practical standpoint, however, saṃsāra is bondage, Nirvana is the Freedom (mukti). Hence the need of striving for Nirvana. If there were no difference here between Nirvana and saṃsāra, there would be no need of Dharma and the religious life would have no meaning. Since there is that Unconditioned and here is this conditioned³, the necessity of the Buddha's Doctrine-and-Method (dharma-vinaya) for going beyond the realm of the conditioned is self-evident.

It is through the knowledge of the verities and the practice of virtues that one proceeds towards Buddhahood. The training of the śrāvakas and the training of the bodhisattvas culminate in the perfection of the tripeath of virtue (sīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (prajñā). Various supernatural and hyperphysical powers are acquired by these holy beings in the course of their spiritual career. These great yogic powers are often used for the benefit of the suffering beings and the bodhisattvas function as saviour gods in the saṃsāra. Buddhology studies the perfections, virtues and power of the Buddha, his Buddhological epithets and attributes and his relationship with other classes of enlightened beings such as the bodhisattvas, pratyeka-buddhas, and arhats.

The life and personality of Sakyamuni Buddha offers us the paradigm of a Supernal Person. A religious study of such epithets as buddha, arhat, sugata, tathagata, bhagavan, lokavit, anuttara tayin, marajit, aprati-pudgala, saranya, devatideva, sarvajña, sitibhuta, dasabala, advayavadi, adabhijña, narottama, dharmaraja, bhavantakṛita and others is likely to throw much desired light on several aspects of Buddhist thought and culture. The meaning and significance of Thirty-two Major and Eighty Minor Marks of a Great Person (mahapurusa), the Eighteen dharmas special (avenika) to the Buddha, the Ten Powers of a Buddha, the Four Confidences (vāśaradya) of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas, and the question of the Buddha's omniscience deserve a detailed and constructive study. Contrary to a generally propagated notion, there is a strong strand of devotion (bhakti) to the Buddha running across the whole gamut of the Buddhist Tradition. The meditational symbolism of the Buddha image is inseparable from its devotional mysticism. All these subjects constitute the essential subject-matter of Buddhology.

1. *Madhyamaka-sastra* (B. S. T. No. 10, Darbhanga), xxv. 19-20

2. *Ibid.*, xxv 3; xxii. 15

3. Cf. *Pali Udāna* (in *Kuddakanikāya*, vol. I, Nalanda Ed.) pp. 162-163 on 'unconditioned' and 'conditioned.'

SAMADHI

Phradharmamahaviranuvatr

Buddha was born in a royal family, he was a crown prince. He could be a universal monarch but he disliked that idea. He preferred to be a world teacher for happiness of mankind. Having seen the four symbols of human life he renounced the world and became an ascetic in search of truth. He tortured himself in the practice of Tapassya and met with many spiritual masters from place to place. It took him six years in the practice of mortification. At last he realised the truth at the age of 35 under the Bodhi Tree at Bodhi-Gaya. He went everywhere to teach the people what he realised for 45 years with great compassion. There are three-folds teachings of his: Sīla, Samādhi and Paññā. Sīla morality or ethical conduct of social life for peacefully living in the society. They are: not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to tell a lie and not to drink liquor and wine. It is necessary for his disciples to avoid and refrain from all these. If any Buddhist will not observe these five standard precepts they are no more Buddhists and they are not his disciples because these teachings are the fundamentals of Buddhism.

After observing the five precepts without any break of them the disciples can practise meditation or concentration easily, without concentration there will be no peace of mind and no enlightenment. It is essential to have mental development in order to control the mind and to realise the truth of life and discern the three characteristics of all things and living beings. Wisdom springs from concentration; when the disciples have concentration, right knowledge and intuitive insight will occur to them simultaneously and automatically. The genuine knowledge must be born within. It is not a speculation, so it needs one-pointedness of mind for realization.

With concentration or Samādhi the disciples without any efforts will get the insight in no time. Let me present to you the teaching of Lord Buddha regarding concentration or Samādhi and its benefits.

Samadhi

The word Samādhi can be understood properly when its derivative and technical senses are thoroughly analysed and examined. It is derived from sam+ā+vdhā. Here Sam and ā are the two prefixes. Sam indicated the sense of properly, ā means completely. The root dhā conveys the meaning of holding together. Thus the entire word is understood as "holding properly and completely"¹. It is the literal meaning of the term. Keeping this in view, there arises the question as to what is that which is held properly and perfectly or completely?

As answer to this, there comes the technical meaning. The word Samādhi is not used in the sense of holding anything, may be a thing of daily use like pen, etc., but it is rather holding the consciousness. Thus it may be defined that fixing the consciousness properly and thoroughly on a particular object is Samādhi². In this context it may be urged that the holding of mind or fixing of consciousness properly on the object is nothing but thinking about it. When we think about a thing, there is also the fixing of consciousness on that. But can such holding of consciousness be called Samādhi? The answer may be a negative one. Actually speaking Samādhi is not simply fixing the consciousness, but it is the one-pointedness of the mind with reference to a particular object. It is the complete absorption of the consciousness on the object;

¹ Vism. I, 188.

² Vism. I, 188.

With this also the question is not thoroughly answered. A crane is sometimes seen sitting on the bank of a tank, concentrating and diverting its entire attention towards the fishes running here and there in the water. A thief is also seen entirely absorbed in himself sitting by the side of a road in search of a passer-by to loot him. Now can the one-pointedness of consciousness of the crane as well as of a thief be regarded as samadhi? The answer here will also be negative. What is the reason for this?

The Buddha after his enlightenment prescribed a graduated path leading to the attainment of Nibbāna, a state of eternal bliss and permanent freedom. The path consists of three stages, namely, Sīla (moral precept), Samādhi (concentration) and Pannā (wisdom). Here all the three stages are sufficing conditions in ascending order for realisation of Nibbāna, Sīla is for the Samādhi and it is for Pannā. Sila creates a congenial atmosphere for the arising of the Samādhi. Samādhi helps to foster growth of Pannā. They are just like the three steps of a ladder leaning to the top of a house. Thus Samādhi is conducive to Pannā which culminates in the realization of Nibbāna.

Again in this background when the simple one-pointedness of consciousness is examined it does not serve the purpose for which the term Samādhi has been used. That does not appear to be the correct definition as one-pointedness of crane and thieves are also seen.

Therefore, it may be said that it is not one-pointedness of any type of consciousness on any object, but it is the one-pointedness of the moral consciousness on a prescribed object. Keeping this in view, it appears just to agree with the statement of ancient teachers when it is remarked that Kusalacittakaggatā [Samādhi "or concentration is the one-pointedness of moral consciousness"]¹.

The different senses in which the word Samādhi has been used :

The word Samādhi has been used in different senses in various contexts of the canonical and non-canonical literature. The Buddha, who was a practical thinker has tried to reveal all the aspects of Samādhi and therefore he has explained and discussed the problem in various ways. The different expressions made in various contexts go to highlight the salient features of Samādhi.

In the Digha-Nikāya² there is the mention of Jhāna instead of Samādhi. It has appeared in the Sāmañña-Phala-Sutta as a visible fruit of leading the life of a monk. In that context it may be seen that the words Jhāna and the Samādhi are identical. It is process of graduated training from the gross to the subtle state of mind. At one end there is a Citta which is fickle due to the blinding influence of Nīvaranas, on the other end there is the Citta becoming so subtle that it loses the distinction of the subject and the object. From this it is evident that the Jhāna or the Samādhi is a process of mental discipline leading from gross to subtle state. In the Ambaṭṭha-Sutta³ also it has been treated under the head Carana where there is the description of moral precepts and stages of Jhāna. Samādhi in that context has also been described as a graduated process of mental discipline where a gross mind has been shown to become a most subtle one by following the course.

¹ Vism. I, 188.

² D. I., 65—67.

³ D. I., 86, 87.

This term has found a direct expression in the Cūlavedalla Sutta of Majjhima-Nikāya¹. Visākha has readily put the question on the nature of Samādhi which has been replied by Sister Dhammānā as one-pointedness of the mind "Samahīti cittassa ekaggatā".

In the Patisambhidā-Magga, sufficient light has been thrown on the different senses of Samādhi². In that context it may be seen that though all the expressions given in defining the Samādhi are apparently similar, yet there are different shades of meaning expressed thereby. All the minute aspects have been examined and expressed through those definitions.

In the first place, it has been told that Samādhi is the concentration of mind. It appears to be a general interpretation which comes in more than one place.

Further, Samādhi is seen in the sense of Pariggaha. Here the word Pariggaḥa conveys the sense of holding. Thus Samādhi is the holding of the consciousness. It is also used in the sense of Paripūra which means fulfilling. It develops and creates the situation by which the complete absorption of mind is obtained. It rather fulfils the condition of bringing peace in the consciousness.

The other meaning of Samādhi that comes forth is Avikkhepa. Here it has been stated that Avikkhepa atthena Samādhi. Avikkhepa is the absence of distraction. Hence Samādhi is a process which brings a state of mind where is no distraction at all.

When the mind is made free from the disturbing elements and when there is no disturbance due to some hindrance, it becomes calm and quiet just like a stream free from the waves. From this angle Samādhi is interpreted in the sense of absence of disturbance that is Anāvilatthena Samādhi. Further, in the State of concentration when the mind loses its fickleness and does not tremble with the internal and external influences of the hindrances, Samādhi is regarded as a State of perfect calm. Buddha has defined it as "Aninjanatthena Samādhi".

The definition of Samādhi does not end here, but the book comes forth with a number of other expressions which throw light on the concept of Samādhi from various standpoints. It is said that Samādhi can also be interpreted in the sense of parivāra. It is defined in this sense, because it is surrounded with five faculties (Indriyas) and other moral states.

The roaming of the consciousness on different objects accelerated by the blinding influence of immoral factors is totally stopped when Samādhi is obtained, therefore it is narrated as Anījana (no trembling). The consciousness in this State is free from the influence of hindrances (Nivaranas) and gives rise to one-pointedness, [without wavering at all, on the object. These two aspects of consciousness have been highlighted by the expressions, "Vimuttatthena Samādhi"³ and "Ekaṭṭupatthanavasena cittassa thitattā Samādhi"⁴.

The Buddha has also drawn attention to the goal of Samādhi which is eternal and perfect Bliss. It is beyond the reach of any disturbing element. This nature has been explained by defining it as "Samaṇṇ esatīti Samādhi and Visamaṇṇ nesaṭīti Samādhi".

¹ M. I., 371.

² Ps., 55.

³ Ps. 55

⁴ Ps. 55

It is not mere an aspiration for tranquility, but also leading towards that by shunning the hindrances and such other factors. It leads a man on the path tending towards the right path of concentration and guides him in such a way, that he may not go astray towards wrong path. This is evident from the expression in this context as "Samañ patipajjatīti Samādhī and Visamañ nappatipajjatīti Samādhī"¹.

It is also stressed here that because of the dawn of concentration the man is set on the right path and is free from bewilderment. As such it is interpreted as "Samañ patipannattā Samādhī and Visamañ nappatipannattā Samādhī"².

In this way the Buddha has tried to enumerate as many as twenty-five senses which focus considerable light on the nature of Samādhī.

A careful study of the materials concerning Samadhi in the Patisambhidā Magga, leads us to conclude that they all go to suggest that the one and the real sense of Samādhī is the one-pointedness of the consciousness "Cittassa ekaggatā Samādhī"³.

There are also many other expressions which throw light on the nature of Samādhī. A careful study reveals that they all go to speak that Samadhi is the perfect concentration and one-pointedness of consciousness.

According to the Sutta Vibhaṅga of the Vinaya Pitaka, Samādhī is one of the Superhuman qualities. It can be achieved by the insight into the soullessness, transitoriness and painfulness of worldly things⁴. Thus its three varieties, Sunnato Samādhī, Annimitto Samādhī, and Appanīhito Samādhī are seen in the text.

In the Dhammasaṅgani four terms like "Cittassa ekaggatā, Samādhindriyañ, Sammāsamādhī, and Samādhībalañ have been enumerated and explained to throw light on the nature of Samādhī from different standpoints, though each term represents one angle to explain the Samādhī, yet all have the one and the same purpose to make the concept clear. It is evident from the explanation appended to these terms in the text. It is said that the word Samādhī stands for stability (thiti), steadiness (santhiti), steadfastness (avaṭṭhiti), absence of scattering (avisāhāro), without distraction (avikkhepo), unscattered mentality (aṅgahata-manasatā) tranquility (samatho), the faculty of concentration (samādhindriyañ), the power of concentration (samādhībalañ) and right concentration (Sammāsamādhī)"⁵.

In the Vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma pitaka there is a big chapter known as Jhāna Vibhaṅga⁶ entirely devoted to throw light on the nature of Samādhī. The different stages of Jhāna according to the Suttanta and Abhidhamma tradition have explained them with details. The Rūpa Jhāna and Arūpa Jhāna are the synonyms for Rūpa Samādhī and Arupā Samādhī.

"The term Cittassa ekaggatā" and Samādhī⁶ have been seen indicating the same sense in the Dhammasaṅgani. There the word has been shown as synonym of Chittassa ekaggatā.

¹. Ps. 55

². Ps. 55

³. Samadhiṭi Sunnato samadhi animitto samadhi appanīhito samadhi. vinaya "I,115".

⁴. Dhs., 20,22.

⁵. Vbh. 294 ff.

⁶. "Samadhiṭanti : Sampasado piti sukham cittassa ekaggatā". Vbh. 310

The other term "Cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ" also refers to the one pointedness of consciousness. The examination of this term as given in the Vibhaṅga is similar to that of Chittassa ekaggata given in the Dhammasaṅgani. Hence both the texts are one in saying that Samādhi is the one-pointedness of consciousness.

The sense of Samādhi as "topmost Dhamma" has also been stated in other similes of the same text. It is said that—"As all the rafters of the roof of a house go up to the apex, slope towards it, are joined on together at it, and the apex is acknowledged to be the top of all, so is the practice of meditation in its relation to other good qualities."⁴ It has been also explained by the simile of the army leading towards the king gone on battle field. As the whole army—elephants, cavalry, war chariots, and bowmen would have him as their chief, their lines would incline towards him, lead up to him, they would be so many mountain slopes, one above another, with him as their summit, round him they would all be ranged"⁵ 34 "Similarly Samadhi is the top of all the moral states and they all lead towards there"⁶.

In the Anumānapanho meditation has been described as jewel (Samādhi ratanaṃ). Just a man adorns himself with a jewel so also a monk can put on the gem of meditation. In this Anumānapanho the forms of Samādhi, "Savitakkasavicārasamādhi, Avitakkasavicārasamādhi, Suññato Samādhi, Animitto Samādhi, Appanīhito Samādhi,"⁷ have been enumerated. It is also said that all the immoral states immediately disappear from the consciousness of that one who wears this gem. They can't live with him just like the drops of water on lotus leaf."⁸ Thus Milindapañho describes it as the purest state of mind which generates peace and tranquillity in it. It is after the attainment of Samādhi, in understanding the thing in its real perspective.

Samādhi has been described in the Milindapañho as the topmost Dhamma. As all the steps of a mountain together with the grass and creeper lean towards the top, similarly all the moral states have their leaning towards Samādhi. As a peak of the mountain is the guiding point of all steps, similarly all the moral states have Samādhi as their guiding point. Therefore it is generally remarked that "Sabe Kusālā Dhammā Samadhipamukhā honti samādhiniṅṇā, samādhiponā samadhipabbhārāhontī."⁹

There is a fine description of Samādhi in the Atthasādhī in the Atthasālinī. It has been commented that it is another name of "Cittassa ekaggata" or one-pointedness of mind⁷. It has "the characteristic of leadership and also non-distraction".⁸ The welding together of the co-existent states is its function. The peace of mind, or knowledge is its manifestation. The emergent happiness has been regarded as its proximate cause⁹.

1. "Kutagarassa ya kacci gopansiyo sabba ta kutangama honti kutaninṇa kutapona kutasamosarana, kutam' tasam aggamakkhayati, Ye keci kusala dhamma sabbe te samadhipamukha honti samadhininṇa samadhipona samadhipabbhara ti". Miln. 41.
2. "Koci raja caturanginiya senaya saddhim sangamam otareyya, sabb va sena hatthi ca assa ca racha ca patti ca tappamukha bhavayyum tanninṇa tappana tappabbhara, tam yeva anupariyayeyyum. "Miln. 41.
3. "Evameva kho ye keci kusala dhamma sabbe te samadhipamukha samadhinṇa. Miln. 41.
4. Miln. 329.
5. Miln 329, 330.
6. Miln 54, 55 (Siamese Edition 2466 B. E.) ; Cf. Miln. 41 (University of Bombay (Edition, 1940.)
7. "Cittassekaggatati cittassa ekaggabhavo". Dhs. 97; "Ayam cittassa ekaggata samkhato samadhi nama." Dhsa 97.
8. "Pamokkhalakkhano ca samadhi avikkhepalaakkhano ca". DhsA. 97.
9. "Ayam cittassassa ekaggatasankhato samadhi nama avisaranalakkhano va avikkhepalakkhano va saha jatamam sanpindanaro mahaniyacunnanam udakam viya, ugasamapaccupatthano nanapaccupatthano va. Samahito yathabhutam pajanati passatiti vuttam. Visesato sukhapatatthano nivatte uipacchinam thiti viya cetaso thititi datthabho", DhsA. 97.

The Visuddhimagga is the most important text of the commentarial age and attempt has been made herein to throw light on the nature of Samādhi in a very elaborate method. A number of questions has been posed in the beginning of the third chapter and the answers to them continue to the thirteenth chapter. Such elaborate discourse is only available in the Visuddhimagga. A brief description on the basis of material available therein is given below:—

Samādhi means one-pointedness of consciousness. It is in the sense of placing well the consciousness and the psychic factors. The three component parts of the terms of Samādhi are the Sam+āvdhā, Sam is a prefix which means properly or well, ā is another prefix which means completely, dhā is the root which means holding or placing that placing or shaking of the consciousness and psychic factors fitting and well on a single object is Samādhi. In another way it is the name of that, a State by the strength of which the consciousness and psychic factors are placed on one object fitting by and well without wavering without scattering. Thus the commentator observed that—*Ekārammane cittacetāsikānaṃ samāṇaṃ sammācā cadhānaṃ thapananti vuttaṃ hoti*¹. This definition does not hold good from all standpoints. The placing of the consciousness and psychic factors on one object is seen from many a standpoint. A thief is also seen thoroughly concentrated on the movement of the passers-by with a view to loot them. A crane is also seen completely absorbed on the bank of a tank with a clear intention to catch the fish. The above cases may be the example of concentration of mind. But it cannot be placed on the ground in which the concentration has been used. It can be apparently marked that the concentration has its association with immoral activities which are truly opposite factors to the purpose for which the concentration is intended, however they may be called Micchā Samādhi. Therefore the author has presented notification in his definition which may be put in his word as under "Concentration is Manifold and of various kinds². He is trying to explain all that, the answer might not fulfil the intended meaning and moreover it might lead to wavering therefore we said with reference to what is intended here-concentration is the one-pointedness of moral consciousness "Kusalacittakaggatāsamādhi"³.

Utility of Samādhi

These are the Utilities of Samadhi:

1. To destroy the five hinderances (Nīvarana) which are obstacles to the mind and blind mental vision. In the presence of Nīvarana the Yogāvacara cannot reach Neighbourhood-Concentration (Upacāra-Samādhi) and Full-concentration (Appanā-samādhi), and is unable to discern clearly the truth. They are five in number as follows:—

- (a) Sensuous desire (Kāmachanda);
- (b) ill-will (Vyāpāda);
- (c) torpor and languor (Thīna-middha);
- (d) restlessness and scruples (Uddhacca-kukkucca);
- (e) sceptical doubt (Vicikicchā)

1. Vism. I. 188

2. "Samadhi bahuvividho nanappakaro". Vism. I. 787

3. Vism. I. 188

2. When hindrances are destroyed, is born gladness. Of this gladness is born joy; of joy of mind comes a calming of the body. With calm of the body he feels ease, and from ease his mind is concentrated. Separating himself from sensuous enjoyment, aloof from evil things, but continuing to apply and sustain his thoughts with regard to objects external and ideational, he attains to and remains in the joy and ease resulting from detachment which constitute the first Jhānic state. He pervades his body with the detachment, joy and ease, till no part of it remains unsuffused with these.

3. From ceasing to apply and sustain his thought with regard to objects external and ideational, he attains to that serenity of mind, that singleness of purpose, which are devoid of application to any object. He enters into and remains in the ease and joy produced by concentration and one-pointedness of mind which are of the second Jhānic state. With these qualities he pervades his body till no part of it remains unsuffused with them.

4. By becoming indifferent towards joy and disgust, observing his mental states with equanimity, mindful and aware, experiencing by means of that group of mentality that ease of which the noble ones declare. "The one who has equanimity and mindfulness lives at ease."¹ He enters and remains in the third Jhānic state.

5. From the giving up of ease any dis-ease, from having set down any former happiness or unhappiness, without dis-ease, without ease, in equanimity, mindful and entirely pure, attains to and remains in the fourth Jhānic state. He remains sitting having pervaded his Body with purity of heart till no part of it remains unsuffused there with.

6. With mind thus composed, cleansed, free from defilements, pliant and fit for work, remaining unperturbed, he directs and bends to the purpose of perfect insight. In this way he comes to know: A thing by its nature impermanent, fragile, perishable, and subject to total destruction, and this is my consciousness, bound up with and dependent on it.

7. With mind composed and free from defilements, directing it to the purpose of perfect insight, he comes to know the impermanence of his body and its relationship with his consciousness.

8. He directs and bends it to the purpose of producing a mind-made body. From this body he produces other bodies, having material qualities, mind-made, complete with all constituent parts and qualities and not defective in any faculty.

9. He directs and bends his mind to the various psychic powers. He exhibits many kinds of powers. From one he becomes many, and from many becomes one again. He becomes visible or invisible, passes through walls and rocks without touching them as if they were space. He dives into and emerges from the earth as if it were water, and walks on water without disturbing the surface as if it were land. Sitting cross-legged he moves in the sky like a bird. The sun and moon in all their majesty he touches and strokes with his hand, continuing with his body up to the realm of Brahma.

10. He directs and bends his mind to the Faculty of Celestial Hearing. With the purity of Celestial Hearing, beyond that of human capacity, he hears sounds both celestial and human, far and near.

1. "Upekkhako satima sukhavihari" D. I, 66.

11. He directs and bends his mind to the knowledge of the understanding of mind having understood his own mind he comes to know the minds of other beings, other men.

12. He directs and bends his mind to the knowledge of recollection of his former dwelling-places. He calls to mind one birth, a hundred births, a thousand births, a hundred thousand births with the activities and circumstances of the existences in which he was previously engaged.

13. He directs and bends his mind to the knowledge of the consciousness disconnecting the present life and that of rebirth. With the purity of the Celestial Eye, beyond the normal capacity of man, he sees beings passing from one state of existence to another. He sees beings passing away and arising up again, and knows them to be doing so according to their past actions.

14. He directs and bends his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the Āsavas. He comes to know that, in absolute truth. From knowing and seeing the truth and Āsavas, his mind is freed from the Āsavas.¹

Samādhi plays a great role in spiritual life and leads to the four Rūpa-Jhānas, four Arūpa-Jhānas, the five Abhinna and Nibbāna as we find in Sāmannaphala Sutta of Dīgha Nikaya and the Visuddhimagga. Spiritual life without Samādhi is of no use, it has no meaning and there is no other way of gaining Jhāna. Samāpatti, Vipassana and Vimutti- Samādhi is not only the means for enlightenment but also a shelter of the mind to reside happily and peacefully.² The Buddha advises the monks to enter the fourth Jhāna for rest and the Buddha Himself has done this. Samādhi is the very essence of spiritual life.

1. D. I, 63-74.

2. M. I, 5-5.

ORTHODOX AUTHORITY AND BUDDHISM

Dhaneswar Sahoo

In orthodox tradition of Indian Philosophy testimony is accepted as a source of knowledge which means the authoritativeness of the Vedas. Vedas are accepted to be the revelations of God i. e., Apuruseya and their supremacy is accepted by all systems of Indian Philosophy belonging to orthodox tradition. With contrast to this orthodox tradition, there are some systems of Indian Philosophy which completely denounce the Vedas to have any bearing on their quest for philosophizing. Taking this as a fundamental difference, all the systems of Indian Philosophy are broadly divided into two groups such as; orthodox or heterodox, and accordingly they accept or repudiate the authority of the Vedas or Sruti.

Orthodox and heterodox thinkers also give different interpretations of tradition in course of their philosophical development. The orthodox thinkers think that the normal cognitive, faculty of man is incapable enough to grasp something super-natural as a result, they will recommend the Vedas as authoritative source to settle up any philosophical conflict. Some heterodox thinkers even though will readily agree with the Orthodox thinkers that ordinary cognitive, faculty of man cannot grasp something transcendental, still they will not hold that no human endeavour can reveal it. In orthodox tradition, authority represents not that knowledge which is not ordinarily comprehensible, but it stands for that which transcends all knowledge.

But this way of representing authority by the orthodox will be in-defensible in the light of the criticism of the heterodox systems. Even if we will agree that ordinary cognitive, faculty cannot grasp the realm of super-natural, still it does not rule out all human processes.

In heterodox tradition and particularly in Buddhism, perception and inference as two only sources of knowledge are distinguished and testimony is not ascribed to any place. But in orthodox tradition alongwith perception and inference testimony as an independent means is also accepted. The Buddhists may hold that the sphere of human knowledge is limited to that cognitive, realm which is ascertainable either through perception or inference. Sruti has nothing to do with the empirical phenomenon. Because even if the orthodox thinkers will admit testimony still they will not maintain that testimonial knowledge should contradict the knowledge derived through other faculties. So in dealing with matters empirical, there is absolutely no necessity to refer to any Sruti Vacan because the infallibility of any experiential knowledge cannot be established by authority but by perpetual confirmation and testing.

So if testimony is to be admitted, it cannot have any relevance in observable phenomenon but on the other hand, it has to give us the knowledge of the supernatural. That is, for the knowledge of the transcendental, we have to depend upon authority or Sruti Vacan. But this plea to assert testimony as a source of knowledge of the transempirical cannot consistently or legitimately be acknowledged. Because opposite ontological systems are founded upon the support of Sruti Vacan. Even in Indian philosophical context different ontological systems like qualified monism or absolute monism, or dualism or atomism are also founded with support from the tradition. To settle up the conflict of two rival metaphysical systems we do not try to see

which system is more backed by authority than the other, but we try to decide their conflict purely through a prior means by referring to intellectual oddity due to which the problem takes its origin. The problem is to be solved, or to say in a modern fashion that is dissolved purely on discursive intellectual plane.

Again, the orthodox thinkers may maintain that our knowledge of the supernatural even though transcends any cognitive process can be supported by vedic authority. But even if we will agree in a Kantian way that any venture to know the noumena will give rise to antinomy and contradiction, still we cannot ascertain anything under the plea that it is revealed or backed by authority. Even the orthodox thinkers in their ontological pursuit, cannot accept such a view without sacrificing the philosophic spirit for cause of dogmatism. Rather they will maintain that reason though cannot have any relevancy in the matter, any knowledge of the transempeirical cannot stand against reason or established fact of experience. The revealed truth must contain internal harmony in it and at the same time must be through human experience. That is this knowledge of the transempeirical may transcend reason but there should not be anything in it so contradict reason. Though all the revealed truths cannot be admitted as indubitable, but that knowledge which is both revealed and is supportable or provable by reason can be accepted. But let us see whether such a view can stand or not.

This explanation of authority by the orthodox system makes some pre-suppositions to accept the authority of the Sruti. At first, it pre-supposes that there is a realm of transempirical and secondly that understanding cannot in principle know it. For the purpose of theology, such presuppositions may be necessary, but for any philosophic pursuit, we cannot reasonably have any such presupposition. The notion of the transempeirical is not a philosophical necessity even though philosophy has not freed itself from such discussions. Again, with regard to the second presupposition, that human understanding is not adequate enough to know all knowledge, so revelative truths are to be accepted as true which reason can neither prove nor disprove; it can be said that one way of applying reason may be defective, but it makes no meaning to say that reason as such is defective or inadequate.

With regard to the sphere of reason and its application, the orthodox thinkers will make a limit, but to have any such limit is philosophically untenable. The Buddhists do not make any such limit of understandings, Buddha was always silent about the metaphysical or ontological problems, because categories of understanding have nothing to do with them. In the sphere of pure reason, nothing can be said about the transcendental realm. Perpetual silence must be maintained with regard to that. To express it in Wittgensteinian manner— "what you cannot say, you cannot say, thereof one must be silent".

In spite of this, sceptical consequence with matters to theoretical reason, man's perennial quest is to transcend the realm of intellect. It is impossible to give all metaphysics from practical life. Even if theoretical reason will fail to speak of the supernatural, in practice man always seeks something beyonds, otherwise the moral cravings cannot have any meaning, Buddha was aware of this and he made it the views of life. Apart from any moral inclination, life cannot be best led. Buddha's ethical teachings have much practical worth to give a view of life. Orthodox acceptance of authority though from the standpoint of theoretical reason will create difficulty for practical purpose, its utility cannot be denied. It may not be sayable, but it is showable in man's practical life. In spite of Buddha's rejection of authority and silence of metaphysics his teachings give us a view of life.

AN EXISTENTIALIST APPROACH TO BUDDHISM

Krushna Prasad Mishra

A study of the Indian Philosophical systems reveals that the conflict always has been fiercer between the Mimamsa and Buddhism than between any other two systems. This is true, both historically and logically. Mimamsa takes no person to be infallible or authoritative, in contrast to Buddhism, which difies a particular historical person to be the most enlightened one. Mimamsa accepts the Veda as infallible, eternal, self-existent and repository of knowledge, whereas Buddhism completely rejects the authority of the Veda. A closer study of the conflict between these two systems would suggest Buddhism to be a reaction, as much as, contemporary existentialism is one, against the authority of reason and the pre-eminence of essence¹. Mimamsa like Hegel claimed to have found a full explanation of everything of the universe and man, whereas one finds a deep streak of esotericism and mysticism in Buddhism².

However, I would not venture the difficult task of bringing out the parallel between Buddhism and existentialism, as they are really not two systems, but each one a matrix of many systems and views³. My aim in this paper is a humbler one. I propose to discuss their concepts of causality and freedom from the restricted standpoint of their bearing on moral activities.

I

The Veda contains various types of sentences among which the imperative ones (expressing *codanā*) are the most important. They are divided into positive type (*Vidhi Vakya*), prohibitive type (*Nisiddha Vakya*) and a third kind, which is neither positive nor negative⁴. The positive ones are further classified into pure imperatives (regarding *nitya karma* and *naimittika karma*) and the hypothetical imperatives (regarding the *kamya karma*). As the Veda is the only authoritative source of knowledge in every field, human beings should look to the Veda for Dharma—for guidance in their lives also. To the question 'what shall I do?' the answer is always a singular imperative or an universal one and the Veda contains these imperatives or prescriptions. In order to obtain a good life, one should avoid doing the prohibitive ones and perform what is said in the pure imperatives. However, Mimamsa envisages good life of two sorts: a good life in *Samsara* which includes life in heaven also and a man leading a good life has to avoid the *kamya karma* but he should perform the *nitya* and *naimittika karma*.

The point to note here is this. According to Mimamsa, *codana* denotes utterances which impelment to action. Correct, but the imperatives do not function in a vacuum. The command, in order to result in an action, must get the consent or assent of the person commanded, it must "appeal to heart within". Thus comes a consideration of consequences and effects of a particular action, enjoined by a particular imperative. Real source for any action is a consideration of the effects, rather than the imperative. Taking this move, Buddha narrates the effects of following the *kamya karma*—attainment of Heaven is true but it is temporary, and then follows the cycle of birth, growth, disease decay and death.

However, one can at once notice in this comprehensive classification of acts, Mimamsa System's rigidity, its essentialistic position in ethics, and its assumption that moral principles are fixed once and for all. Thus the problems of conduct are no more complex and tormenting to them than to look for them in the Veda and grasp their true import. Buddhism is a protest, an existential reaction,⁵ in the ethical field, against this system. Firstly, good life is not of two types, as Mimamsa says. God in heaven too are in bondage, as well as, the lowliest creatures in this earth. Heaven may be a place as the Mimamsa imagines, but good life is not mere happiness and absence of pain. It is absence of pain and attainment of happiness for eternity⁶. Gods also are in bondage as they are in the causal chain (Pratityasamutpada), as they would also come back to old age and death after having enjoyed their heavenly joys. A good life must be free from pain but must be free from it completely and eternally. In reformulating thus the concept of good life, Buddha at one stroke, rejected the list of the conditional imperatives of the Veda.

"When once a Brahmin put it to him that bathing in the Bahuka river washes a sinner of this sin, Buddha reported: "The Bahuka the Adhika, cannot purify the fool of his sin, bathe himself ever so often...." ⁷.

Buddha on his death bed gave also the advice to Anand that one should be a light to oneself. Of course, not that he rejected all the Vedic injunctions, but he asked his followers not to follow them without examining their consequences and effects. One finds an echo of this in Sartre's moral philosophy⁸. During the second world war when France was occupied by the Nazis, a student approached Sartre with his moral problem. He wanted to join the Free French Forces and serve his country but at the same time he was conscious of his ailing mother who was dependent on him. There was no pre-existing moral principle which could help the student here. Sartre's advice to him was to think for himself as he was a free man and to do that to which he could commit himself and the whole of humanity. The primary virtue is sincerity.

Thus Buddha also rebels against the mechanical morality of the Mimamsa. However, a distinction between Sartre and Buddha on moral principle can be pointed out by indicating the next step which Buddha takes.

For Sartre, the agent is free to have any principle provided he freely and sincerely chooses it—is prepared to assent to the effects which follow from his action. "To choose between this or that is at the same time to affirm the value of that which is chosen."⁹ Thus it seems that Sartre would say that "everything is permitted", that all sincere choices have the same value. Sartre is uncomfortable at this and tries to escape from this conclusion by suggesting, that in choosing there must be sincerity, consistency, "to want altogether and not piecemeal and partially" "not to evade the issue,"¹⁰ etc. But then, the logical possibility of murder, torture, and the like, remains. This conclusion comes, because of the way, Sartre defines 'For-itself' or consciousness, and man's basic situation¹¹. He affirms the ontological primacy of the 'In-itself' over the 'For-itself'—"the For-itself without In-itself is a kind of abstraction; it could not exist any more than a colour could exist without form or a sound without pitch and without timbre. A consciousness which would be consciousness of nothing would be an absolute nothing. The For-itself, in fact is nothing but the pure nihilation of the In-itself; it is like a hole of being at the heart of Being ¹²".

Buddha does not take the nature of man in this way. Thus he escapes from Sartre's impasse. In a moment, I shall be discussing Buddha's position in this regard. First let me tell something on causality.

II

Buddha's opposition to Mimamsa system is also illustrated in his analysis of the causality principle. His criticism of the concept of causality has two steps. Ordinarily, people believe that there are substances or objects, which interact, affect and bring changes in the world, through the potency (Shakti) which they possess. Cause is not only, the immediate, unconditional and invariable antecedent of the effect, but it produces the effect. This ordinary belief is almost accepted in toto, by the Mimamsa. But this concept of causality is defective and Buddha suggests a revision in this concept by saying that everything appearing to be a substance is really a conglomeration (Samghata) of separate elements, momentary flashes of efficient energy or existential moments (Pudgala nairatmya). By this revision, Buddha anticipates much of Hume's version of causality. But in the second step, Buddha proceeds to say that causality concept does not belong to reality but is merely a *drsti* (dharma nairatmya). In denying the law of causality in the Paramartha level, keeping it to *samvrti* level and emphasising it as a part of *drsti*, Buddha is driving at one thing, that is, to say in terms of contemporary linguistic philosophy, causality is a leading principle in our investigations of the *Samvrti satta*, not *Paramartha satta*. It does not define reality (buddher agocaras tattvam) or it has no objective status though, along with categories (space, time substance, etc.) this has helped us in our empirical pursuits and worldly activities. At the same time it has caused so much pain and tears that the water of the four great oceans would not be equal to it. Prajna or bodhi consists of realisation of this. The Mimamsa holds the opposite view; for it, the casual laws define nature—necessity is objective (Satkaryavada and Parinamavada).

Corresponding to these views on causality, there are three views on freedom also. Mimamsa view of causality leads its followers to accept a block universe—a universe never completely annihilated, though a part of it may be annihilated at a particular time¹³. Hence, freedom means freedom from one part of Samsara, but presence in another part. This view indicates further, that the concept of liberation is never the driving force for the Mimamsa system but most probably it is a later addition to this system. For it, the world is real as much as the soul, and the soul is always an acting and experiencing entity. Attainment of Heaven is an effect, for which there are definite causes, and these causes have been laid down in the Veda. Thus the nature of good life and the ways to it are known and fixed.

The second view of causality certainly frees its advocates from essentialism¹⁴. It would allow a person to find out principles by looking into the consequences of any particular action. But here the freedom is entirely negative—*klesavarana nivrtti* is nirvana. It is almost a blank state of annihilation. This may allow the person to grapple the situation as the situation demands but then anything is logically possible here as it is in the case of Sartre's philosophy of existentialism.

The third one which takes causality in the second sense but limits it to the *Samvrti* level and admits *Paramartha*,¹⁵ allows situational ethics like that of Sartre, but is free from its nihilistic impasse. The agent starts with (1) the brute fact of his own and other's suffering (2) falsity of many in reality and (3) the hollowness (*Sunyata*) of everything. Consciousness of these three facts, one empirical, two metaphysical become the basis for compassion (*Karuna*). And *Karuna* is the source of all moral virtues.

Dr. Murti writes:

Sanyata and *karuna* are the two principal features of the *Bodhicitta*. *Sunyata* is *prajna*, intellectual intuition, and is identical with the Absolute. *karuna* is the active principle of compassion, that gives concrete expression to *Sunyata* in phenomena. If the first is transcendent and looks to the absolute the second is fully immanent and looks down towards phenomena. The second is goodness, love and pure act¹⁶

Thus the point I raised in discussing Sartre can be answered here. In spite of many similarities, Buddhism is one step ahead of Sartre's existentialism, as it would, besides stressing the mutual dependence of being 'In-itself' and being For-itself, assert the existence of Noumena (Paramartha). It would agree with existentialism that the choices man makes are equivalent or equal in value so long as freedom is the aim, but than freedom is freedom from Samvrtti and the realization of Paramartha.¹⁷

REFERENCES

1. The slogan is: Existence precedes essence, Sartre connects it with atheism by declaring that there are no eternal essences, present as "ideas" in the mind of God, which precede the existence of things. He also means that there are no objective essences, as these are determined in terms of human beings' interests and choices.
2. T. R. V. Murti, *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1955, p. 50, Foot-Note 1
3. Of all the systems of Buddhism, I have depended more on the Madyamika Systems in writing this paper. In regard to Existentialism, I have considered only Sartre's philosophy.
4. Ganganatha Jha, *Purva-Mimamsa*, Banaras Hindu University, 1942, p. 268. Example for this sort of act is given as follows. The vow not to look at the rising sun. I think the content of such a vow can be easily assimilated into the prohibitive variety of acts. So I have not discussed this to be important in my paper.
5. *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*. p. 30
6. Should the Nirvana be described as blissful? Opinions on this question vary. Dr. Murti distinguishes Advaita Vedanta from the Madhyamik System on the point that Vedanta besides asserting the existence of reality, describes it as consciousness and bliss, whereas Madhyamika System remains silent on these questions. However, he himself quotes in his book regarding this reality: p. 27 "a reality beyond all suffering and change, as unfading, still, undecaying, taintless, as peace and blissful, It is an island the shelter, the refuge and the goal". *Sam. N. IV*. p. 368.
7. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. p. 421
8. Jean-Paul Sartre. *Existentialism*. Tr. B. Frechtman, Philosophical Library, New York. p. 28
9. *Ibid*, p, 25
10. Arne Naess, *Four Modern Philosophers*. Tr. Alastair Hannay. The University of Chicago Press 1968, p. 351
11. Jean Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*. Tr. Hazel E. Barnes. Methuen and Co. Ltd. London, 1957. p. 621
12. *Ibid.*, p. 617
13. Ganganath Jha-*Purva-Mimamsa*, p. 23

14. The Central Philosophy of Buddhism. Chapters VII and X.

15. Ibid, p. 261. The twelve linked casual chain is an unending continuum of suffering.

16. Ibid., p. 264, The thesis that consciousness of reality is the source of virtues and moral principles has been advocated by most of the Indian Philosophical systems. For example, Sureswaracarya in his Naiskarmya Siddhi, IV, 69, writes:

“To one who has knowledge of the atman, non-hatred and other virtues come naturally, without any effort”. Quoted in Dr. Murti's book, p. 31. Hume's observation on the impossibility of deducing an ought-proposition from a series of 'is'—propositions would not be accepted by most of the Indian Systems.

17. I am conscious that I have not dealt Satre sufficiently to show how his philosophy possesses similarities with one sort of Buddhism.

THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINE OF ANATTA

(Mrs.) C. K. Datta

I

The Buddhist denial of substance is the most fundamental feature of the Buddhist philosophy. Anatta, anitya and dukha' the trio, is the skeleton or content of the Buddhist philosophy, and its form is determined by Pratityasamutpada. It is the feeling of compassion on seeing dukha which led Buddh to propound the idea of impermanence on the one hand, and to deny soul or substance on the other. In fact, anatta is logically a corollary of their doctrine of anitya, regarding the spiritual nature of man. The Buddhists hold that there is no abiding substance or reality behind any manifestation, and manifestation alone is real. There is nothing which manifests. It is this in substantial aspect of the Buddhist philosophy which marks a radical departure of the Buddhist from the non-Buddhist tradition. In this paper my aim is to discuss this issue of insubstantiality (anatta) and to analyse its significance in the light of certain problems of cognition (inference and its validity) or knowledge of the external world. It is highly significant to analyse such epistemological issues, because we must first grasp the nature of the mundane or the phenomenal world presented to us by inference, before we start to grasp the nature of ultimate reality, which is transcendental.

There had been various interpretations of the doctrine of insubstantiality in early Buddhism, Yogacara, Madhyamika, and the logical school of Dignaga and Dharmakirti, but all of these are true to the basic tenets of the system, and thus the dialogues of Buddha and some other discourses are very reveling and expository in this context. In Mahaparinibbana Sutta, Buddha himself addressed his followers at the time of his death, and said, "And now, brethren, I take my leave of you; all the constituents of being are transitory; work out your salvation with diligence".¹

Human personality is formed of five elements or Pancha Skandhas. As long as the Pancha Skandhas act in co-ordination, body-cum-mind, the human personality continues to exist; when they disintegrate, the person ceases to be. It is the cessation of that process which is motivated by ignorance. Regarding his own cessation, Buddha has commented, "So long as his body lasts Gods and men are able to see it. But when life has run out and the body disintegrates, Gods and men will no longer see him. Monks, it is just like when a branch is cut from a mango tree, all the fruit on that branch goes with it ...".²

In the Upasivamanava Puccha dialogue³, the following lines make clear that after death it is as impossible to know a person, as to recognise a flame, which has been extinguished. "As a flame blown about by the violence of the wind, O Upasiva, so said Bhagavat, goes out, cannot be reckoned (as existing), even so a Muni, delivered from name and body, disappears, and cannot be reckoned (as existing)." Sutta—Nipata V, 7, 6.

1. Mahaparinibbana Sutta, VI, i.

2. Dighya Nikaya, I, 3, 73.

3. S. B. E., Vol. X, Dhammapada Sutta—Nipata, p. 198

The Buddhists emphasize the misery aspect very much because *dukha* has to be alleviated presently in this world. "Seeing people struggling like fish in (a pond with) little water seeing them obstructed by each other, a fear came over me," (936) and, "But having seen (all beings) in the end obstructed, discontent arose in me; then I saw in this world an arrow, difficult to see, stuck in the heart." (938), declared the compassionate Buddha.⁴

While reflecting upon life, it is said in the *Visudhi Magga*⁵, "when this body comes into existence, it does not arise in the midst of the lotuses, nor of jewels (etc.) but ill-smelling, disgusting and repulsive, it arises between the stomach and lower intestines..... As it comes into being, these four—ignorance, desire, attachment and action—are the cause of it, in as much as they produce it. Food is the dependence, in as much as it supports it. These five are its causes and dependences."

II

The philosophy of insubstantiality, which originated with the idea of *dukkha* or suffering, led to the development of dynamic trend in philosophy. Later on, this philosophy developed into that of momentariness. Being unique in its own way, the dynamic philosophy has made the whole of Indian philosophy very colourful. There is a sharp contrast between the Buddhist and the non-Buddhist schools on this issue.

According to the Buddhists, there is no logical necessity to postulate an entity like 'self' to explain the reality. At the time of birth the five elements conjoin to give form to the body. During life they work in collaboration and at the time of cessation they all disintegrate and nothing remains. Bhikhu Nagasena⁶ in order to convince King Nalinda of the fact that there is no soul, explains that chariot is a combination of so many parts, like the wheels, the pole and the axle and none of these parts alone can be called a chariot. Similarly, all the elements combine to give form to the body and none of them can be called self. At the time of death, there is complete disintegration and nothing remains. The external objects have only an imputed or a borrowed reality. Only the particular in the real, that which is given in sensation. All things are in a state of flux. In the absence of stable personalities and external reality, the flux remains. This suggests the Buddhist belief in the process philosophy. Reality for the Buddhists is becoming, sequential, dynamic and particular. There are sequences of moments only, which are interdependent. This is the gist of their doctrine of momentariness or instantaneous being, based on the idea of change.

The followers of Buddhist philosophy carried through the idea of change or becoming as the universal form of reality with thoroughness, and challenged the philosophy of being with great subtlety and persistence. They totally rejected substance including soul, and believed in the momentary experiences which are the primary realities. They upheld that these primary realities do not change; they simply become and what is called change is only the successive becoming of events which have some relationship to their preceding events. The idea of self-identical ego or soul is formed on the basis of memory, which relates the present experiences to the past; in fact there is no soul.

Heraclitus in Greek philosophy also expresses the similar idea. Parmenides had affirmed that, "All change is contradictory, therefore contradiction (the unity of opposites) is the very essence of reality." He conceived the world as 'one' but as a dynamic unity of process. In this process

4. Sutta—Nipata, vs. 936 and 938, *Dhammapada*—S. B. E., Vol. X, pp. 177—8.

5. Mc Govern, W. M., *A manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 164.

6. Milinda—Panho, S. B. E., Vols. XXXV and XXXVI.

every moment or every phase is continuously transformed into its 'opposite' in a qualitatively different phase. His famous sayings are, "we step and we do not step into the same river; we are and we are not". "He synthesized being and non-being into becoming. He insisted on the fluidity of everything. Besides, he virtually rejected the idea of an unchanging substratum of motion. He said, "All things flow; nothing abides". Moreover, he emphasized that there is becoming but it is irreversible. His argument was, "You cannot step twice into the same river, for fresh waters are ever flowing in upon you"⁷.

When the reality of being is accepted, the pattern of reality conforms to the static view, and when the reality of becoming is accepted, the pattern of reality conforms to the dynamic view. When the reality is conceived on the static pattern this view may be called Ontological Substantialism, and when reality is conceived on the dynamic pattern that view may be called Ontological Phenomenalism, which is similar to the Buddhist view. The Buddhists deny the unitary reality of every combinations of element. They also deny the first cause or any beginning or an end of this universe. All things are caused and they are the products of diverse causes and conditions, and thus the Buddhists propound universal dependent origination.

III

The Buddhists are criticised by their opponents on the issue of insubstantiality. The latter have raised several problems regarding cognition and causation to which the Buddhists have very aptly replied.

Sridhara objects to the dynamic insubstantial position of the Buddhists. He says that without a substratum, like the soul, the successive cognitions cannot give the idea of the unity of consciousness. There is no identity between two moments and thus they will always remain distinct and apart. The Buddhist idea of causal laws as bringing about the link between the moments is also very weak, because the causal relation itself can be cognized only if there is an underlying unity of consciousness to comprehend it⁸.

The question of unity of consciousness has been elaborately answered by the Buddhists. In fact, for the Buddhists the unity of consciousness is myth (kalpana). No two moments in consciousness are really united. Therefore, our experience of unity is due to our inherent tendency to gloss over distinctions and differences. However, at the empirical level, systematic thinking is made possible, according to the Buddhists, by maintaining that each moment of consciousness, though distinct from the other moments, is similar to the preceding moments. Similarity is not to be confused here with identity, though similarity may be the cause of our misplaced notion of identity. The so-called unity of consciousness we come across our daily life is, therefore, actually similarity of consciousness. It may be asked that even to recognize a similarity of one moment of consciousness with other moments we have to postulate another consciousness which witnesses similarity between two moments of consciousness. That postulated consciousness would then be a unitary consciousness, encompassing two or more momentary consciousnesses. For the Buddhists, this postulation has no logical ground. They would say that each moment of consciousness is endowed among others also with the awareness of that particular moment being similar with previous moments. Hence, here the notion of similarity is not based on the observation

7. Windelband, W., A History of Philosophy, pp. 49—50

8. Russell, B., History of Western Philosophy, pp. 62-63

9. Nyayakandali of Sridhara, pp. 71-72, ed. Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, Benares.

of two or more moments at a time, but it is the result of the impression left upon the present moment by the preceding moments. Therefore, there is no danger of ontologically discrete moments falling apart.

Kumarila objects to the idea that a cognition may be devoid of a real object. According to him, it is admitted that even in the case of dreams and other such cognitions, a real external object is there. There is always an external background, which may pertain to wrong time and place.¹⁰ Accepting the Buddhist position, where the object and its cognition are not synchronous, the perception of external reality will become impossible of explanation.

When it is said that the perceptual cognition should synchronize with the object of perception, we must be clear in our mind as to what we mean by cognition. According to the commonsense meaning of cognition, cognition involves conceptualization and distinction of one object of perception from the rest. Conceptualization, in its turn, is based on generalization. In other words, in order to know tableness in a table we have not only to perceive the table before us, but we have also to recollect our similar past experience, and also to relate the present experience with the past. Hence, what a person sees before his eyes is meaningful only when it is related to things which one is not perceiving right now. This would, then, mean that the object of perception is both present and not present at the time of perception. But this is an anomalous situation. The Buddhists, therefore, have held the view that the object of perception can be only that much which is presented to our senses at a particular moment of time. Likewise, their idea of perceptual cognition would meticulously exclude reference to all that which is not present at the time of perception. Hence, for them perceptual cognition would be bereft of conceptualization and generalization. The object of this cognition would be, a mere 'this' and not also a 'what'. Here, our cognition of 'this' and the thing present before us do synchronize. Therefore, the criticism as mentioned above does not hold good for the Buddhists.

Besides, according to the Buddhists, there are only two sources of knowledge, viz., perception and inference. All the objects are known through these. Perception leads to the knowledge of the ultimate reality, while inference, through a logical mark, leads to a conclusion when a thing is certainly cognised. Two different kinds of objects are known by two sources because they adhere to the theory of *Pramana-Vyavastha*.

Cognition is the combined result of series thingmoments and the consciousness-moments. The series of thingmoments imply that the external world is in a state of flux, while the series of consciousness-moments imply that *amman* is a combination of five elements. When the two types of moments coincide, the resultant knowledge takes place. Moments have no property or quality to be attributed to them. There is also no relation between any two moments. In the case of cognition, two types of moments just get synchronised and get merged into each other. The cognition is the result of clash of moments. This moment of clash between these two types of moments is unlike others. Cognition is concerned only with this moment and it is definite and it cannot be other than what it is. The moments are of such a nature that they arise and get annihilated giving place to new ones. They can be compared with the neon signs.

Inference is possible on the basis of relation between two concepts in which one leads to the other. According to the Buddhists, there are two types of relations which

¹⁰ *Shlokavartika*, *Niralambanavada*, 107-108 vide *Tattva-Samgraha-Fanjika* of Kamalasila, Trisal G. N. Jha, p. 174.

are possible between the two concepts. In the first case, when the analysis of one concept leads to the other, the relation is called analytic. In the second case, one concept is not possible without the other. This the relation of casuality.

In both the cases, the possibility of inference arises from the nature of the determining concept. (This determining concept points to the nature of Svalaksana or the point-instant.) The only possibility of connecting the two concepts lies with the above mentioned two types of relations and these relations cannot be connected but by inference. Hence, inferential knowledge is also valid.

Quite consistently with the Buddhist view of the position of the phenomenal world in between the ultimate reality and the imagination, the Buddhists of the Dignaga school hold that these concepts are not only in imagination, they also have an indirect link with the real moments. It is the basis of this idea that imaginary concepts are discarded from the Buddhist logic.

Both, analytic and causal relations (which make inference possible) obtain their necessity from the moment itself or the point-instant. In the case of analytic relation, one concept is implied by the other, but both point to an identical moment. In the case of causal relations, which are linked with a succeeding and a preceding moment, two concepts refer to one thing or Svalaksana, which is again an identical moment. In both the cases, i. e., of analytic relation and causal relation, inference is valid and necessary. Thus, it is proved that whenever the Buddhists of the Dignaga school talk of inference, inference is not a matter only of concepts, but on the other hand, there is a direct reference to reality, and Dignaga can no more be called an idealist. He was a realist in ontology as it has been shown and knowledge of reality is possible on the basis of inference and perception.

Kumarila again attacks the Buddhist position regarding action and its results, if the doctrine of 'perpetual flux' is admitted. If consciousness is also momentary, then the voluntary activity is impossible. The doer is convinced of his utter doom in the next moment; he will have no incentive for action, because the consequences of his action will not be enjoyed by him. Thus, the intelligent man would not undertake any activity.¹¹

The idea of voluntary activity, and for that matter, of any activity, will hold good only when the possibility of change is accepted. If things do not change, incentive to act will not arise, because a person will be convinced that his action is not likely to bring about the desired change. Those, who believe in an eternal soul, talk of bringing about change, so that the soul may have better conditions of existence; they seem to think that the changed surroundings of a soul will leave the soul unaffected. But, if the soul remains unaffected, while the change is brought about by voluntary activity in the surroundings, then the soul has no relation with the change. Therefore, the voluntary activity is meaningful only when along with changing surroundings the soul is also changed.

Incentive for our action is more pronounced in the case where a man knows of his utter doom in the next moment. Is it not the case that the soul may like to accomplish as much as it can in one moment? Only a pessimist would withdraw from action when he is in sight of his impending doom. Viewed in this light, the Buddhists seem to be more optimistic than the Mimamsakas.

11. *Tattva-Samgraha* of Santaraksita, Vol. I, transl. G. N. Jha, texts 496—499, pp. 293-294.

ANATTA

Ellawala Nandisvara Thero

Annatta (Pali), Anatman or Nairatma ya (Sanskrit) or sometimes Nairatman in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature signifies the third general character of all component matter in this world of existence and becoming. Annatta, the absence of a permanent residue is the quality of all things arising in the Universe and it is a Doctrine peculiar to all teachings of the Buddh's of all times;

Atta vada is the theory of a permanent soul or eternal self as apparent in the Vedic and the Upanisadic expositions of Atman. Annatta or Anatmavada is a distinctive deviation from the original Norm of the Atman, expounded by the Lord Buddha alone. In the galaxy of Indian teachers the Buddha alone denied the existence of an eternal soul that reincarnates itself from birth beyond birth until it merges itself with the ultimate Finite self. The Buddha neither accepted the existence of the eternal soul or self nor did he acknowledge the stage of finite merging with the eternal Atman. He dismissed the theory of Eternity with his arguments on Anitya, the Law of inconsistency and ephemerereality. All things in this Universe are subjected to a law of innovation, change or flux. Nothing remains identically the same for two consecutive seconds. All matter undergo change in its cycle of endurance and existence.

In the Pali literature the term atta has often been employed to convey the meaning the individual or the individual self as 'in atta hitaya' ('for one's benefit') or atta Pattipanno (goaded by self interest) but in this context the usual rendering of Atman should not be implied and here it conveys the simple complex of the individual as mind and matter or mind and body. Atta is again used in the sense of Life as in Attabhava or Attapatilabha where the birth of an individual in a fresh life or birth is implied. In a third context the term atta is used meaning the metaphysical entity or the soul as in 'Atthi me atta' (do I have a soul) or 'Sunnam idam attena va atteniyena va,' (this is completely void of a soul or any complexity of a sou'). The erroneous connotations arising out of the conception of a soul entity has been often identified in the Pali text as AttaDitthi (Atmadrishthi), Attanuditthi (atmanudrishthi) and Attagaha (Atthagraha).

The acceptance of the soul as a fundamental cognitive metaphysical feature is evident in practically all Primary religious scriptures of world religions and in the lesser views of the Ajivakas, paribrajikas and other diffidents they could neither confirm the existence of the soul nor deny it. The Lord Buddha says that six contemporary teachers of His time were wriggling in uncertainty like slippery eels on this matter. The earliest vedas, in the rigvedic hymns, mention is made about the Atman, but here it gives the connotation of a life breath rather than an eternal soul. Life breath in contemporary usage may also mean the sense of a soul. Atman is used in vedic literature in the sense of the Synosure of Life or the Sun the pivot of the Universe. The same term again has been used with the sense the main object or the chief principle as we encounter in the instance of Soma being the Atman of the sacrifice. The ancient Hindu accepted as a matter of primary cause the existence of a universal Soul, the primeaval manifestation of all things from the first cause and the unification of all matter and life through this phenomenon. The individual atman was a spark of the eternal and he in his finite purification united inseparably with the infinite, the Absolute. Hinduism holds the view that the world is eternal even so is the Soul.

This is the *Sassata Vada* of the earlier school. The Jains held the view that the soul existed as an entity in full consciousness after liberation too and did not merge with infinity but retained its individuality. Yet other schools said that the individual and soul both were annihilated at death and no residue remained.

The Theory of the soul is purely and concretely an Indian conception and its illustrious elaboration is found in Upanisadic thought than in the vedic hymns. The soul here assumes more the form of the mind and is often said to desert the physical complex and wanders into alien realms sometimes in deep sleep. Sometimes the soul away from the body is spoken of as a conscious entity capable of physical contact and sensual enjoyment. The home of the soul is attributed to the heart the synosure of life. The Vedantians accept the theory that the soul could be materially identified by argument and reasoning, but not by perception through physical venues as it is subtler than the subtlest remotor than the remotest but perceivable by the purification of the intellect. The description of the size and nature too it is the same, being minutest of the minute and also the greatest of the great.

The Jains hold the view that the soul is finite and has definite size and weight. The existence of the soul was not limited to human beings alone but all living things in the Universe such as plants and all flora and fauna. They neither accepted the separate existence of the soul nor its merging with body but said that in one point of the argument it was one with the body but from another angle it was different from the physical form. The omniscient soul did not shine in its lustre due to Karmic residue but once the Karmas were spent the Soul shon with its intrinsic lustre. Certain schools of Ajivakas held that the soul was either Round or Octagonal and spread hundreds of yojanas in extent. The Samkhayas argued upon the plurality of the souls and deserted upon the unique eternal substantial matter of the Universe on a different footing.

Whatever the views of the contemporary philosophers may be and however divergent the subsequent thinkers may have been one fact alone is crystal clear; the Lord Buddha preferred to divide paths with then over the matter of the Soul. *Annatta* is a well developed Doctrine in all schools of Buddhism. Recent thinkers have endeavoured to prove that the Buddha was completely silent over the subject of the soul but this is a falasy. The Pali and Sanscrit scriptures have numerous discourse on the nature of Soul-lessness and abundant proof is available to conclude that the Buddha was refuting the Soul theory and also propounding arguments against the delusion of the Soul theory. In a changing world there was nothing that was constant neither the being nor the atman was permanent. In a Universe that was constantly subjected to a flux there was a being that was undergoing a change every momen of his life. The eternal law of change and decay was his cycle of life : for two consecutive moments he did not remain the same.

The Buddhas arguments against the Theory of the soul were mainly twofold. The Buddha one by one takes the components of the aggregates and the physical attributes of the body and questions from His disciples whether they deem each one of them to be identical with the Self; for instance he questions his Disciples "what O Monks do you deem this Form of your body to be eternal and identical with the Atman there fore free of sorrow pain disease and death? Is it permanent or impermanent?" "It is impermanent Sir;" "Is what is impermanent sorrowful or joyful". It is sorrowful O Lord. "If it is sorrowful is it correct to say this is mine, this I am, this is my permanent self. Is it not subject to innovation and frequent change?" "It is O Lord subject to frequent change therefore there is no Permanent Soul or everlasting self in it." Is sensation (*Vedea*) permaonnnnt and non changing? "It is not O Sir, it is frequently changing and is always a flux!" Therefore is sensation a part of your personal self or the self itself? "No sensation is a nature in the self but not the self itself". Similarly is perception permanent and

is it part of the eternal self ? Does the Sanna (Perception) last for ever or is it momentary ? Perception is momentary and is of the nature of a mirage. O Lord it is a delusion indeed". Then O Monks is Conception or mental formations (Sanskhara) the self and part of the permanent being or are Samskharas hazy and undetermined states of the mind. Are they permanent or impermanent ? "No. O Lord the formation are features of the being not the being itself and they too are always in a flux and undergo changes therefore they are not the permanent self nor any part of the eternal soul." Then is consciousness (Vinnnaa) the soul or the eternal self that is not subjected to constant flux and last for ever. Does it for ever remain the same ? No Sir, Consciousness is part of the living being but not the living being itself. It too changes frequently causing sorrow and pain. It does not remain the same for two consecutive moments therefore it is fading and delusive." Then is it a joy to be endowed with the sum total of these aggregate or is it a sorrow to be born in this world with these five aggregates. Is it a painful plane to exist with Form, Sensation, perception, Conception and consciousness?" "Indeed O Lord to be endowed with the five aggregates at Birth is Suffering and the weal and woe of existence is added in living the span of life allotted to one; therefore existence with the five aggregates is painful and sorrowful."

The second argument the Buddha brings against the existence of an eternal indestructible soul is that the one endowed with a permanent soul, the divine spark of the creator or the ultimate self cannot err but has to follow the divine path qualitative of the Ultimate. If man or animal had that divine spark he would not practice all the vice and villainy that he is capable of executing. Purity of life and living should be a quality of man. If man was a divine agent endowed with a pure soul there does not arise the need to observe a chaste moral life for the purification of the self. All forms of mortification, penance, rights, rituals, observances and meditation would have no meaning in the context of the being endowed with a pure soul. He is pure by dint of his eternal pure soul : What cleansing does he require. Cleansing is necessary when impurities accumulate only in the weak Soul that has no permanence. Bliss is the characteristic of the Self. All things upon earth are fading and subjected to the eternal law of change

Inna changing World there cannot be an unchanging self. Life is a product of numerous spheres of conditioning and in conditioned life within a conditioned World there cannot exist an unconditioned Soul. All existence is nothing but a series of dependence upon conditions. Here five causes are highlighted and they are followed by five resultants, as long as the causes exist the resultants repeat ; when the conditions of the causes are lost the resultants themselves cease. There is absolutely no feature in this World which is free from the state of conditioning. The reality of Nama and Rupa (Form and mind) is only a temporary existence free of a lasting residue.

Once the Bhikkhuni Sela replied to Mara regarding the matter of Mind and Form, thus :

"Nahidam atta katam bimbham, Nahidam paraka agam,

Hetupatioca sambhutam, hetu bhanga nirijjhati."

This is not a marvellous creation of the self, nor is it a wonder created by another but causes that prevailed brought it into existence and when the causes cease its existence itself will cease.

The Buddha once said, "O Monks, within this fathom long body of yours is the arising of the World and its cessation."

In another context the Sister Vijira replies to Mara that the sum total of existence is a gross falsity as far as a self is concerned, there is not that lives but the sum total of the aggregates prolong due to causes that have brought them into existence.

The Buddha's explanation of the individual is quite clear and need not be contravertial. The individual comprises the Nama and the Rupa (Matter and Form) or mind and body. He is

accompanant of the five aggregates. The Body corresponds to Rupa and the other four aggregates Vedana, Sanna, Samskharas and Vinnana (sensation, perception, conception and consciousness) form the attributes of the mind. Rupa is a component of the four major component elements Earth, Water, Air and Heat and the mind consists of feeling, perception, volition, contact and attention. The elements of the body are common to the world too, but the elements of the mind are peculiar to the individual. These are conditioned by the Samskharas or the Karmic residue and assimilated by the consciousness in determining the where withal of existence. The relationship of the mind to the body is through the venue of the cognitive system, the six fold sense venues. The factors of Awareness, the sense faculty, the sense object and the resultant consciousness are recognised as Dhatus. The human personality that has contact with the world is classified into the Division of Aggregates (Kandhas) Dhatu (elements) and Ayatana (sense venues). All three factors that form the individual are summarised under the name Dharma or elements of living or existence. The formula is significant in correlation to the Buddha's utterance "Sabbe Dhamma annata yada pannaya passati, atha nibbindati dukkha assadhammo visuddhiya". When one with profound insight realises that all forms of existence are devoid of a permanent residue, then he severs the chain of suffering and enters the path of purity.

The Universe of existence is created out of component matter. Component matter is devoid of lasting values and are constantly in an eternal flux of becoming, decay and destruction. In this whirl pool of matter there is no consistency and does remain the same for two consecutive seconds. Therefore there is no permanent being in this decaying matter. All things in the world are momentary features subjected to the eternal law of flux.

It should not be construed that merely because the Buddha denied the existence of a soul that the being ceased to be after death and was annihilated of body and mind. The Buddha conclusively accepted the potency of the karmic residue that influenced his present life and the future ones. The causation of the karma both mental and physical with its inexorable effects in myriads of spheres he may be born in he emphasised. He stressed that Karma is ones birth right, ones relation and also ones heritage and many a thing in life was decided by the karmic residue of previous lives. The present individual was a product of his Karma in previous lives and at death he transmits his the formations of his mind through the life continue to the next life and there continues to enjoy the benefits or evil effects of his action. Karma followed its own dictates and was not influenced by external whims and caprices. The teaching of the law of dependent origination (Paticcasamupada) that Vinnana of consciousness is the connecting link between this life and the next has sometimes been interpreted as a permanent mind analogous to a soul but in the explanation that the Vinnana of the embryo is neither the same nor is it different from the previous state of the deceased clarifies the fact that it is the conditioning of the previous sphere of life but in a different life. The flux of the mind continues in the new sphere but it is not the same being. An autonomous consciousness repeating unchanged is not implied here. A continuity of consciousness alone is stressed.

The continuity of the consciousness is not an entirety or an eternal state. It is a process that continues as long as Thana and Upadana (Greed and Grasping tendencies) repeat but on the extinction of the states of Greed and Grasping its repetition is negated. This is the reason why Nibbana has been called the Tanhakkhya, the cessation of craving. When the pure saint enters Nibbana he annihilates craving and grasping tendencies to cease. The flux of the mind continues goaded by greed and craving with grasping tendencies until all residues of karmas and formations are negated by the liberated one. His mind is liberated of all attachment to the cycle of birth. The vinnana ceases to find a new abode as the causes are fully removed.

When Vaccagotta questioned the Buddha whether there was a finite residue as soul he said I did not say so. When he was again questioned whether he denied it the Buddha replied that "that he did not say that either". Later when Venerable Ananda questioned him he explained that if he stated that there was a thing as a soul he would have been quoted as being a follower of eternalism and if he denied it he would be interpreted as siding with the annihilationists.

Besides Vaccagotta was not ripe in his intelligence to understand the Annatta Doctrine at that time but later he understood it and reached final liberation. This is the reason why the Buddha did not expound then the Annatta teaching to Vaccagotta.

Ego consciousness is the root cause of the sufferings of the world. It blindfolds one to the rights and pursuances of others and goads one into exaltation and pride. When the ego consciousness is conquered the self and self aggradisement cease to repeat themselves. This broadens the individual's out look and he faces the world with Love and sympathy condoning the rights and claims of the world and its beings.

All world religions Hinduism, Judaism, Jainism, Christianity, and Islam concentrated their faith in the redemption of the finite Soul, a spark of divinity imbibed from the ultimate who was also the creative force of the Universe. The main quest of these faiths was "what am I?" "what eternal of divine residue have I?" "Whither lies my salvation?" Seated deep in the heart of man they visualised a non decaying residue as the Atman. The deep investigation into the Atman evolved perception of divinity and in the divine knowledge lay the path of salvation. Atma bodha, understanding atman was the golden path to the impersonalself in Hinduism and in the semitic religions union with the Creator was through the channel of purification of the soul. Heaven an eternal solace of arcadian existence for the liberated soul was the final search of the Christian and Muslim. Death did not destroy the Soul, but focussed the soul to await the final judgement under the hands of the creator or his assigned agent, the Messiah. In the detailed analysis of man the Buddha did not subscribe to this view. He neither saw divinity in man nor the existence of an eternal Atman. He therefore concluded that man had to search for liberation on his personal intuition unguided by the dictates of the divine spark or Atman. In the entire field of religious philosophy the Buddha alone was the Teacher that exhorted the Anatma Theory. None before him and none after him has expounded Anatmavada. If the atman existed in man it would be autonomus and man need not suffer pain agony disease and death. By dint of the atman all frailties in the home sapien could be neutralised and he could achieve divinity without much effort. But in the Universe sufferings of man are ubiquitous and unlimited and his emotions, sensual attachments are over sweeping and overwhelming. He is a slave to attachments and volition. That is the reason why the Buddha concluded that life was a transitory process of a lone momentary existence, a-brim with agony, sorrow, pain, disease and death: that which is transitory and ephmereal cannot have a finite residue therefore it is devoid of an Atman.

The Buddha did not accept the Dogma of other teachers but he accepted the discovered truth after full proof scrutiny and whom convinced beyond all doubt he revealed it to the world. His search was introspective through insight meditation, Vipasanna, and knowledge was original and unbiased and unprejudiced. His love for humanity was infinite and his efforts to redeem humanity from the bonds of life untiring. Existence in all its numerous forms was abominable to him and the lures of the flesh repugnant, therefore he exhorted humanity to abjure the lures of the flesh and attachment to all spheres of existence. Man, if he thinks rationally, unbiased by any dogma, he will forthwith realise that life is unsatisfactory in all its forms and would detach himself from the world and would search for the higher truths of liberation from the worldly ken. The conditioned, the unborn, the non craving, the non grasping, the non becoming, is attainable within this sphere itself if only one strives towards this end. All life is uncertain, sorrowful and baseless why strive on.

In the search for liberation the Buddha always emphasised that questions like is there an Atman, or is there not, are things that beguile one from his course or liberation. The earnest seeker discovers the falacy of the Atman theory at his final liberation as in the instance of Godika Thero. Without realisation and attainment of higher knowledge it is futile to wage verbal battles on a theory that cannot be proved or accepted beyond doubt. All doubts would be dispelled at the dawn of knowledge then would one realise the Anatman Doctrine.

Saptabhangi and the Mādhyamika Dialectic

R. K. Tripathi

The aim of this paper is to discuss the nature and limits of thought as reflected in the Jaina and the Mādhyamika systems. It is well-known that the Mādhyamika divides all thought-forms exhaustively into four Kotis (Catuṣkoti) and holds that the tattva is beyond the Catuṣkoti (Catuṣkoti vinirmukta). On the other hand the Jaina believes in seven bhangas or seven-fold predication. Thought-forms are for the Jaina not only of four kinds but of seven kinds and they do not conceal the nature of reality but reveal its structure. Thus, the differences between the Jaina and the Mādhyamika seems to be quite fundamental. We propose to go into the question regarding the relative position of the two systems in the light of the following questions:—

- (A) Are thought-forms only of four kinds or of seven kinds or more or less ?
- (B) Do the thought-forms reveal reality or conceal it ?

I

Let us take up the first question regarding the exhaustive division of thought-forms. Both the Jaina and the Mādhyamika start with two basic forms*—the *asti* (is) and the *nāsti* (is not). The third is derived by combining the two as joint assertion of affirmation and negation (both is and is not). So far the two schools agree but there arises difference regarding the fourth. For the Mādhyamika the fourth position (*dṛṣṭi*) is that of joint denial—neither is nor is not. This is the sceptic's view point. So formally the division seems to be exclusive and exhaustive. But the Jaina does not accept the fourth or the sceptic point of view and in place of that adds the *avaktavyā* which is not accepted by the Mādhyamika. So the Jaina rejects scepticism and the Mādhyamika rejects the *avaktavya*. The Jaina is logically able to derive three more forms by combining the *avaktavya* with the first three and comes to have seven forms of predication. The derivation of the seven forms thus hinges on the acceptances of the *avaktavya* and the rejection of scepticism. Let us consider the possibilities of denying the joint affirmation and negation as an alternative. It may be said that if is and is not can be affirmed together, they can also be denied together and that would mean a new *dṛṣṭi*. To this the Mādhyamika would say that the negation of the joint affirmation and negation would mean the acceptance of one of the two and so it would not be a new position. But the Jaina cannot say so, because the denial of *avaktavya* would not mean the acceptance of one of the two views but would mean a new position.

Any way, the question that we are going to ask is: Why does the Jaina insist on the acceptance of the *avaktavya* and the rejection of scepticism ? And why does the Mādhyamika not recognise *avaktavya* as a possible *dṛṣṭi* and regards scepticism as one ?

To be able to answer the above question we should first of all try to understand what the *avaktavya* is according to the Jaina. This is specially because the Mādhyamika also accepts something (the *śūnya*) as unspeakable (*anabhilāpya*). The reason why the Jaina accepts the

* In Jainism the mula-bhangas or the primary forms are sometimes said to be two and sometimes including the *Avaktavya* they are said to be three. But the *Avaktavya* need not be regarded as primary as it is derived by simultaneous affirmation (*saharpana*) of the first two.

avaktavya is that according to him sometimes it becomes necessary to assert two opposite predicates not successively (kramarāna) (as in the third bhanga) but simultaneously (saharpana) and then it becomes impossible to express the thought in language and so it is said to be avaktavya. In this way the third koti of the Madhyamika and the third bhanga of the Jaina though similar in appearance are different in nature. For the Jaina it is the successive assertion of is and is not while for the Madhyamika it is simultaneous assertion of the two. The third of the Jaina is not self-contradiction but the third of the Madhyamika is self-contradiction. It is the fourth bhanga of the Jaina that seems to be self-contradiction as it is simultaneous affirmation of is and is not. But the Jaina avoids or evades the self-contradiction by calling the position avaktavya.

Now, the question that arises here is whether there is any situation in reality when simultaneous assertion of is and is not becomes necessary if only to justify the Jaina view. It is said that reality being anekatmak such a possibility should not be ruled out. All that we can say is that it cannot be expressed in language or that it is avaktavya. But the question is: Is it only on a priori possibility or is such a situation a matter of experience? Can reality be self-contradictory? Hegel held that negation was inherent in the very nature of reality which is one with thought. But the realist Jaina cannot take that position. He may say that reality is what it is; it is only the question of our grasping it by thought, and it is only thought that is self-contradictory or otherwise. But if thought reveals reality and if thought is self-contradictory then reality also must be so. The Jaina admits that sometimes contradictory predicates are there found in reality, and the simultaneous assertion of is and is not is just due to that. This kind of assertion can be thought but not expressed. That is why the Jaina does not call it acintya (unthinkable) but avaktavya or unspeakable. But then one may ask: Can there be a thought which cannot be expressed? It seems to us that if something is thinkable it must also be expressible and if it is not expressible it cannot be thinkable either.

It is because of the above difficulty that the Madhyamika does not accept avaktavya as a koti of thought. In a situation where there seem to be two opposite predicates of one and the same thing simultaneously, the Buddhist would say that a thing having two opposite predicates is not one but two* otherwise one will be forced to violate the law of contradiction. The Jaina seems to disregard the law of contradiction on the basis of his metaphysics of anekantavada. And yet it seems that he does not ignore it completely, because it is because of the appreciation of contradiction in simultaneous affirmation and negation that he invents the avaktavya.

The pertinent question that arises here is whether reality is to govern thought or thought is to govern reality. For Hegel this question did not arise as the two were one for him. But the question does arise for the Jaina. Obviously, he cannot take the position that thought governs reality; thought has to submit to reality, or else it will be mere fantasy. But thought submits to reality not unconditionally but subject to its own laws, specially the law of contradiction. Thought cannot afford to be contradictory manifestly. If self-contradiction is allowed no one can criticise another. That is why Hegel had to interpret contradiction in a different way in order to show that there was no self-contradiction. Contradiction for him is only difference and not opposition. But the Jaina does not do so. For him contradiction remains contradiction and yet it is regarded as thinkable though not speakable.

Now, turning to the Madhyamika conception of sunya, it is unspeakable not because it has two opposite predicates, but because it transcends thought and hence also speech. The Madhyamika would not say that the sunya is thinkable but not speakable. That is why the unspeakable is not included as one of the Kotis or drstis which refer only to thought and not to what is beyond

*Yo viruddha dharmadhyasau na sau ekah

thought. In this regard the Madhyamika seems to be more consistent and his division of thought-forms more logical. The division is based on some principle and is exhaustive. But the Jaina induction of avakavaya as a thought-form seems to be dogmatic rather than logical since it seems to be based on a prior view of reality rather than on logic. Metaphysics seems to govern logic here. For the same reason the Jaina rejects the fourth Koti (scepticism) of the Madhyamika, for scepticism is not knowledge. Logically, it should also be accepted as a view-point or thought-form, but if it is accepted it will affect the saptabhangi of the Jaina.

Differences among philosophers regarding the nature of reality are explained by the Jaina as ekanta or oneness and so he suggests that all views should be accepted if only to avoid oneness. But these very differences among philosophers lead the Madhyamika to doubt it whether thought reveals reality at all. By the dialectical method he shows that all thought is self-contradictory and hence incapable of revealing reality. It should not be imagined that if somehow thought became consistent it would reveal reality. Some western idealists hold that finite thought is no doubt inconsistent but if thought becomes infinite it will cease to be inconsistent. The Madhyamika holds that inconsistency of thought is not due to its finitude but due to its very nature and so conflicts and contradictions can be avoided not by extending thought to infinity but by transcending thought. What we want to suggest is that if inconsistency is the mark of falsity, it does not follow that consistency is the mark of reality. Consistency and inconsistency both belong to thought and the tattva is beyond thought.

The Jaina may retort that thought seems to distort reality not because it does not reveal reality but because only one aspect is exclusively emphasised. Does thought not reveal reality in our empirical life? The Madhyamika would say that the unexamined thought of our empirical life cannot be taken to be our standard. Thought must be examined before it is accepted. In ordinary life also thought is rejected if it is found to be inconsistent. If we accept thought in spite of its inconsistency, then there will remain no way of pointing out any shortcoming in a view and of rejecting it. Further, if thought taken is to reveal reality, there would arise a very difficult question regarding the relation between thought and reality, a question which Hegel solved by identifying the two and which the Madhyamika solves by rejecting thought as false. But the Jaina being a realist seems to have no solution. For him reality is neither one with thought nor beyond it.

ETHICS OF JAINISM AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN MODERN LIFE

KETAKI NAYAK

Jainism is a religion preached by the Jinas or conquerors. The term Jaina is philologically a variant of the Sanskrit word Jaya (victory) and signifies these Jinas who have successfully conquered anger, carnal desire and vice in mind by steady process of austerity, discipline, self-purification and understanding. Jina is one who has subdued his passions and freed his soul from all bondage of karmas and attained omniscience which is the natural innate quality of soul.

The Jainas do not believe in God. The Tirthankar to whom all the godly powers like omniscience omnipotence, belong take the place of God. They are adored as the ideals of life. Jaina tradition speaks of 24 Tirthankaras—the first was Ṛṣabha, who revealed the Ahimṣādharmā. The last of them was Bhagawan Mahavir who was an elder contemporary of Buddha and he lived from 599 B. C. to 527 B. C. He instructed to the human race love, non-violence and truth and celibacy with the austere view of ascetic discipline and has showed the path of salvation to the suffering world.

For the attainment of perfection of the soul; by shunning the shackles of mortal life and for the achievement of eternal peace and universal brotherhood, a time has come now in this 20th Century to realise thoroughly the noble precepts of the Jaina Tirthankaras and put them into practice in our daily life.

According to Jainism the universe is eternal and it is constituted of six substances—soul, matter, dharma (medium of motion), adharma (medium of rest), space and time. The soul is the only conscious substance. It is subject to the limitations of time and space. Deliverance of soul from all kinds of bondage is the aim of the Tirthankaras.

In Jaina philosophy matter is called Pudgala—etymologically meaning—“which is liable to integration and disintegration (Pūrayanti, galanti ca) and is divided into atoms and molecules. It has the qualities of touch, taste, smell and colour. Mind and breath are also the product of matter. Soul matter, dharma and adharma all exist in space. Time is devoid of extension in space and it assists change. The Dharma and adharma (medium of motion and medium of rest) existing simultaneously account for the dynamism of the world. The soul is the principal cause of cosmic creation. Other substances are assisting and co-operating in this unending process of creation in a scientific manner.

The soul is potentially divine. It has infinite potentiality within—Infinite knowledge, Infinite faith, Infinite power and Infinite bliss. But these qualities are not manifested because soul is associated with karma. As soon as it is freed from karma it attains omniscience and other perfections inherent in it. The karmas or the forces of passions and desires in the soul attract to it particles of matter which permeate the soul. Karmas lead to the

bondage of the soul by matter. The soul acquires the body for its inwardly cravings—which are originated from karma, the sum of the past life of soul, its past thought, speech and activity, vide: The Anupeksā Sā Sloka by Swami Kārttikeya says :—

1. Deho milido vi Jivo Savva Kammāṇa kurude.

The soul in combination with body is the doer of all actions, vide :

2. (a) Vide Tattvartha Sūtra-VIII-2..

Sakṣātwa JJivahkārmaṇo yogyān pudgalānādatte Sa vandhaḥ.

Being associated with passion (Kasāya) the soul takes in matter adaptable for karma and this is bondage (Vandha). The causes of bondage are mithyādarśana (false perception or false faith), Avirati (non-abstention or not refraining from doing what is prohibited by the five vows—Pañca Mahāvratā, Pramād (irreverence towards knowledge and the sources of it), Kaṣāya (passions), yoga (the three kinds of activity, by body, mind or speech)—

3. (b) Mithyādarśanāvirati Pramāda Kaṣā yoga Vandha Hetavaḥ (T. S. VIII-2)

Penetration by matter is due to activity (yoga) and activity arises from mind, body or speech; bondage of the soul is due to thought activity and that thought is accompanied by desire, passion, inflammation and infatuation. Anger, pride, infatuation, greed, maya, and lobha are passions called Kaṣāyas. (stick to substance, because the presence of these in the soul makes matter, particles stick to it).

(Vide. Pañcāstikāya 1:148)—Jogaṇimittam gahaṇam Jogo
maṇavayaṇa kāya Saṃbhūdo.
Bhāvaṇimittō Vandho bhāvo radirāga-
dosa moha judo-II

. Ignorance is the cause of passions. Our ignorance about the real nature of our soul and other things leads us to anger, vanity, infatuation and greed. Knowledge alone can remove ignorance. The Jainas therefore stress the necessity of right knowledge (Samyag Jñāna) or the knowledge of reality which can be attained only from the teachings of the omniscient Tirthakaras who have already attained liberation, who are fit to lead the man-kind towards the path of salvation. Therefore, faith in their teachings is necessary. This right sort of faith based on general preliminary acquaintance is called Samyag darsana which leads to the way for right knowledge Samyag Jñāna and is therefore regarded as indispensable. More theoretical knowledge is not enough. It is useless unless it is put into practice. We must practise these great principles in our own life (chantra). Conduct is equally essential. Right conduct (Samyak chāritra) is the essential condition for the attainment of liberation. In right conduct, a man has to control his passions, his senses, his thought, speech and action in the light of right knowledge. This enables him to stop the influx of new karma and eradicate old karmas eliminating the matter which ties the soul into bondage. Uma swamin says—Samyag darsana Jñāna cāritrāṇi mokṣamārgāḥ—T. S.1:1. Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct . . . these three together constitute the path of liberation. Liberation is the joint effect of these three jewels (Triratna). Right faith—Uma Swami defines right faith as the respecting attitude (raddhā) towards truth, vide Gita : raddhā Vanllabhate Jñānam. Right faith is conceived not as blind faith, but rational and judicious faith in the right type of teacher and teachings. The Jainas, therefore, insist that right faith can be attained only if 3 kinds of superstitious beliefs are given up. These are—the belief the common people (Loka mudā) that bathe in certain rivers, going round certain trees, etc., purify a man; (2) the belief in gods (devamudā) and worshipping them for getting rid of diseases, and lastly the belief in imposters (Pasaṇḍi mudā) and accepting them as religious teachers.

With spiritual progress man comes to realise that the right faith, knowledge and conduct are but the intrinsic attributes of man's pure nature. When the self is able to realise its own intrinsic purity and perfection it becomes Paramātman the supreme spiritual being which is the goal of religious life. The Jainas do not believe in ever perfect being like the God of other religions. Soul is the central idea of Jaina philosophy. All religions prescribe the causes of misery and means of acquiring eternal bliss. But in Jainism every soul—is the cause of its own happiness or misery. Every man is the builder of his own life. Every soul can attain godhead when it is perfect by observing the five great vows (Pañca-Mahāvratāni)—.

For the perfection of right conduct the Jainism prescribes five tenets of right conduct: Non-violence (Ahimsā), Truthfulness (Satyam), non-stealing (Asteyam), abstention from sensuality (Brahmacharya) and from greed (a-parigraha).

(i) AHIMSA—(Non-Violence)

The practice of Ahimsa is based on love and kindness to all living beings. We should avoid violence (or causing injury to other beings) actually through bodily activity, through speech and through mind. Mere thought of injury is as sinful as actual act of injury. Says Viveka Vilāsa:

Na yat Pramādayogena Jīvitavyapareṣaṇam.

Trasū ṇām Sthāvarāṇāṃca Tadahimsāvratam matam.

Life exists not simply in the moving bodies (Trasas) but also in non-moving ones (Sthāvaras) such as plants, etc. The Jaina ideal teaches us to avoid molesting life not only of the moving creatures, but also of the non-moving ones. Lest one life be destroyed, some Jainas sweep the ground as they go, walk veiled for fear of inhaling a living organism, strain water and even reject honey. Since Ahimsa in true sense cannot be practised by an ordinary layman, therefore, they are advised to begin with the partial observance of Ahimsa by abstaining from injury to moving beings, which are endowed with at least two senses. For similar thought we refer Mahābhārata. In the 262 nd Chapter of the Mahābhārata Jājali asks to Tulādhāra which is the best dharma—to which Tulādhāra replies that to do good to all and to make friendship with all are the most eternal, ancient and secret Dharma, Vide the Mahābhārata—

Vedāham Jājale dharmam Sarahasyam Sanātanam.

Sarvabhūtahitam maitram purāṇam yam Janāḥ Viduḥ.

In the same chapter Tulādhāra says that there is no dharma superior to Ahimsā. A person from whom not a single being gets pain (injury) acquires fearlessness from all beings.

Na bhūtānāmahimsāyā Jyān dharmosti Kascana yasmādnodvijate bhatam jātes Kūncit Kathaṃcanoc Sobhayam Sarvabhūtebhyaḥ Samprāpnoti Mahāmune.

The Jaina moralists also insist on avoiding injury through indirect methods. Thus, 3 forms of activity (krta, kārita and anumata)—(i) directly doing the act of violence, (ii) indirectly causing it to be done through another agent, and (iii) permitting evil conduct in others, should be avoided, for the strict observance of the principle of AHIMSA.

The Jaina attitude of Ahimsa is the logical consequence of their Metaphysical theory of the potential equality of all souls and recognition of the principle of reciprocity i. e. the idea “Do to others as you would like them to do to you”.

(2) The vow of Satya—Abstinence from falsehood

This vow is also observed very rigorously. Truthfulness is conceived by the Jainas as speaking not only true, but also pleasant and wholesome. Priyam pathyam Vacastathoam Sunrtavramucyate. If by speaking truth one may cause the loss of life in another individual (man or animal) such true speaking may be condemned. Therefore, the principle of Satya should be observed only if it is in full conformity and consistency with the principle of ASHIMSA.

The five bhābanās of vows of Satya are:

Hasya Lobha Bhaya Krodha pratyakhyānah rirantaram

Ālocya bhāṣaṇamapi bhāvayet Sunṛtam Vratam,

Giving up all kinds of Hasa (Laughter), Lobha (greed), Bhaya (fear) and Krodha (anger), one should speak truth with much judicious way.

(3) Asteya—Abstinence from Stealing

Viveka Vilāsa says :—

Anādānamadatta Syā Styā Vratamudritam

Bahyāti Prāṇa nāmattho hāratātta batāhita

Asteya is not to take (accept) any object which is not given. Artha (money or wealth) is regarded as Vāya prāṇa (external life) of human being. Stealing the wealth which is not given is regarded as commitment of sin. But when this attitude is given up it is treated as Mahavrata. The sanctity of the property of others, like that of their lives, is recognised by the Jainas (The sanctity of property is a logical sequence of the sanctity of life). Depriving a man of his wealth is virtually to deprive him of an essential condition on which his life depends. Therefore this (Asteya) vow is also logically inseparable from the vow of Ahimsa. The vow of non-stealing includes many other things. Acquiring property and wealth by unjust means or through immoral methods will also come under the violation of this principle. If a seller cheats consumer by using wrong measures and weights or if the consumer cheats an innocent seller in same way, they violate the vow of Asteya.

(4) The vow of Brahmacharya

The vow of Brahmacharya is to observe celibacy. It consists chiefly in abstaining from sexual indulgence. But Jaina moralists interpret Brahmacharya as desisting from all kinds of sensuous gratifications. The vow tells us to give up desire (kama) of every form—external, and internal, subtle and gross, mundane and extramundane, direct and indirect. Though out-wardly indulgence may stop it may continue in subtle form in speech, in thought, in the home of enjoyment hereafter in heaven, even in making or permitting others to indulge themselves.

Vivekavitāsa says:

Divyadarika kāmānam kṛtṛnumati karītaish

Manovāk kaya to styāgo Vrahma Charya stadasodha mation

Therefore Brahmacharya must be observed his mind, speech and deed. By shunning of 18 kinds of Maithuras Brahmacharya must follow 5 bhābanās. To Shun the place where the women eunuchs or the self-indulgent persons live. 2. to give up all of love conversation with the females. 3. to give up all sorts of money of love behaviours with the females performed before the time of initiation. 4. to give up the sight of females and her body or toilets. 5. to give up food of palatable nature—or not to take huge amount of food out of covetousness.

(5) Aparigraha

Literally it means not to take or to possess or giving up all kinds of attachments for the objects of 5 senses—pleasant sound, touch, colour, taste and smell. Attachment to the worldly objects means bondage to the world and this bondage forcibly causes rebirth. Liberation is impossible without the withdrawal of attachment from worldly objects. The 5 Bhāvanās of this vow are Vide V. V.

Spars'e rase ca gandhe ca rūpe 'avde ca hārine
Paricasu hindriyārtheṣu gaḍham gārdhāsyā Varjanam
Eteṣvevāmanojñeṣu Sarvatbā dveṣa Varjanam
Ākiricāna Vratasyeram bbāvanā pañca kīrtitāḥ

Anger, conceit, deceit, avarice, tie us down to the hell and their opposite i.e. patience, hermitly, simplicity and contentment further the progress of the spiritual development. Therefore Kṣānti (forgiveness), Marddava (softness), Ārjava (simplicity), Mukti (Liberation), Tapah (austerity), Samyama (control of passion), Satya (truthfulness), Sāuca (purity body and mind), Akincana (not taking) are and brahmacharya. The rules to be observed by an ascetic in strict manner.

Cf.—Kṣāntiṃ maddavajjāva mutti tava Sanjama Ya Vodhavaḥ
Saccam S'iyam. Ākiñcanaṃ ca Vrāmacayyam idhammo

The pragmatism of Jainism consists in prescribing separate rules of conduct for a layman and an ascetic, Jainism does not want its followers to renounce the world all at once. Leading laymans life and following the principles of Jainism, one can gradually pave the way for liberation. In the case Brahmacharya a householder should lead a sincere monogamous life (Ekadāra Vrata). He should not have any kind of sexual relation except with his own wife. But for a monk implies that through thought, word and deed he should observe absolute abstinence from sex life. Similarly in the case of an ascetic this principle should be observed unconditionally and absolutely by the ascetics. The ascetic gives up all family ties and attachment and concentrates his thought upon his own self and performs yoga. His body becomes an instrument for spiritual progress. For an ascetic the whole world become his family and all living creatures men and animals claim over his affection. In sanskrit verse the same idea is revealed. Udāra caritānāntu Vasudhaiva Kuṭumbakam.

In Patanjala yoga darshana the yoga is divided into eight steps. The first is Yama—Ahimsā satyā steya Vrabmacharyapānigrāhāḥ yamāḥ. Non-killing, truthfulness, non-staling, continence and non-receiving of any gifts are called yama (Patanjala Yoga Darshana II. 30). The practices are to be persisted by every man and women and child, by every soul, irrespective of nation, country or position.

So says the Pātanjala Yogadar'ana:—

Ete jāti de 'akāla Samayāva cchinnaḥ Sārvabhaumāḥ Mahavratam (Yoga Dar'anam II. 31).
These unbroken by time, place purpose and caste rules, are (universal) great vows.

Similarly Jaina ethical code does not prescribe duties according to caste. All men are equal in birth and every one is entitled to be either a householder or an ascetic according to the capacity and taste. Every one is entitled to attain liberation by practising 5 vows.

The Jaina conception of Ahimsa, Satya and Asteya need special attention here. By respecting all living and non-living beings by observing non-violence with fullest degree a man fully realises the universal love. The firm basis of universal love is live and let live—which is the quint essence of Jainism. To a Jaina the whole world becomes his family. In the words

of S. T. Coleridge. He prayeth well, who loveth well both man and bird and beast. He prayeth best who loveth best. All things both great and small. Mahatma Gandhi in this 20th century adopted Ahimsa and satya as spiritual force to struggle sincerely against political opponents who were equipped with ordinary weapons of destructions and suppression. He has proved in his experiments of truth and non-violence that spiritual strength is more powerful than fire and sword. In this modern world we are facing international conflicts, global wars, threats of nuclear tests. Violence still prevails among the nations and even in U. N. O. the political groups are making intrigues for making dominations in the world. We need for giving up military approach to the settlement of international disputes. We want the goal of humanity as a family of nations, co-operating with each other in peace, freedom and understanding by establishing universal brotherhood. Let us hope that the Jaina spirit of Ahimsa will ultimately prevail and convert the world of warring classes and nations into a world of peace and harmony where all can live in happiness without distinction of race, religion, creed and nationality.

The observation of vow of non-possession has great importance in human life in this age also. In the 20th century we have observed 2 great world wars occurred chiefly on account of economic maladjustments and tendency of the military groups to acquire domination or power. The Jaina thinkers might have foreseen such kind of economic trouble in society which will be an out come of excessive greed. Therefore, they had prescribed limited possession (Parimita Parigraha) as an essential principle to be observed by all householders. If each householder in now-a-days voluntarily limits his possessions to a certain extent and offers whatever accrues beyond that, then no conflict between the rich and the poor, capitalists and communists will arise.

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“CONTRIBUTION OF BUDDHIST SCHOLARS TO SANSKRIT POETICS”

BRAHMA MITRA AWASTHI

The contribution of Buddhist Scholars to Sanskrit literature particularly to the philosophical literature is unforgettable. If a critical estimate is made of the contribution of Buddhist Scholars to the various branches of learning, it will have to be conceded without any hitch that the Buddhist scholars by their works made other scholars to think about their contentions. In the Vedānta tradition the influence of the Sunyavāda of the Buddhist on the Mayavāda to Sankarācārya has been accepted on all hands and it is due to this influence that Sankara is often remembered as a Buddhist in disguise. In the evolution of the Nyāya Sāstra, Buddhist Scholars were instrumental in bringing about a wholesale revolution by turning this sāstra which has started as a discipline for investigating into the nature of the objects to be organised into a sāstra concerned mainly with the means of right cognition and not only this much, but due to the confrontations in debates with Buddhist Scholars the very style of this Sāstra involved into what is popularly known as the Navya Nyāya style. This new style which obviously was a contribution of Buddhist Scholars, was later on adopted by all the other disciplines seeing the refutation of Buddhist theories in the Sūtras of the Sāṅkhya Darśana, one is led to conclude that the present Sāṅkhya Sūtras were remodelled as a result of hot debates with Buddhist Scholars and consequently the original Sūtras has to fall into oblivion. After constituting a close comparison of the Yoga Sūtras with the Visuddhimagga, the influence of Buddhist Scholars on the Yoga-Sūtras becomes indisputably established. The philosophical literature of the Buddhists is of a very high order and merits a dignified place in comparison to the other philosophical schools of the world.

The contribution of Buddhist Scholars to Sanskrit Poetics has more often than not remained unnoticed. One or two historians of Sanskrit Poetics have contented themselves by merely proving Bhamaha to be a Buddhist. Recently two years ago Dr. Mulchand Shastri, Lecturer, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha presented valuable work on this topic in his unpublished thesis.

Amongst the Buddhist scholars Ācārya Dharmakīrti, Medhavi, Rama Sarma, Bhamaha, Silameghasena, Saṅgharakkhita, Saudhodani and Ratnasriṇana occupy a prominent place in the galaxy of the scholars of Poetics. Brief notice of their works is presented here in the following lines.

Ācārya Dharmakīrti

Ācārya Dharma kīrti is a renowned Buddhist scholar. Though he is not often spoken of as a Scholar of Poetics, but Anandavardhana while quoting the sloka *Lāṅyām drabina vyayona ganita*, etc., and examining the literary merits of this sloka, ascribes its authorship to Dharmakīrti. Besides, he has also mentioned that the ‘————’ alankāra is accepted in this verse. Ācārya Dharma kīrti was a Buddhist Bhikkhu and a devout Bhikkhu cannot indulge

in an appreciative description of a dānśel until such an appreciation becomes indispensable and such a need can only arise in the context of poetics. In some collections of choice verses (Subhasita Samgrahas) many more such verses are ascribed to Acharya Dharmakirti which circumstance leads us to the conclusion that Acharya Dharmakirti was a scholar of Poetics of great repute.

Medhavin

Medhavi is referred to as an Acharya of Poetics by Bhamaha in his 'Kavyalamkara' and also by Namisadhu in his gloss 'Laghuvrtti' on the 'Kavyalankara' of Rudrata. Bhamaha has referred to Medhavi at two places Ityete upamādosāḥ Saptamedhābinodirāḥ (2.40) and Ebam samkhyānamiti medhābinoprekshā Abhihitāḥ Kubaichita, where he is expressly said to be an Acharya of Poetics. Nami adhu, while dealing with the 'upamādosha', has also quoted the examples cited by Medhavi. Though Medhavi is not very widely known in the Buddhist philosophical tradition but he is not altogether unknown in that tradition.

Rama Sharma

Rama Sharma finds mention in the Kavyalamkara of Bhamaha and the Subodhalamkara of Samgharakkhita. Bhamaha while dealing with the Yamakalamkara has mentioned that according to Rama Sharma a type Prahelika is based on Yamaka—'Yamaka vyopadesino prohelikā Sā Samuditā Rāmasharmā, (2.19) and Samgharakkhita has alluded to Rama Sarma in the following words—'Ram'.

(1.1) This is the only information that we could gather about Rama Sarma. But seeing that the Buddhist Scholar Saingharakkhita has alluded to only Rama Sarma, we can safely infer that Rama Sarma was a Buddhist and that he occupied a prominent place among Buddhist Scholars.

Bhamaha

Bhamaha is a well-known Acharya of Poetics. Whether he was a Buddhist or not has been a much debated question. Seeing the reputation of Apohavada in the work of Bhamaha, Dr. Devendra Nath Sarma and others take him to be a non-Buddhist Scholar but this contention does not seem to be logical. Bhamaha seems to have refuted Apohavada because he was an original thinker and not because he was a non-Buddhist. The name of Bhamaha's father was 'Rekril Gomin'. This name has Gomēna which also occurs in the name of the famous Buddhist Grammarian Chandragomewa and Rekrila in the name is a synonym of Rahul which together with someta, etc., often occur in Buddhist names. The renowned historian Narasimha Aṅgar also considers Bhamaha as a Buddhist. Bhamaha in his mangalā charaṇa has made obsecution to sarbjyana which is a well-known name of the Buddha. This may not have been possible if Bhamaha was not a Buddhist. Therefore, Bhamaha should undoubtedly be taken as a Buddhist. It is also to be remembered that in the Kavyalamkara of Bhamaha figures of speeches like Prahelika, etc., and Gunas like Slesa, Samata and Saukumarya, which were profusely used by Brahmin poets depending on ruling princes to please their masters, have not been dealt with, while figures or speeches which occur in a natural flow of poetry and gunas like oja, Prasada and Madhurya which adorn poetical compositions meant for religious instruction and edification of the masses are treated elaborately. It is only the Buddhist poets who have resorted to poetical compositions for the sake of religious instructions.

Silameghasena

Silameghasena was the ruler of Simhala (Ceylon) at Anuradhapur in the first decades of the seventh century (619—637) A. D. He had composed his 'Siyavala lakura' (=Svabhavalamkara) at the request of his preceptor Amapya Kasyapa, who was the Pontif of the Amara Giri Vihara. This treatise contains four hundred Karikas, three-fourth of which are a translation of the

Kavyadars' of Dandire. But at many places of the princely scholar has also put forth his own theories, though such occasions in the treatise are only a few. It is also from his treatise that we know of the treatise of Acharya Kalyana Pinga on Rhetorics.

Three Karikas of this 'Siyava lakura' are of great importance for the chronology of Sanskrit Poetics. Acharya Ananda Vardhana (9th cent) is generally held to be the originator of the Dhvani school. But Silameghasena in the beginning of the Seventh century has very clearly referred to the suggested meaning in the following Karika of his treatise—

“Vāchya pratiyamānau drabau sabdasyārthe vyavasthitau
Sākshāta pratiṭo vāchyārthah pasaschārtha prateettah”

Besides at the very beginning of his treatise while translating the following Karika of Kavyadarsa - we notice the *ihashistā nusistā nam shistanā mapi savarthā*

Vāchameba prasādena lokayātrā pravartate

(Kavyadarsa 1.3)

Silameghasena by substituting the word 'sista' has compelled us to take sista in the sense of Avidheyārtha and Anisista in the sense of 'prateyaya nīnārthi'. It is granted then we will have to push back the origin of the Dhvani School at least to the fifth cent. A. D. Thus, the 'Siyava lakura' at Silameghasena is of great importance in fixing and correcting the chronology of Poet and the theories of Poetics.

Samgharakkhita

Acharya Samgharakkuitta was a great Buddhist Scholar in the thirteenth century A. D. He was held in high esteem both in India and Ceylon equally. We have it from the chronicles of Ceylon that Parakramavahu second had appointed him to resolve certain irregularities in the Udumbaragiri Vihara. This august office must have been entrusted to him to his eminence.

Many works are ascribed to Samgharakkhita in the Pali literature. Here two of them, viz., 'Vuttodaya' a treatise on Prhetoes and 'Subodhalamkara' on 'Poetics' merit deserve special mention. These are the only available works in Pali on these topics. The Subodhalamkara according to Dr. Heramba Nath Chatterjee must be a brief translation of Dandin's Kavyadarsa. But as Dandin and Bhamaha follow two mutually opposed schools, subodhalamkara is more likely to have followed Samgharakkhita whom we have seen above was a Buddhist (for elaborate discussion, see my introduction to Buddha Alankara sastram edited by myself). Rama Sarma is referred to in this treatise at the very beginning which we have already pointed out above. Subodhalamkara treats Characteristics of the Kavya and its Dosa, Guna, Alankara and Rasa with their examples as in Kavyadarsa by Dandi but they (examples) in other way, describe high devotion to lord Buddha.

Sauddhodani—The word Sauddhodani itself means Buddha but though we have more information about his time, genealogy and works on poetics yet the work named 'Alankara Sutra' or 'Alankara Karika' ascribed to him has been commented by Kesava Misra in his Alankara Sekhara'.

Ratnasrijnana—His commentary on Kavyadarsa is named 'Kavyalakshana Ratnasri' which clearly deals with the origin and divisions of Alankara. This work has been published by the Mithila Institute, Mithila since long.

This is a birds-eye-view on the Buddhist scholars and their contribution to the Sanskrit poetics of India. We are in dark about the works of Buddhist scholars before Bhamaha, which after deep research on Kavya Sastra or Buddhist literature, will come to light for information of scholars in future.

THE NON-ABSOLUTISTIC ATTITUDES AND THEIR RELEVANCE IN JAINISM & BUDDHISM

Ramjee Singh

The Śramanic culture in India, representing the two thoughts of Jainism and Buddhism, is characteristically non-absolutistic in thought and non-violent in behaviour. The Brahmanical culture, perhaps being older, more priest-ridden and scripture-centered, developed formalism, rigidity and authoritarianism. The official philosophy of Brahmanism was influenced by the Upanisadic-vedantic absolutism on the one hand and formalistic ritualism of the Mimamsakars in the other.

Both Jainism and Buddhism rose mainly as a reaction against the excesses of Vedic authority sacerdotalism orthodoxy and last but not the least against cruelty in animal sacrifice. It is both a shock and surprise that the Brahmanism which professed about the unity of beings and high ideals of non-dualism (advaita), treating every being as one's own self (ātmanavā sarva bhūtesu) and the whole world like one's family members (Vasudhaiva kutumbakam), would stoop so low as to justify animal sacrifice or in other words a licence to practice cruelty ('aidiki himsa himsa na bhavaṭi or Yajñarthātan paśvāḥ śṛṣṭah), towards animals in the name of vedas and vedic religion. There was equal perversion in the social organization having numerous caste distinctions, as if the one Absolute want to become many (Eko aham babusyami). It seems that the non-dualism was only on philosophical level. On the practical level, there was diversity. Hence, the need of the time was to usher an ethical religion like Buddhism and Jainism. The key-note of our ethical life is our good behaviour with others. This is known as love which is negatively termed as Ahimsā or non-violence and positively as karuṇa (compassion) and maitrī (love).

To achieve this ideal of Ahimsa in our life and behaviour, the Jainas have developed the doctrine of manifoldness of truth (anekāntavāda) and relativity of good judgement (Syādvāda). There can be no non-violence in action unless it is grounded in our thought. The first stage of our voluntary action is the mental stage. This means that thought precedes action. If we are mentally committed to any particular outlook, it is bound to be reflected in our rigid behaviour towards it. This leads to intellectual fanaticism. To think that we alone are right and the rest are in the clutches of the devil is imperialism in thought.

Objectively, the reality is a great complexity on the one hand and there is cognitive limitation on the other. Hence only an omniscient being can claim to know the entire reality. One thing is related to the entire universe and to know one thing completely, one has to know the entire universe which is an impossible task. It means that we are so constituted that we cannot know everything. What we know is only an aspect of the whole. Hence, the Jaina logic of Anekānta is based not on abstract intellectualism but on experience and realism. This leads to a non-absolutistic attitude of mind, which gives them the advantage of liberal outlook. When we admit our cognitive limitations before the vast complexity of the world we can be sure of only one aspect of truth but this does not imply that the other aspect is wrong. Thus the doctrine of manifoldness of truth is the only intellectual solution

which can save us from the falling of exclusive predication and intellectual fanaticism. What is presented before us is only a relative truth. It is truth that the great passion for knowledge and truth of the Jains have inspired them not remains contented with the relative truth. Therefore, they have discovered an apparatus of omniscience called Kavala Jnana. But this is a para-normal experience, outside the scope of normal psychology. To avail this, one may ask if we combine the results of the sevenfold aspects (nayas) as described in Syādvāda, cannot we get at the absolute truth? Is not this absolute truth a sum of relative truth? The answer is in the negative. Firstly, the various items of Knowledge arrival at through the alternative nayas do not and cannot take place simultaneously but in succession. Secondly, to treat syadavada or absolute is to violate its very fundamental character of non-absolutism which is clearly reflected in the famous statement of Samanta-bhadra; "Even non-absolutism (anekānta) is non-absolutistic in respect of pramāna and naya".

Thus non-absolutism is the typical Jaina attitude in the quest after truth. It is not only metaphysical but also epistemological as well as verbal. There is no absolute reality so there is no absolute truth. This non-absolutistic tendency in Jainism is also reflected in their style speech, when we speak, we do speak in a particular universe of discourse. Hence all our Statements can be only conditional. It is why every statement of Lord Mahavira is prefixed with a syāt (somehow), which means that a statement is true or false from a particular point of view. These are seven different kinds of predications which we can make with regard to any particular relation between the subject and the predicate.

Thus Anekānta is an extension of Ahimsā in the intellectual field and so syadavada is the grammar and language of non-absolutism. Our mental attitude is reflected in our language-behaviour. It avoids all possible violence of language without lapsing itself into scepticism or self-contradiction. From a particular point of view, a particular statement is correct but incorrect from another standpoint.

It is often argued that relativism is a self-destructive theory because unless something as absolute is accepted, we cannot accept either the relative nature of reality or that of knowledge. The statement that all knowledge is relative is in a sense self contradictory because in itself should not be considered to be relative, otherwise it will undermine the very basis of relativism. If non-absolutism is absolute, it is not universal, since there is one real which is absolute, it is not an absolute and universal fact. Tossed between the two horns of the dilemma, non-absolutism simply evaporates. The non-absolute, is in fact, constituted of the absolute as its elements and as such would not be possible if there were no absolutes. Samantabhadra therefore, says that non-absolutism is not absolute unconditionally. To avoid the fallacy of infinite regress, the Jainas distinguish between valid non-absolutism (samyak-anekānta) and invalid non-absolutism (mithya-anekānta). Like an invalid absolute judgement, an invalid non-absolute judgement too is invalid. Therefore, to be valid, anekanta must not be absolute but relative. Anekanta is thus opposed to ekānta a one-sided exposition irrespective of other view points. To treat Syadvada as absolute is to violate its very fundamental character of non-absolutism. Hence even Anekānta is said to be anekānta. This makes quite clear the distinction between the real and the false non-absolutism.

As regards Buddhism we have non-absolutism in a different way. The typical attitude of Buddhism of looking at things of the universe is called vibhagya-vāda. The intention of Buddha was to avoid extremes like eternalism (śaśvatavāda) and nihilism (ucchedavada) in metaphysics or asceticism and unbridled licence in the field of morality. He followed the middle path (madhyam pratipada), which is quite safe doctrine as the vedas also declare—"madhyam abhayam" the doctrine of middle path is also illustrated in Buddha's conception of Eightfold path

(astangika marga) beginning with samyakdrsti" or right views. The word samyaka prefixed in all the eight paths also means : "which stands between the two extremes". Hence right view or Samyaka drsti is not one sided view point or ekānta as the Jainas would say. Thus the doctrine of middle path. All this only implies that excess of everything is bad. Excess is the one Sin of sins, and moderation, following of the middle course, the one virtue of virtues. The way that Buddha taught is known as Majjhima pati-pada or the middle path. One of the schools of Philosophy that arose later among the followers of Buddha, is known as Mādhyamika or the Middle Path School. A treatise entitled "the Doctrine of the Mean" is attributed to the grand son of confusions in China. The sanskrit proverb says ; follow the middle course, avoid extremes" (āshrayan madhyamām vrttim, ati sarvatra varjayet). It is therefore that the Gita says—"He who avoids extremes in feed and fast, in sleep and waking, and in work and play ; he winneth yoga, balance, peace and joy". The wise man ever studiously avoids extremes in spech and ect, and when others press to extraness in heated speach, he passes by, in quite, answering not—this is what Manu Smritis says. Lao-tze also exhorts against excess and prescribes moderation which is lasting and enduring. Too much is always a course. So says Confuscus : "Commit no excess". The hadis of the Muslims think that the golden mean is good and safe. If man oversteps the limits of moderation, he polutes his body and mind. A Latin proverb says : "medio veritas" or Truth is in the middle. Every question has two inevitable sides. Wisdom consists in reconciling the two. The great Ācharya of the Mādhyamika School says that the reality is beyond the four-fold catyatism. This is again non-absolutic spirit of thinking. Thus Buddha's doctrine of Majjhema Patipada is similar to the Jaina doctrine of non-extremism called Anekāntavada. Plato calls it as harmonium action and Aristotle called it as the 'Golden mean'.

Whether it is Anekantavada of the Jainas or the Majjhima patipadā of the Buddhists, the fundamental conception is to uphold that every question has more than one sides. One sidedness or extremism is generally the result of deep prejudice against the other side, hence it is more likely to be erroneous. Truth is the first casualty when we take an extreist non-absolutistic position. It is like committing mental violence, which reflects in our words and deeds. Ideas move the word and do influence our action. Hence the ideological foundation of non-violence must be found Out in human psychology. As the defences of war are built in the minds of men so also the defences of peace will be built in our mind. Violence in thought and non-violence in action cannot go together. Hence the Jains have built an intellectual edifice for the support of non-violence. So does the Buddhists through their doctrine of the middle way harmonious action. Imperialism in thought cannot be yield compassion (Karuna) and love (Maitri). Both the Jainas and Buddhists have got broadly non-absolutistic spirit, which lends them catholic out work and liberalism an action. Like non-absolutism in thought, the Jainas have perfected its language by making all salivants conditional called Syadabada. In Buddhism, however, there is no such technical device for maintaining linguistic non-absolutism. But there is a stress upon Right Speech (Samyak vācchā). Where one has to avoid lying (mrsā vachana), harsh words (Parusa vachana), slander (Vyang vachana) and frivolous talk (sampratapa). If we have no mental ill will or vestivations, prejudice and bias, there cannot comes out of our mouth lie, slander and unkind words.

The non-absolutistic attitude has got a great relevant relivance for modern times. This is an age of tension. When one does not agree with my views, he is called a straitor or a fasist and so on. But we should not forget that our views are bound to differ as they are guided by own circumstances, mental condition, prejudices, etc. Human beings are not automatic machines. They have great capacity to change. Hence, we should allow sufficient margin for individual

differences and should try to adjust accordingly. Let there be ideological divisions but if we can learn the alphabet of love, we shall learn to cultivate the art of living in peace. Ella W. Wilbur says it more beautifully: "So many castes, so many creeds, so many paths that wind and wind when just the art of being kind is all the sad world needs". We here that once upon a time six blind men were deputed in describing an elephant which was easily settled when a man of vision came and explained. What it was a compound of all their opinions "and not a mechanical but a living composite. Each of us views one fact of the universe, each one of the religions emphasises one aspect of the spirit, hence it is useless to fight with ourselves. The atomic era has also a message for us. There are only two alternatives—Atom or Ahimsā. Those who believed in the doctrine of inevitability of war are advocating the doctrine of co-existence, which is nothing but "non-absolutism in politics". Even as H. G. Wells and other pluralists say that "Separate sovereignty has become impossible". The social goal is a classless society but the goal of a classless world is far more powerful than the bitterness of class-struggle.



A FURTHER NOTE ON THE COLOPHON OF JINASENA'S HARIVAMSA

H. A. Phadke

Jinasena's *Hasivamśa Purāṇa*, composed in A. D. 783 is of exceptional value for the dynastic history of India of the last quarter of the 8th century A. D. It provides chronological stand point based on proved synchronism which is so rare in the records of early Indian history. Jinasena gives a list of contemporary kings which ruled in different directions at the time of the composition of the said work. The colophon runs as follows¹:

Sākesvabde 'atesu saptasu di' am pancottareṣu tarm
Pātinarāyudha nāmnī kṛṣṇanṛpaje 'rivallabhedakṣiṇam,
Pūrvām Srīdavantī bhūbhṛtinṛpe vatsārddharāje Eparām
Soryā (ra) nāmadhi maṇḍale jayayute vīre varāhe Evani.

The poet, it seems, has enumerated the kings who ruled in four directions from Vardhamāna, the place of his residence and in the end mentioned the name of the king of the country where he wrote his book. Indrāyudha of the north may be identified with Indrāyudha—the king of Kanauj and Srīvallabha with Dhruva Dhāravarsha, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of the Deccan also known by the title of Srīvallabha. The ruler of the eastern direction was Avanti while Vatsarāja of the west was none else than the Pratihāra ruler of that name, the ruler of Gurjaratrā in Rājasthān. The Sauryas probably refer to the people of Saurāṣṭra and their king Varāha or Jayavarāha might have been a predecessor of the Chāpōṭaka prince Dharanivarāha who issued a charter from Vardhamāna in Saka 836 (A. D. 914)². Earlier interpreters took the sentence in the third line as ending after Vatsarāja and made him the king of Avanti in the purva (Eastern) direction. They connected aparam with Saurāṣṭra, ruled over by Jayavaraha. This interpretation is faulty as it involves tautology of the phrase bhūbhṛti and nṛpe. R. C. Majumdar has vainly tried to justify the tautology on the strength of the expression Gurjaresvarapati applied to Nāgabhaṭa II in the Bar. dā plates³ of Karkkarāja. But such faulty usages do not become the idiom of the day to be followed by every poet. The first sentence ends after bhūbhṛti and then follows the next. According to this interpretation, king Avanti ruled in the East and Vatsarāja in the West. This agrees with the evidence of another Jain work Kuvalayamala of Udyotanasūri composed in Saka 700 (A. D. 778) at Jāvālipura (modern Jalor) ruled by Ranahastin Vatsaraja.

The directions given by Jinasena, however, are not precise, for Kanauj the country of Indrāyudha was not exactly to the North but to the North-East. D. Sharma⁴ while citing a similar instance from Hemachandra's commentary on his own work Abhidhanachintamani finds nothing unusual about Jinasena's reference. Majumdar, Altekar and Bhandarkar, on the other hand, stick to the view that Ujjain was the original home of the Pratihāras⁵ and quote the following verse of the Sanjan plates in their support :

"Hirahyagarbham rājatyai
rujjayinyām yādāsitam,
Pratihārīkṛtam yena
Gurjareśādi rājakam".

It points, writes Majumdar, 'to a Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom in Ujjayani, for the word Pratihara apart from its usual meaning is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan.' Bhandarkar opined that 'this settles the point, in regard to the interpretation of the passage in Harivamśa in favour of Pathak, Peterson and Fleet'.

In the first place, the verse in question does not connect the kings who were made to act as *Pratiharas* with Ujjayinī which is mentioned only as the place where the Hiranyagarbha ceremony was performed. The passage in Dantidurga's Ellorā inscription⁶, which states that he captured a Gurjara palace at Ujjayinī, too need not offer much difficulty. The Gurjara king Nagābhata I might have been in occupation of the royal palace at Ujjayinī after he had repulsed the Arab incursion. But it seems that Ujjayinī did not remain in the Pratihāra possession, for there is no evidence of their rule there till the time of Vatsaraja. Moreover, the reference to the kings by name in the case of Indrāyudha, Srivallabha and Vatsaraja, in the aforesaid verse of Harivamśa raises a strong possibility of Avanti being the proper name of a king of the East. Hence, the view assigning West to Vatsaraja holds ground.

Although C. V. Vaidya⁷ was the first to suggest that the term Avanti in the aforesaid passage be taken as denoting the name of a ruler he could not establish his identity nor could the historians who hold the view that Vatsaraja was the ruler of Gurjaratrā in the west. We, however, suggest his identification with Avantivarman mentioned in the Ranod inscription⁸ of the Gwalior region. He is also referred to in the Bilhari stone inscription⁹ of Kalchuri Yuvarajadeva II. The first informs us 'that king Avanti (Avantivarman), who was desirous of having initiated in the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the Śaiva saint Purandara, himself went to Upendrapura, where he was practicing penance, and with great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request of going over to his country. The saint founded a monastery at Muttamayura and another at Ranipadra (modern Ranod) and left a line of illustrious successors.'¹⁰ The other inscription states 'that the Śaiva saint Mattamayuranāth communicated the supreme splendour to the king Avanti and removed the entire ink of sin from his heart.'¹¹ The last saint of this line Prabodhasiva is mentioned in the Chandrehe inscription¹² of A. D. 972. Seven generations before him Purandara or Mattamayuranātha flourished. Counting back from this date and taking 30 years average duration per generation (for saints and sages leading a regulated life have naturally a longer span) we may arrive at 762 A. D. the date when Mattamayuranātha lived. His contemporary Avantivarman may therefore safely be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A. D.

The aforesaid verse of Harivamśa probably refers to this king who might have captured Gwalior during the reign of the weak ruler Indrayudha of Kanauj. His contact with Purandara of West Malwa shows that this region was also to some extent under his influences.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations used

IA.—Indian Antiquary; EI—Epigraphia Indica; JIH—Journal of Indian History; JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; AR—Altekar Rastrakutas and their times; HK—Tripathi: History of Kanauj; JDL—Journal of the Department of Letters CII—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; ABORI—Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; ASWI—Archaeological Survey of Western India; IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly.

1. The passage was first discovered by K. Pathak (IA., XV, pp. 141-2) and was subsequently noticed by Petersen (Fourth report on Sanskrit Manuscripts-extracts. JBBRAS 1886. For different views, see Bom. Gaz. I. Bt. II, p. 197, note 2; EI., VI, p. 195; *ibid.*, XVIII pp. 238-9; AR., p. 39; HK., pp. 225-6; JDL., X, pp. 23-24; ABORI, p. 396; XVIII., XXIII p. 43; IHQ., VI. p. 55.

2. IA., XII, p. 193.
3. IA., XII, p. 163 ; Age of Imperial Kanauj. p. 22 It is to be noted that the term Gurjareśvarapati in this inscription is a compound and not two words like bhubhṭi and nrpe of the colophon of Jain Hariyamsa.
4. JIH., XXIII, pt. III, p. 43ff;
5. JDI., X, pp. 24-25; EI., XVIII, p. 239; AR., p. 39
6. ASWI. V, p. 92.
7. History of Mediaeval Hindu India, II.
8. EI. I, pp 351, 355, verses 11—13.
9. CII. IV, p. 213, 19.
10. EI., I, pp 351, 355, vv. 11—13.
10. E. S. I. pp. 351, 355, vv. 11—13.

Vandyah Ko pi cakasya cintya mahimā
 tulyam munibhasmita ,
 Rājannuttabha śabdapūrva sikharaḥbhyann
 mprakirna dyutih.
 Diksārtiti baco nisamya Sukṛto
 Carokṣ murvipati.
 Yasyeha nayanaya yatna makaro—
 tacchrima navantih pura ,,
 Gaṭva tapasyanta mupendra pūrve
 Pure tada Srimadavanti varmma .
 Bhṛṣam Saffiaradhya tamatmabbhūmim.
 Kathancidaniya
 Cakara pūjām.

11. C II., iv, p., 213, v. 49

Taṭṭva prakhava mahaniyatamasya tasya
 Sisyo bhavajjagati matta mayuran a thaḥ ,
 Nihsesa Kalma samasi mapahrtya yena
 Sakramita mparamato nrpaṭeravante ,,

12. ibid, pp 200—201 ; for a different view see Buddha Prakash,
 Aspects of Indian History and Civilisation, pp 113—115.

TO PRACTISE MEDITATION—WHY AND HOW ?

Sukomal Chaudhuri

Meditation is not only meant for those who are after spiritual uplift and those who have gone from home to homelessness in search of peace and emancipation. It is useful for all— young and old, householder and recluse of either sex, of any caste and creed. It is useful in our everyday life. It is very difficult to explain what one gains through regular practice of meditation, because it is a matter of self realisation. Interested person should come forward, practise meditation through proper method and procedure, and see what happens to him. Though a novice in the line, I can say it boldly that the practice of meditation does not go fruitless. It yields fruit immediately according to one's practice and it will go on yielding more and more fruits as one increases one's number of hours of daily practice.

Immediate Gains That Meditation Yields

As we are family men we have got multifarious duties and problems. So meditation is helpful as it gives us necessary strength to accomplish those duties and face any problem with peace and equanimity. "It gives us an art of living, living harmoniously with our own-selves and with all those with whom we come in contact in the social field. The gradual purification by this technique keeps on making the mind calm, clear and steady. It takes away the confusion and cloudiness, the tensions and turmoils, the wavering and doubts of the mind, as a result of which its capacity to work increases manifold. We start working more effectively and efficiently." So we should practise meditation regularly at least for two hours throughout day and night daily. It is helpful for the students too. If the students practise meditation they will be able to go on studying smoothly with an immediate result that they have understood and grasped their subject properly. They will at once feel that they have learnt the subject devoting lesser time than they did the same on previous occasions. Besides, meditation will gear them up to devote more and more time for their study with full energy and enthusiasm which they did not even think of before practising meditation. Thus meditation is helpfull for all human beings belonging to and profession as for example, businessmen, industrialists, labourers, office-workers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, technicians, architects, psychologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, scholars, writers, poets, social workers, government officials, singers, dancers, artists, directors, teachers of all categories, and the like. It is helpful for those who have renounced the world, as for example, monks, nuns, sanyasis, munis, rsis, anagārikās, anagarikas, paribrajakas, paribrajikās, and the like. It is helpful for men and women of all ages—the youngest being even below the age of 10 and the eldest even above the age of 80. "It is for all human beings for all times and all places. Because all human beings are victims of the same illness manifesting itself in different ways and forms. The remedy is, therefore, equally applicable to all the patients".

Key to success through Meditation—

Why meditation is so helpful for all ? It is because meditation calms down, appeases and controls our restless mind. All our actions : are manifested through

three doors, body door, vocal door and mind door. But mind door predominates over the other two doors of action i. e. all our actions are regulated and governed by mind. So, if mind remains calm and quiet without being disturbed by any sort of foreign element or elements, all our day-to-day works will be done perfectly and peacefully. This calmness or quietness of mind is popularly known as concentration of mind wherein lies the key to our success in all spheres of life. But how to concentrate this unruly, turbulent and restless mind ? The only answer is : through meditation.

What Is Meditation ?

Now, one may ask : What is this concentration of mind ? The brief answer is : It is nothing but one-pointedness of mind i. e. to devote one's mind fully to a particular object for some particular period. Concrete examples of the same are found here and there. Suppose a student has studied a subject for a particular period say for 6 months, one year, two years or three years. He sits for the examinations. Does he not answer the questions within just two, three or four hours only ? How is it possible ? It is possible through concentration of mind. At least for those hours he has fully devoted his mind only in answering those questions. A surgeon operates a patient. While operating he needs to devote his mind fully only in operation so long as the operation work does not come to an end. While in action a captain of a ship, a pilot of an aeroplane, a driver of a vehicle needs full attention and alertness in order to avoid accident. This attention or alertness is otherwise called concentration of mind. But how concentration of mind is possible in these cases without meditation ? No, without meditation this is not possible. Some sort of meditation is necessary in these cases too. What is that ? It is full devotion of mind towards the respective object. So meditation is nothing but full devotion of mind to a particular object at least for the time being.

Essential factors for meditation—

While meditating a meditator needs a suitable place, suitable time, suitable food and a Guru (guide). For meditation a secluded place is necessary — for any sort of sound and disturbance is adverse to meditation. One should select time either early in the morning, or in the evening or at midnight or at any time suitable to one. One should select food according to one's own taste. Of course vegetarian dishes are favourable to meditation. On the other hand the meditator should see that the food required for him are easily available. One Guru or guide is necessary who will instruct the beginner how to start and what to do. Not only at the beginning but even afterwards his help is essential. Because while in progress a good number of mental images are reflected in the screen of the meditator's mind by which the meditator sometimes becomes puzzled and perturbed. Then the Guru advises him in this way : "If such and such images are reflected in your mind you have to do this ; and if such and such images are reflected you have to do that, etc.". The Guru should be an expert hand no doubt and the meditator should have full confidence and faith on him and regard for him, otherwise the meditator will gain nothing.

Hindrances to meditation—

There are some major and minor hindrances to meditation. The major hindrances are as follows :

The first and foremost thing is that the meditator should vacate his mind from all sorts of anxieties at least for the period he will engage himself in meditation. He should entirely forget for that period that he belongs to this mundane world. Before sitting for meditation he should finish all necessary duties to be done.

The minor hindrances to meditation are as follows :—

The meditator should be cleanly shaved otherwise hairs and beards may cause itching which is disturbing to concentration. Nails of his fingers and toes are to be cut so that they do not look nasty. Dress and bed should be clean otherwise they may cause disturbance to mind. The room selected for meditation and the furniture therein should always be kept neat and clean. The room should be well-ventilated. To keep himself away from insects and mosquito the meditator may use a clean mosquito net when necessary.

If these and similar hindrances are overcome it becomes easier for a meditator to concentrate his mind.

What The Meditator Needs First

Before starting meditation one is expected to follow at least the following five precepts :—

- (1) Abstain from killing any sentient being
- (2) Abstain from stealing
- (3) Abstain from any sexual misconduct
- (4) Abstain from lying
- (5) Abstain from taking intoxicants.

Subjects of Meditation for the Concentration of Mind

Subjects of meditation for the concentration of mind are various in number. In Buddhist principles there are 40 such subjects as follows :—

- (i) 10 Devices of Kasina-exercise; earth (i. e. soil), water, fire, air, blue, yellow, red, white, light and enclosed space. For the concentration of mind the meditator can take any one of the devices. Say, he will take the earth device. What he will have to do ? In a secluded place he will prepare a circle of light-brown clay of considerable size and height so that he, sitting cross-legged and keeping his body erect, can see its entire form without any trouble. Then he will sit four feet away from the circle and gaze at the same intently. He should not devote his mind towards the colour and shape of the circle, but to the only thinking that 'this is but earth; this is but earth; this is but earth, nothing else. He will dwell upon the same thinking intently sometimes keeping his eyes open and sometimes keeping his eyes closed, until and unless he will see the full disc vividly even closing his eyes. This is called mental image, and that arises when the mind reaches a certain degree of concentration. When the mind reaches at a greater degree of concentration the mental image appears to be more clear and immovable. If the meditator still goes on in the concentration of the subject he will finally reach a state of mind where all sense-activity is suspended, where there is no more seeing and hearing, no more perception of bodily impression and feeling. This is called the state of the 1st Dhyana. This state of mind can be achieved even taking any of the nine other devices mentioned above in the like manner.
- (ii) 10 loathsome subjects or Asubha-exercises : swollen corpse, blueish corpse, festering corpse, fissured corpse, gnawed corpse, scattered corpse, hacked and scattered corpse, bloody corpse, worm-eaten corpse and skeleton.
- (iii) Recollections or anusmritis : of the Buddha (Buddhānusmriti), of the Dharma (dharmañanusmriti), of the Saṃgha (Saṃghānusmriti), of morality (Sīlānusmriti), of liberality (Tṛāgānusmriti) of the Heavenly beings (Devatānusmriti), of death (Marāñanusmriti), of the body (Kāyagatānusmriti), of respiration (Anāpānasmriti) and of peace (Upasamānusmriti).

- (iv) 4 Sublime Ābodes or Brahmaviharas : loving-kindness (Mettā), compassion (Karunā), altruistic joy (Muditā) and equanimity (Upeksā).
- (v) 4 Immaterial spheres or Arupayatana : of unbounded space (Ākāśānantāyatana)- of unlimited consciousness (Vijñānantāyatana), of nothingness (Ākiñcānāyatana), and of neither perception nor non-perception (Naivasamjñā-nāsaṃjñāyatana).
- (vi) 1 perception of the disgusting aspects of food (Āhārapratikulasamjñā).
- (vii) 1 Analysis of the four primary elements i.e., earth, water, fire and air (Caturdhātu vyavasthāpana).

Of the above 40 subjects of meditation one, i.e., Ānāpānasmṛiti or recollection of respiration is very much helpful and comparatively easier for all of us. So here we will try to give some light on the same.

How to cultivate Anapanasmṛiti :—

‘Āna’ means in-breathing and ‘apāna’ means out-breathing. To control the mind through in-breathing and out-breathing is called Anapanasmṛiti Bhāvanā. This is known as the best principle for the concentration of mind. Now to begin ? The meditator will go to the place selected by him for the purpose, sit in his seat cross-legged or in a posture suitable to him (although cross legged posture is more helpful) keeping his body erect and be attentive. He should go on inhaling and exhaling and devote his mind only on the tip of the nose feeling with full attention how the inhaling and exhaling wind touches the same. But some beginners may feel it difficult to be engaged his mindfully on the tip of the nose, feeling the touch of inhalation and exhalation. For them a helpful method is suggested. It is the method of counting numbers from 1 to 10. The process of counting is as follows :—1, 2, 3, 4, 5; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10; and again 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on until he is sure that he can feel every touch of inhaling and exhaling wind. It is not unlikely that the meditator will fail to count them unmistakably at the beginning. If he mistakes he is to count them again from the beginning. In this way if he can count unmistakably after some days he will be able to feel that the starting point of inhalation is the tip of the nose, the second point is the heart and the third and last point is the navel while the starting point of exhalation is the navel, the second point is the heart and third and last point is the tip of the nose. Gradually the force of inhalation and exhalation will increase in such a way that the mediator will not be able to inhale and exhale through the nose. He will be compelled to do them through the mouth, and there is a possibility that all on a sudden this inhalation and exhalation may stop. The meditator may lose all sensations of inhalation and exhalation, and at that moment this thought may arise to his mind: “Am I dead or living”? We find similar cases elsewhere too. After hard labour if a person takes rest and sleeps peacefully do we not find that due to his fatigueness he inhales and exhales so slowly as if he is going to die? In the case of meditator too actually such things happen. So he should not worry for that. He should rather try to cause inhalation and exhalation in the tip of the nose with full attention. After some moments he will feel joy and tranquillity. He will feel that his body has become lighter. He will feel that he has been able to concentrate his mind to one and one point only i. e., on the tip of the nose and nowhere else. After that the meditator may take up the next higher course of meditation i.e., Vipassana meditation or meditation for Insight.

HOW TO CULTIVATE VIPASSANA MEDITATION ?

When the meditator is quite aware of the fact that he can easily concentrate his mind to one point of thought, he should proceed on for Vipassana which will help him in the comprehension

of the truth as it truly is. What he will have to do ? He should very slowly move his mindfulness or the mental image that arose in him from the top of the head down to the toes of the feet with full attention and again from the toes of the feet up to the top of the head, again and again, again and again. In this movement the meditator should watch that his mindfulness touches every point of sensation going on in the body (sensation of itching pain etc.) with full concentration. If the mindfulness touches itching sensation the meditator should think it is itching, it is itching, it is itching, it is nothing but itching until and unless the itching sensation vanishes. In like manner if the sensation is painful he should think 'it is pain, it is pain, it is nothing but pain, pain is of this nature' until and unless he properly understands the characteristics of pain as they truly are. He should go on in this way so long his time permits him. If he gets fatigued (and feels tired he should again cultivate Anapanasmṛiti for some moments. At once he will feel relaxed and fresh. After that he may start Vipassana again. If he continues in this way after some days he will comprehend this truth that all mental and bodily components are impermanent and are in the process of ever changing (Anicca), that they cause nothing but suffering (Dukha) in the form of decay, death, etc., and that there is no existence of any separate self (Anātmā). He therefore, feels disgust and dispassionateness, for them. He realises that only, the aggregates are arising and ceasing, only the Saṅkhāras are arising and decaying. There is nothing permanent and nothing pleasant in the body. So why should one be passionate for the coefficients of the body. There is nothing which may be called 'self'; nobody is taking birth as a being and nobody is dying. Only the Saṅkharas are taking birth and again they are dying. The meditator realises that everything is void and makes his mind free from lobha, dvesa and moha which are the root causes of repeated existences and suffering comes therefrom.

Cultivation of Mindfulness in All Spheres of Daily Life:

A well trained meditator can cultivate mindfulness in all spheres of his daily life (say while eating, while drinking while working and so on) and in any of the four movements of the body. i. e., while sitting, while standing, while walking or while sleeping.

THE ESSENCE OF BUDDH'S TEACHINGS

Anukul Chandra Banerjee

Gautama Buddha attained Bodhi (Enlightenment) and preached the noble truth he discovered for the welfare of the world. This indeed created a stir in the world. His teachings are embedded in the Tipitaka which is regarded as the earliest available source of our information. It is very difficult to dive deeply into the abstruse intricacies of his teachings which can only be comprehended by those who are advanced in the path of spiritual progress. Many exegetical texts were subsequently composed for proper understanding of his noble teachings. These works have indeed contributed greatly towards making Buddhism popular among the people of the world.

His first discourse delivered at Migadava (modern Sarnath) to Pancavaggiyas, his quondam friends, is known as the Dhammacakkappavattanasutta (Turning of the wheel of the Law). It deals with Cattari ariyasaccani (four noble truths), viz., dukkha (suffering), samudaya, (cause), nirodha (cessation) and nirodhagamini-patipada (path leading cessation of suffering). These truths are not meant for the people in general (puthujana). They are for those who have progressed in their spiritual life and have attained one of the stages of sanctification viz., Sotapatti, Sakadagami, Anagami and Arahatta and that is why they are called the noble truth (ariya-sacca). Thus it seems that these noble truths are realised fully by the Ariyas (Noble One's). These four saccas (truths) are nothing else but the four cardinal articles of Indian medical science, applied to the spiritual healing of mankind, exactly as in the yoga doctrine¹. Regarding the first noble truth, the Buddha maintains that life is full of misery and all worldly enjoyments are short-lived and are really source of pain and anxiety. The second noble truth follows from the Buddha's analysis of paticcasamuppada (theory of Dependent Origination). The Buddha holds that nothing is permanent in this world. All things are subject to change and our misery, like every other thing, is caused by a few conditions. The third noble truth is deduced from the second noble truth that the misery depends on some conditions and it must cease, if its conditions are completely removed. The fourth noble truth is known as Majjhimapatipada (middle path) which advocates neither rigorous asceticism nor a life addicted to the pleasure of the senses². It enjoins a monk to lead a moderate life with the bare necessities in respect of food, clothing and the life.

The fourth noble truth is also called Ariya-atthangikamagga (the eightfold path). It consists of eight good practices, viz., samma vaca (right speech), samma kammanta (right action), samma ajiva (right livelihood), samma vayama (right exertion), samma sati (right recollection), samma sammadhi (right meditation), samma sankappa (right thought) and samma ditthi (right view). Each of the eight noble practices makes an adept advance towards the goal in his life. These eight terms are further classified under three heads:—Sila (moral precept)³, Citta (mental development) and Panna (knowledge). Sila is foundation (patittha) for the realisation of Nibbana. It is a means to an end. An aspirant (sadhaka) cannot reach his cherished goal in life without

1. Compare Yogasutra ii, 15 Comm. Yatha cikitsasastram caturvruham : roga, rogahetur, arogyam, bhaisajyam

2. Kamesu kamasukhlilikanyuogo attakilamathanuyogo

3. Sile patitthaya naro sapanno, cittam pannam ca bhavayam, atapi nipako bhikkhu, so imam vijataye jatanam

observing the Sila. It is the essence of life. Life without Sila is like a boat without a radder. As a boat without a radder cannot go in the direction it likes, no aspirant can prosper without observing the Sila. Samadhi is urgently needed for all kinds of success in life. Without it nothing can be done in this life. Everything will be vain without the proper utilisation of mind. Panna which leads to the purification of mind is absolutely necessary for any kind of success in life. These three are inter-dependent. One cannot be separated from the other. The mind of an undisciplined man concentrated and without concentration perfect knowledge cannot be gained¹. A fool cannot have discipline, meditation and knowledge. Of the above eight practices the first three lead to Sila, the second three to Citta and the last two to Panna. This eight-fold path removes tanha (desire) and avijja (ignorance) and creates true insight and intelligence. It further leads to upasama (tranquility of mind), abhinna (supernatural faculty) and ultimately to the attainment of nibbana (eternal bliss). "If this Buddhist ideal of perfect life" observes Rhys Devids, "is remarkable when compared with the thought of India at the time, it is equally instructive when looked at from the comparative point of view".²

The theory of Anatta (non-existence of soul) advocated by the Buddha forms the keynote of Buddhism. It is a striking departure from the then existing beliefs for which the Buddha had to face many bitter criticisms. The Buddha denied the existence of soul which is permanent and immaculate. According to him a being is composed only of pancakkhandhas (five elements) which are rupa (material quality), vedana (feeling), sanna (perception), sankhara (co-efficient of consciousness). If these constituents are analysed, it is found that there are no permanent entities like the self. As they are anatta (devoid of self), they are sources of suffering. From the Anattalakkhanasutta of the Vinaya Pitaka preached to the Pancavaggiya monks we learn that 'no self is to be found in any of the five khandhas, all of which are impermanent and are subject to woe'³. All the five khandhas are void of atta (self). This doctrine of anatta (non existence of soul), one of the three characteristics of Buddhism, distinguished it from all other religions.

The Buddha accepted the doctrine of Karma (action). According to him "every living being has karma as its master, its inheritance, its congenial cause, its kinsman, its refuge. It is karma that differentiates all beings into low and high states"⁴. It lays down that the actions of one existence are very closely connected with those of former or future existences. Actions determine an individual's future. Kamma (action) produces its effects then and there, as things of world are in a state of flux and they are not identical with any two moments. Buddhism thus lays the greatest emphasis on kamma (action) and the theory of kamma (action) is one of its cardinal features. Kamma (action) is the main cause of Patisandhi (rebirth). Further, in Buddhism it 'is of special sociological significance in as much attributed greater importance to personal action (karma) than to lineage (Jati)'.

1. Dhammapada, No. 282

2. American Lectures, p. 139

3. G. P. Malalasekharana, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. I, London, 1960, p. 62

4. Milindapanha, p. 65; Kammasaka satta kammadayada kammayoni kammabandhu kammapatissarana kammam satte vibhajati yad-idam hinapanitaya.

Paticcasamuppada (the theory of Dependent Origination) is Buddha's another outstanding contribution to Buddhism. It is one of the modes of causal relation in Buddhism—the other being Patthananaya. It is 'a mode marked by the simple condition of the happening of a phenomenon of the occurrence or its sole invariable antecedent phenomenon. It states that things of the world are neither due to ekahetuka (one cause) nor are they ahhetuka (ceaseless). It proves that things are due to nanahetuka (manifold causes)'.

It is said that the Buddha realised at the third watch of the night the root cause of all sufferings and sorrows, which is comprised in samudayasacca (the second noble truth), the concatenation of causes and effects, viz. Paticcasamuppada (the theory of Dependent Origination) with its twelve nidanas (links) which are avijja (ignorance), sankhara (impression), vinnana (consciousness), namarupa (mind and matter), selayatana (six organs of senses), phassa (contact), vedana (feeling), tanha (desire), upadana (attachment), bhava (existence), jati (birth) and jaramarana (old age and death).

It is one of the most fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, as the Buddha himself has declared 'he who realises paticcasamuppada (skt. pratityasamutpada) sees dhamma (truth) and he who sees dhamma sees Paticcasamuppada'. It is a very important philosophical doctrine in the Mahayana philosophy. Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamika system, has established his whole philosophy on Paticcasamuppada. According to this doctrine, it is the nature of all bhavas (things) to depend on a number of causes and conditions for their origination, and what are so produced can not be said to have independent origination, and are without any reality and nothing can, therefore, be declared of such unreal things. In his *Madhyamikakarika* Nagarjuna has further stated that looked at from the standpoint of sammutisacca (skt. samvritisatya) relative truth), Paticcasammuppada (skt. Pratityasamutpada) means origination of the world order depending on a concurrence of causes, but from the standpoint of paramartha-sacca (absolute truth), it means non-origination at all times and is equated with Nibbana (skt. Nirvana).

The ultimate goal of life according to Buddhism is undoubtedly Nibbana both of the monastic community (Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis) and lay-community (upasakas and upasikas). There is thus no difference on the ultimate goal both of them yearn for. But the process of realisation of Nibbana, the Buddhist summum bonum, by the monastic and lay communities differs. Each of them can attain to the same blissful state, Nibbana, by reason of the right conduct (sammapatipatti) peculiar to each.

The word Nibbana (skt. nirvana) is composed of 'Ni' and 'Vana'. 'Ni' is a negative particle. 'Vana' means weaving or craving. It is this craving that serves as a cord to connect one life with another. It is known as Nibbana in that it is a release (Ni) from that craving which is called Vana (lust). In other words, it is a state in which consciousness is bereft of vana (craving, desire). It is the extinction of the threefold fire of lust (raga), ill-will (dosa) and stupidity (moha). Accuta (the immutable), amata (the immortal), khema (the secure), nicca (the eternal), santa (the tranquil), anitika (the healthy), inrupaddava (the safe), abhaya (the undisturbed), sata (the agreeable), panita (the excellent), suci (the pure), sitala (the calm) and asamkhata (the unconditioned) are the various predicates that are applied here are the very predicates which have been applied or are applicable to the absolute self of the Brahmanical philosophy¹.

1. Yo pratityasamutpadam pasyati so dhammam pasyati.

Yo dhammam pasyati so pratityasamutpadam pasyati.

(1)—N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahayan and its relation to Hinayana*.

The *Milindapanha*, a very important Pali non-canonical work, states that it practically makes no difference between an easy-going householder (*gihi*) and a rigid recluse (*pabbajita*) in regard to the attainment of the blissful state (*nibbana*) through the observance of the right conduct (*samma patipatti*). The only difference is that the recluse attains to this state more rapidly than the householder. It is to be noted, in this context, that King Asoka in his Edicts has also laid great emphasis on seemly behaviour (*samapatti*).

There is no dogma in Buddhism. It does not rely on blind faith or belief. It admits the dignity of man. There is no higher being who decides men's fortune. Man is the builder of his own fortune. Buddha tells us :

"Self is the lord of self, what other self should there be ?

By self-control a man is a rare help to him" ².

It is but a way of life based on liberal and moral virtues. It is the path that enables man to understand his own problems and teaches how to overcome hindrances. In the history of religions this freedom of thought is probably unheard of anywhere else. The Buddhist emperors followed the example of tolerance and did not persecute the followers of any other religion in their kingdoms. History cannot cite any single instance of persecution to convert the people to Buddhism. The Buddhist kings not only honoured and respected the religions of others but also contributed liberally for the proper upkeep of other religious establishments.

It is thus apparent that Buddhism spread to various parts of India and other foreign lands peacefully. Prof. P. V. Bapat¹, writes that 'in the reign of Asoka, the Great, Buddhism although divided into as many as eighteen different sects and schools, became under royal patronage not only an all-India religion, but a worldly religion.' From his edicts² we learn that one should not do reverence only to one's own religion and disparage the religions of others, but at the same time one should show reverence to other's religion too. By doing thus one promotes one's own religion and does service to the religions of others too. All should listen and willingly listen to the doctrines adopted by the others. Indeed, such type of tolerance and sympathetic attitude may be regarded as the most outstanding contribution to the civilisation of the world.

Buddhism thus always insists on self-reliance and teaches people to pursue knowledge and practise essential virtues viz., friendship, compassion, non-violence, love and service to the people. Perfection in life cannot be achieved without the practice of moral virtues. Further, the lofty ideal, universal love, tolerance and practical approach to the problem of life had a wide appeal and made Buddhism popular not only in the land of its birth but also in the far distant countries.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the message of Buddhism and the principle on which it rests have assumed new significance in the world of today, and the peace of which U. N. O. speaks is but an indication that the whole world is gradually veering round to the beliefs embodied in the religion of the Buddha.

(2)—Atta hi attano natho ko he notho paro siya ?

At na hi sudantena natham labhati dullabham. —Dhammapada No. 160.

1. 2500 years of Buddhism, p. 480.

2. Pillar Edicts, VI and VII, Rock Edict XII.

ANATTAVADA IN THE MILINDAPANHA

Rabindra Nath Basu

There is no gainsaying the fact that the Milindapanha, a very important Pali non-canonical text, is an exegesis on the most subtle and abstruse philosophical and metaphysical terms of Buddhism. The theory of soul (puggala) forms one of its principal topics. It is indeed a very controversial point in Buddhism. We find herein words like 'puggala', vedagu', vayo, Jivo—all conveying the meaning as the 'soul'—a living principle within the human body. The physical enquiry regarding individual or individuation has been the kernel of doctrine enshrined in narratives and exegesis in Buddhist literature. The true nature and purpose of this psycho-physical organism has been meticulously expounded by Nagasena. The term 'puggala' does not mean real. It is only conventional truth (sammuti sacca) but not absolute truth (paramattha sacca). The simile of a chariot and its component parts reveal the similarity to forming an individual with different factors. These factors are called aggregates (khandhas) and they are five in number, viz., Rupa (form), Vedanā (sensation), Saññā (perception), Sankhāra (cognition) and vinnāna (consciousness). They are collectively known as Nāmarūpa (name and form). When we speak of an individual it is this Namarupa that he is represented by personal name. It is the psycho-physical organism based Nāmarupa. Name (nama) consists of other four aggregates except Rupa. These are subtle mental elements¹, belonging to psychological and mental aspects of human individuality. And Rupa (form) is the gross (olārika) consisting of material things of outward forms.² According to Nagasena the whole thing in its organic unity and co-existing together an individual comes to be designated with such and such name³ as he himself is known by different names such as, Surasena, Virasena, etc.⁴ The names are nothing 'but a denotation, appellation, designation, a current usage, a mere name'⁵. But it does not mean a 'living soul within'⁶. Thus we find that whenever mention is made of a person or soul or rebirth of a being, this should be understood as a mere conjunction and co-existence of five aggregates. In another instance we find in the text that the 'soul' is designated as 'breath' (vayo). It has come to mean the self-conscious centre of human personality. People generally mistake a mere consciousness as soul. But it is nothing but mental abstraction as much as abstraction in generic term⁷.

From Nagasena's point of view, all objects can only be known by their sensations. These sensations vary, are impermanent and independent of one another. There is no ruling or controlling master over them. It is like a 'natural slope'. For whatever be grasped at all by consciousness that it cannot consist of thought (manovinnana). Since all consciousness is conditioned by the organs of consciousness. Hence, the sensation or more expressively 'the natural knower' (vedagu) of a person gives no permanency to an individual. They come into existence like a 'sound' produced by the lute which does not come from any 'store' and does not go to even either. The aggregates as is emphasized, are part of the whole in its bhava (becoming) existence⁸. Nagasena thus holds that this ephemeral body composed of some dhammas (elements of beings) or sankhara (constituent being). These dhammas are responsible for the existence of the material and mental world. They are the neutral elements from which

1. Sukkuma citta cetasikā dhammā—Miln, p. 49.

2. Cattāra mahabhutta, i.e. four great elements such as pathavi (earth), apo (water), tejo (energy) and vayo (air).

3. Miln. p. 28.

4. Miln. p. 25.

5. Sankhā, samannā pannatti vohara nāmamattam.

6. Paramatthato puggalo nu'palabbhati—Miln, p. 28.

7. Miln. p. 30ff. It is striking to note that the 'soul' in Sanskrit meaning 'breath' and according to the Vedāntists it is the breath of God and so 'soul' is immortal.

8. This conversation is considered to give expression to the Theravada view that individual is only a conglomeration of five aggregates with no permanent identifiable entity; the notion of the self as entity is the result of the mistaken identification of one of the aggregates with the so called self. This is a point on which emphasis has repeatedly been given in Buddhism.

both the spirit and matter arise¹. These dhammas are everchanging. At no two moments they are the same. It is in a state of perpetual flux and in ceaseless motion². Since these moments of fresh impacts must be added to our consciousness. Therefore, we are an ever-changing object or an object with an ever-changing identity. It is like milk turns into curds, from curds into butter and from butter into ghee³. In short, it is a process of change without anything changing. Sankhara, as Keith observes, should not be regarded "as things in relation to mind rather the term has more general signification of product, as well as producing and is therefore naturally and directly applied to the whole world, of external reality as well as to mental products"⁴.

Life being conditioned, is naturally transient and subject to decay⁵. In the highest sense here is no soul. It appears if the conjunctions of aggregates are responsible for this ephemeral body which are impermanent, then it endangers ethical living. The ever-changing dhammas of this life naturally make moral responsibility impossible⁶. But Buddhism which advocates the middle path (majjhima patipada) and steers on the doctrinal approach in right direction, one can solve the problem of annihilationism or eternalism⁷. Nagasena, too, keeping in line of Buddhism, contention has argued that a new individual comes into being at each stage of life series. He is neither the same nor the other⁸. Man's life as a bhava (becoming) existence is depended on karmasantati or the continuity of an impulse. His future vision depends upon the thought and actions of his present existence⁹. It is emphasized that nothing whatever happens by chance but only in a regular sequence—that being present this becomes ; that not being present this does not become¹⁰. To have verified this is to have found the way. For all things that spring from a cause¹¹. The appellation is stated in the cycles of Dependent Origination (paticcasamupada)¹². Ignorance (avijja) is the cause for the life continuum. Man's life is a bhava, is divided into past, present and future time. Twelve nidanas (links and causes) show the necessary relations which exist between these stages of human life.

From the above it would be apparent that such profound statement by Nagasena concerning the doctrine of Anattavada which distinguishes Buddhism from all other systems of Indian thought, could not be found anywhere in the whole of the Buddhist literature excepting the canonical works.

1. Dhamma implies absence of an entity or living soul, DhsA p, 49.
2. Nadi so vīya, like the current of a stream, is the Buddhist idea of existence, Compendium, p. 8.
3. Miln. p. 41.
4. A. B. Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 74.
5. Sabbe sankhara anicca—Mahaparinibhanasutta.
6. Miln. p. 25, 46.
7. Miln. p.40ff, of. The Middle Way, S. N. Vol. 20, No. 3., p. 54
8. Na ca so na ca nno, Miln. p. 40ff-
9. Imaṃ pana Mahārāja nama-rupena kammaṃ karoti sobhanam va papakam va tena kammāna annaṃ nama-rupam patifandahatīti—Miln. p. 46.
10. Imasmim sati idam hoti, ima suppada idam uppajjati Imasmim asati idam na hoti, imassa nirodha idam nirujjhati—RN ii, p. 32, etc.,
11. It readily reminds us of the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism:
Ye dhamma hetuppabhava tesam hetum Tethagato aha, Tasmim yo nirodho eṇamvadi Mahasamāno.
12. Miln. p. 50 ff.

SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE SUMUKHA-VANAMALA EPISODE IN JINASENA'S HARIVAMSAPURANA

Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

At one of the Inter-University Seminars organised by the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, an interesting paper entitled 'The Jaina Harivaṃśa' was presented by Dr. A. K. Chatterjee. The paper was published in the proceedings of the seminar, *Religion and Culture of the Jains*, edited by Prof. Dr. D. C. Sircar, 1972, pp, 100—117. While assessing Jinaseṇa as a romantic poet, in one place of his paper, Dr. Chatterjee refers to the love-episode of Sumukha, a king of Kauśāmbī, and Vanamālā, the wife of a merchant, narrated by the poet, and remarks that "here for the first time, the poet Jinaseṇa get the upper hand over the Jaina disciplinarian Jinaseṇa. He not only makes Sumukha a successful lover of a parastrī, but even allows him to marry her." Further Dr. Chatterjee states that 'it is something which even liberal Jains will look upon as outrageous and, according to him, 'since this Sumukha is an admirer of the Jains, all his sins are readily forgiven and forgotten'. In a different context, it is also stated by Dr. Chatterjee that none of the five conditions which allow women to remarry, as laid down by certain law-givers,² viz. *naṣṭa*, *mṛta*, *pravrajeta*, *klīva* and *patita*, was fulfilled in this case, and he takes the story as a proof of the practice of remarriage of women as late as 783 A. D., the date of the *Harivaṃśa purāṇa*, as given by Jinaseṇa in the colophon of the work (66-52)³.

A careful examination of the details of the story given by the poet, shall as we see below, however, reveals that Jinaseṇa is careful enough not to go beyond the limit, that no question of excusing Sumukha's sins for his being an admirer of the Jains arises and that hardly the contentions of Dr. Chatterjee are correct. Jinaseṇa's description of the episode⁴ may be summed up in the following words:

One day, in spring, on his way to Vanavihāra, king Sumukha, while passing through the city of Kauśāmbī riding on a gaily decorated elephant, came across an exceedingly beautiful lady among the many who thronged to have a look of him. The name of that lady was Vanamālā, and she was the wife of Vīraka, a merchant. Vanamālā attracted the king so much that he felt amorous and being overpowered with passions considered that all his wealth, beauty and youth would go in vain if he was not able to enjoy her. The king's mind became restless and he could little enjoy his vanavihāra and returned home shortly. On an enquiry about the cause of the restlessness in the king's mind, Sumati, Sumukha's minister, came to know of everything and promised the king of helping him to enjoy Vanamālā the same night, and accordingly he sent to Vanamālā an expert lady messenger named Ātreyī. Ātreyī noticed the indifferent attitude of Vanamālā, who being a victim of love at first sight, equally felt attracted for the king from the moment she exchanged her glances with him. Ātreyī took little time to manipulate Vanamālā to disclose the cause of her indifference and also her eagerness to be with the king. She then disclosed her identity and Vanamālā, who was then burning with passions wasted no time, and in the absence of her husband, accompanied Ātreyī to enter into the royal palace. Sumukha extended to her a warm welcome and nestling her hand in his own took her to his bed. Night went on increasing, it was all lit with moonbeams and Sumukha and Vanamālā after exchanging words for a

while, clasped, squeezed, sucked and bit each other with all the limbs of their body from lips to hips in all postures of sexual dalliance, lied down on bed and enjoyed sexual pleasure to their heart's content.

Vanamālā, however, was not sent back to her husband's place by Sumukha who being not at all willing to bear the pangs of separation detained her at his own house. Vanamālā by dint of her manifold merits also succeeded in acquiring a position above all the chief-queens of the king. They lived like husband and wife. Sometime after, when a sage named Varadharmā, repository of great penance, came to Sumukha's house, Sumukha along with Vanamālā greeted him, offered him gifts, paid him due obeisance and thus both of them acquired great merit which would enable them to enjoy the next world together. One day, however, when Sumukha, who was in constant repentance for his sin of enticing and enjoying a parastri, was having his sleep with Vanamālā at the garbhagṛha he was struck by lightning of the rainy season and met with his doom. But the merit Sumukha acquired by making gifts to the sage enabled him not to die alone but along with Vanamālā who was also struck by lightning. The merit acquired by making great gifts to the sage also enabled them both to be born again as vidyādhara and vidyādhārī in the Vijayārdhaparvata. Sumukha was born as the son of Pavanagiri and Mṛgāvatī of the city of Haripura and was known by the name Ārya, while to Pavanavega and Manoharī of Meghapura was born Vanamālā as their daughter with the name Manoramā. Ārya and Manoramā gradually grew up in their respective families, and in course of time when they reached youth, they were given in marriage according to vivāhavidhi by their kinsmen.

Ārya and Manoramā, however, could not remain vidyādhara and vidyādhārī for long. The merchant Viraka long suffering viraha from his beloved wife Vanamālā gave up gṛhasthāśrama performed great penance to control passions following the path directed by the lord Jinendra, was admitted obtained to heaven and lived there happily as a deva. This deva when once was seated in heaven amidst the charming ladies remembered Vanamālā, his wife in the previous birth. Next moment, through his innate power he saw before his eyes Sumukha and Vanamālā living in Harivarṣakṣetra as vidyādhara and vidyādhārī with the names Ārya and Manoramā respectively. The deva became furious and at once came down to earth. He took the revenge by making Ārya and Manoramā bereft of their vidyā. At that time, after the demise of Candrakīrti, Campāpuri was without a king and the deva made Ārya the king of Campāpuri and left for heaven. Ārya and Manoramā, being thus made bereft of their vidyā, became unable to move in the sky and started living on the earth. To them was born a son named Hari, after whose name the family became famous as Harivaṇśa.

The story, as summed up above in brief, leaves little room for doubt that the poet Jinasena never gets an upper hand over the disciplinarian Jinasena. The intention of the poet is a noble one. It is abundantly clear that he wants to show the culmination of love to terminate in marriage. But he is a disciplinarian and is cautious, and, as such, cannot arrange their marriage in the same life when Sumukha and Vanamālā met each other for the first time. Vanamālā could be enjoyed, but could not be married. She was already a parastri married to Viraka. Although a king Sumukha could not make Vanamālā his wife. He made her his concubine. He could elevate her in his harem to the rank of his chief queen but not to that of wedded wife. Sumukha's sins too are not forgiven, and forgotten, as Dr. Charterjee thinks. For, Jinasena never forgets to present Sumukha as one in constant repentance for his sin of adultery⁵. The king was in remorse for having to live with Vanamālā a sinful life without

wedlock in a forbidden partnership of licence and lechery. Moreover, although a poet, Jinasena hesitates least to take the recourse of such a dreadful thing as thunderbolt to bring the end of the sinners Sumukha and Vanamālā⁶. This is, however, not all. Amor vincit omnia—love must meet with success ultimately. The poet makes a provision for the meeting of the couple in the next life. That is way, before their death, he brings in a great sage, obeisance and gifts to whom enable the couple to acquire such merit as would help them to enjoy together the next life. But there again the couple is not shown to arrange themselves for their meeting together and living jointly. Jinasena specifically states that the two, in their next life, were born and brought up in two different families, and when they reached youth their kinsmen arranged for their marriage and that again according to vidhi. The poet does not stop here. Being a disciplinarian, he can not allow Sumukha and Vanamālā to have the life of vidyādhara and vidyādhārī even in the next birth, and, hence, through Vīraka, who attained devatva by virtue of his great penance, makes them bereft of their vidyā and sends them back to the earth.

The narration of the story also does not offer any scope to take it as a proof of the remarriage of women; for, in arranging a regular marriage, the poet takes the recourse of a different life. That also explains why Dr. Chatterjee does not find any of the five conditions mentioned above, which allow a woman to remarry, being fulfilled in this case. The story, therefore, in no way, can be taken as a proof of the continuity of the practice of the remarriage of women as late as 783 A. D. However, if it could be shown that the story was intended to supply an instance of the remarriage of women in ancient India, then it would have been of absorbing interest and we may have to explain such a marriage by stating that perhaps in order to create an atmosphere of antiquity, the poet has placed the plot of the story in a very remote past when such type of marriage was in vogue. For, the evidence at our disposal makes it difficult to believe that such type of marriage was admissible at the time of Jinasena. In this connection, the statement of an impartial foreign observer, viz., Hiuen-tsang a contemporary Harṣa (606—647 A. D.), is worthy of consideration. Hiuen-tsang states that 'a woman never contracts a second marriage'. This is perhaps why Viśākhadatta's story of Candragupta's marriage with his elder brother's wife is not believed by Prof. Dr. Sircar to be based on the custom of either the time of the author who is assigned to the sixth century A.D. or of the time of Chandragupta's accession in the fourth century A. D., but on the usage of an earlier time when such type of marriage was allowed. According to Dr. Sircar, such evidence as Sītā's suspicion that Lakṣmīṇa was not going to Rāma's help (in the svarṇa-mṛga episode) because he would welcome his brother's death so that the latter's widow would be available to him' may have influenced Viśākhadatta. Dr. Sircar further thinks that 'Viśākhadatta may have also been influenced by Sugrīva's marriage with his brother Vālin's widow Tārā and Vibhīṣaṇa's marriage with his brother Rāvaṇa's widow Mandodarī and by the custom of niyoga according to which procreation of children on the elder brother's wife was allowed'. It may be added that the Rgvedic passages⁹ which are sometimes believed to refer to the remarriage of widows 'though there is no clear or definite reference to it in the Rgveda'¹⁰ may have also influenced Viśākhadatta. The story of the Kathāsaritasāgara¹¹ referring to the remarriage of the daughter of Devasena, king of Pauṇḍravardhana, after the demise of her husband and again after her second husband's death may also be explained in a similar way if the story is believed to refer to the time of Somadeva. The story of the Uccaṅga Jātaka¹² suggests that a country-woman could have a second husband in the absence of the first. According to the law of the Buddhists, one can marry his brother's widow.¹³

Now, if there is difficulty in taking cases of the remarriage of women fulfilling one of the conditions, noted above, to refer to the time of the sources mentioning them., then perhaps it does not seem much justified to think that remarriage of a woman without fulfilling any of the conditions

was practised as late as 783 A. D. However, even in very ancient times it is not at all easy to trace an instance of the said type of marriage. Thus, while in the Aṅguttaranikāya story of Ugra's performing sampradāna for offering one of his wives in marriage to another man¹⁴ and also in the Mahāvastu story¹⁵ of Ya'odharā being separately approached by Devadatta and Sundarananda for becoming their wife after Siddhārtha's departure adopting the life of a recluse, the condition of pravrajyā has been fulfilled, the story of Damayantī narrated in the Mahābhārata¹⁶ suggests that the condition of naṣṭa i. e. 'lost' or 'unheard of' is conspicuous by its presence. The Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata¹⁷ states that king Yayāti's daughter Mādhavī received a boon which enabled her to be a kanyā (maiden) after each of her deliveries and that she stayed consecutively with Haryaśva, Divodāsa, Uśinara and Viśvāmitra giving birth to one son for each. The story has been taken¹⁸ to prove that the practice of the remarriage of women was well-known in ancient India. But, apart from the fact that the story appears to be a fabulous one, there is nothing in the Mahābhārata which indicates that Mādhavī was ever given in regular marriage to any of the four kings with whom she is stated to have stayed consecutively till a son was born to each.

Notes:—1. Op. cit., p. 104.

2. Naṣṭe mṛte pravrajite ca patite patau/

Pañcasv-āpatsu nārīṇāṃ patir-anyo vidhiyate/ /

Nārada, Strīpuṃsa, verse 97. The Parāśara-smṛti (IV. 30, and the Agni Purāṇa (154.5-6) have the same verse, the interpretation of which has been a matter controversy. Authorities like Vasiṣṭha and Kauṭilya appear to allow remarriage of a woman even when the death of her husband was only presumed and not proved. In one place Manu (IX. 176) lays down that the remarriage is allowed to a girl whose first marriage has not been consummated or who left the husband of her youth, went to live with another and returned to the first husband. Nārada (op. cit., verses 98—101) lays down that 'if the husband has gone to a foreign country, a Brāhmaṇa wife should wait for eight years, but four years if she has not given birth to a child; after that period of [8 or 4 years she may resort to another man'. A lesser number of years of waiting is prescribed for Kṣatriya and Vaiśya wives. 'If the husband is known to be living; then the periods are double of those stated above; this is the view of Prajāpati when no news can be had of persons and hence there is no sin if a woman resorts to another man in such cases', (cf. Kane, Hist. Dharm., Vol. II, p. 613). For a detailed discussion on this, see S. Bandyopadhyay, Foreign Accounts of Marriage in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1972 pp. 47—50).

3. Journ. Anc. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 179-80

4. Harivaṃśapurāṇa, ed. P. L. Jain, pp. 222—36

5. Ibid., p. 230

6. Ibid., p. 231

7. Watters, Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 168

8 Journ. Anc. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 148, and 149 note. The transfers of Vālin's widow Tārā to his brother Sugrīva and of Rāvana's widow Mandodarī to his brother Vibhīṣaṇa known from the Rāmāyaṇa, are taken as incidents of Nonāryan society. According to Dr. Sircar, 'it seems that marriage with one's elder brother's widow was prevalent in Nonāryan society, but was later more

or less tolerated by the people after the admixture of Aryan and Nonaryan blood had taken place on Indian soil'. Dr. Sircar's hypothesis seems to get a support from the fact that Tārā's transfer appears to have received the tacit approval of Rāmā (Rāmāyaṇa, IV, 24·2). Even now, the marriage of widow's is practised 'by the Marwars, or aborigines of the southern Carnatic' (Wheeler, History of India, Vol. II. p. 324).

9. I. 124.7 and X. 18. 7-8.

10. Cf. The Vedic Age, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1951, p 393.

11. Ed. C. H. Tawney, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 137-38; cf. also

Journ. Anc. Ind., Vol. III, p.153.

12. Ed. V. Fausboll, Vol. I, pp. 306-08.

13. Spark, Notes on the Buddhist Law, I. 7 ; cf. also JAOS,

Vol. XIII. 1888, p. 368 note.

14. Cf. Journ. Anc. Ind., Vol. VII, p. 250.

15. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 180 ; cf. also S. Bandyopadhyay, op-cit., p. 72.

16. III. 70-24.

17. Ed. H. Siddhantabagis, ch. 106 ff.

18. Journ. Anc. Ind., Vol. VI, p.179.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LAGHU-PRABANDHA-SANGRAHA

J. P. Thaker

PRABANDHA, as you all know, is a form of literature of historical anecdotes widely cultivated especially by mediaeval Jaina Writers of Western India, written in a regional style of Sanskrit which may be described as simple, popular, colloquial, regional Sanskrit as contrasted to the highly elevated classical Sanskrit and significantly styled as 'Vernacular Sanskrit' by Dr. Hertel and as 'Jaina Sanskrit' by Bloomfield and others.

LAGHU-PRABANDHA-SANGRAHA is a Prabandha Text Critically edited with a Critical Study by the present speaker and published by the M. S. University of Baroda. The present paper is an endeavour to expound before this learned assembly certain features of this small work revealing its importance in a variety of ways.

Composed by a Jaina author of North Gujarāṭa sometime between 1243 A. D. and 1305 A. D., it displays a very early stage of the Prabandha literature, presupposing none of the known prominent Prabandha works, with the solitary exception of the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra which was composed as early as 1234 A. D. but which has not been published separately and has been incorporated by that great Doyen of Prakrit and Jaina Studies in India, Muni Jina-Vijayajī, in his Purātana-prabandha-sangraha published as No. 2 of the Singhi Jaina Series in 1936 A. D.

The Laghu-prabandha-sangraha comprises ten short anecdotes relating to certain historical personages or incidents. Different versions of parts or whole of six of these stories are found in other Prabandha works, but the remaining four appear to be peculiar to the text under discussion. We may look at the contents of these prabandhas.

The first is Jagadeva-Prabandha relating briefly how Jagaddeva Paramāha of Ujjayinī escaped to a border town of Paramarddin's kingdom of Kalyāna and brought about a truce between Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujarāṭa and Hammīra of Gājana.

The Second is Madanabhrama-mahārāja-prabandha. It relates very interesting story of King Madanabhrama of Kāntī identified with Candellā Madanavarman of Mahobā (Bundelakhanda) who had 5585 queens and 9000 wives as also a temple of Parsvanātha in his palace. This narikuñjara King gave view only twice in a year. When Jayasimha of Gujarāṭa camped near his capital for a fight, he took eight days in going from his palace to the battle-field visualising spectacles etc. on the way. His army of 700 young damsels, riding mares with due erotic decorations, rushed against the enemy-army with full force and retreated in no time. The Gujarāṭa King was struck with wonder on observing the excellences of Madanabhrama's palace. The latter advised the former to stay at home and enjoy royal pastimes. Eight tenderby charming damsels were presented to Jayasimha, six whereof died of heart-bursting on learning this. The Prabandhakosa names this King as Madanavarma, while the Purātana-

prabandha-sangraha as Madanabhrama. It seems that the original 'Varma' or 'Barma' might have become 'brama' by scribal change of place of the repha. One scribe might have corrected this un-understandable 'brama' to 'brahma', while another might have made it to 'bhrama'. Such epithets of the Gujarāta King as '18 laksa 92 sahasra-mālavalaksmi-kacagraha-vigra-pāni', '70 sahasra-gurjara-dharādhisvara', 'asvapati-gajapāti-narapati-trihum rāyanau ambalau' and 'gājanavai-hammira-hrdayāntasaya' occurring here are quite significant but difficult to be interpreted.

The third is Vikramāditya-pāñcadaṇḍa-cchatra-prabandha narrating briefly but quite vividly the five feats of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī that made him eligible for having a five-handled royal umbrella.

The fourth is Sahasralinga-saṣṭha-prabandhae. This Story is not found anywhere else. Once King Siddharāja Jayasimha of Pāṭana was in his court. A Vyāsa narrated a story there according to which a Mātāṅga girl of Suradhārapura quenched the thirst of a vatsikā or calf fetching water from a very deep well, was born, by the power of this merit, as princess of Kanauja and was married to the prince of the very Suradhārapura. On beholding scanty water in the same well she suddenly remembered her previous birth and got constructed a lake there. This story had its due effect on the king who thereafter got constructed the great lake Sahasralinga at the site of the former Durlabha-lake. This prabandha is very important from historical point of view. Because it gives names of as many as 32 courtiers and enumerates further 13 who seem to have represented their respective guilds in the royal assembly. The Sukṛtasaṅkīrtana calls this lake Siddha-saras, while such works as the Sarasvatī-purāṇa and the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutungācārya clearly state the name Sahasralinga. This name is also mentioned in such old Gujarātī poems as the Samarā Rāsu etc. It is worth noting that the Ain-i-Akabarī too calls it Sahasarak. From the taunt of the Banaras King to Jayasimha's Ambassador about the use of the water of this excellent lake by the populace of the capital though it is Siva-nirmālya, it appears to have served the purpose of water-supply.

The fifth is the Siddhi-Buddhi-Raulāni-Prabandha. The two female anchorites believed that Jayasimha's title "Siddha-cakravartin" was self-contradictory; he could be either Siddha or Cakravartin but not both. Sakariyā Saha Haripāla, an ex-minister, ran to the King's help and got prepared a small sword with its blade made of sugar. The King swallowed the glistening blade but the remaining part viz., the iron-handle could not be swallowed by the anchorites. This story is very interesting and the trick exercised by old Haripāla has indeed a realistic touch.

The sixth prabandha is named Nāmala-mālinī-prabandha. It is again unique to the Laghu-prabandha-sangraha. King Jayasimha once went to bow down to Pārśvanātha of Dabhoī. There he recognized the florist woman Nāmala as a Padminī through her small, she became his queen on condition that none would insult her. Once, while Queen Nāmala was going to the temple of Bāncāsarā Pārśvanātha seated in a closed palanquin, Līlu, an oil-grinder's daughter, approached her for salutation but suddenly turned her face away. Nāmala felt insulted. The royal couple went to the oil-man's house. The girl explained that the odour of the oil-lamp in the palanquin had spread into it. At another occasion the seven daughters-in-law of a washer-man ran to the balcony to have a view of Queen Nāmala who was passing by that side. Their sister-in-law contemptuously asked them what it was to see:

"Re Ailuhulī ! Kīm vilogyate" ?

Again, the royal couple went to the washerman's house. There the King suddenly got itchy sensation on his back and one of the daughters-in-law spoke out: "O Nāmala ! scrap His Majesty's back."

“Namala, prstim kbandvahalaya”

The royal couple was delighted at this and favoured her with the gift of a hundred thousand coins:

This prabandha may be regarded as informative from historical point of view.

The seventh is Gaṇaya-maṇaya-indrajāli-prabandha. The very first incident of this prabandha is one of the very significant historical events of the reign of Siddharāja Jayasīṃha, viz., the great dialectical dispute between the 'vetāmbaras and the Digambaras. Devasūri of Gujarāta was the 'vetāmbara leader and Kumudacandra of Karṇāṭaka was the Digambara leader. One of the main problems of this great contest deserves special mention particularly in this International Women's Year. It was whether women were eligible for salvation. Devasūri contended that they were eligible possessing as they did the 'Sattva'. As you know this Sixteen-day contest resulted in the total defeat of the Digambaras. Probably this victory earned the title “Vādi-vetāla” for the 'vetāmbara pontiff Devasūri.

The royal priest, Yaśodhara, had two sons named Khīmadhara and Devadhara. They learnt the arts of magic and dramaturgy from Gajaraja, the juggler of Kāmarūpa country and became known as the jugglers Gaṇaya and Manaya. By applying a pigment of certain herbs to their forehead they beheld a battle between Jayasīṃha and Paramarddin on the bank of the river Varuṇāśa-modern Banāsa-near Pāṭaṇa. By the power of their magic lore they reversed the hostile army and Paramarddin had to take to his heels.

Their relatives having taken away in their absence their house and priest-hood, they began wandering in the city, themselves being invisible. Devadhara entered the lake Sabasra linga in the form of a crocodile and began to sport in the Waters, 700 fisher-men were sent for from Stambhatīrtha-modern Khambhāta-Cambay—but the crocodile could not be caught. In reply to the King's Proclamation Khīmadhara brought out the Crocodile with the help of four buffaloes. At last the King was pleased and they regained their house as well as priest-hood.

The eighth is the Kūmāṇārīrānā-prabandha which again is a unique feature of the Laghuprabandha-saṅgraha. Kūmāṇārīrānā was the King of Kīḍī-māṇkoḍī nagara. Learning that a group of pilgrims was going for pilgrimage to Somanātha, Paśupatinātha, Anantaśayana and Rāmeśvara, he also set out towards Saurāṣṭra. On the way he confidentially deposited his 19 jewels with a merchant who was constructing a lake near Cāṇḍasamā-modern Cānaśmā in North Gujarāta. On his return, however, the deceiptful trader denied to have taken the deposit at all. King Jayasīṃha gave an ordeal accepting which the trader declared, “The water shall not remain enclosed in this lake, if I have accepted the deposit of jewels.” Instantly the banks of the lake broke forth and the water gushed out. Thence the lake came to be known as phutelāū or ‘the broken one’. Kumārī Rāṇā resided there practising penance till death in the Desānturakutī or ‘the cottage of the foreigner’ specially constructed for him with royal permission.

The ninth prabandha called the Srīmātā-prabandha starts with the story of King Lakhanasena of Lakanāvati who is identified with Lakṣmanasena of Gauda who probably reigned from 1179—1206 A. D. His minister Umāpatīśrīdhara, who is known to history as Umāpatīdhara, learnt by virtue of his knowledge of Astrology that the son to be born to the queen would fall in love with a Mātāṅga girl at the age of 32 years. So he stopped going to the royal court. The queen was then sent to a distant village where she delivered a son, who took the vow of celibacy on learning this fact. After his father's death he was enthroned with persistence, but the minister avoided seeing his face by sitting behind a

curtain. At the age of 32 the destined did happen. Feeling ashamed of having been observed by the minister's spy in horripilated condition, he became ready for self-emolument. However, when he was about to embrace a red-hot iron-doll of dimensions of a virgin in budding youth, he was suddenly caught by the minister who then saw his face for the first time. Once this king Ratnapuñja went to Śrīmālapura where he saw a pregnant lady carrying in her hands unbroken rice-grains and a cocoanut-fruit upon which was sitting a spotted owlet making an indistinct sound. This omen indicated that her son would become the king of the country. The police-men caught her, but before being buried alive she delivered a son, whom she placed among the young ones of a doe, and the mint started automatically striking new coins with the impression of a deer. The child was found out but was protected by the chief royal elephant, the royal steed, the cows and the bull. At last he was adopted by the king and named Śripuñja. Monkey-faced Śrīmātā was the daughter of this King Śripuñja. On hearing ulogies of Mt. Arbuda she recollected her past birth as a female monkey who had died of snake-bite while jumping over the lake Kāyākuṇḍa. As time passed, her body dropped into the lake but the head still remained hanging in the bamboo-grove over the lake. The King made an enquiry and caused the head be thrown into the lake and forth with the princess' head turned human. She settled on Mt. Abu practising penance, in course whereof a mendicant named Rasiyākā was stupefied by her. After death she became the tutelary deity of the mountain.

We are not in a position to pronounce this story as historical. All the same it should be noted that even today there is a shrine of Rasiyā Vālama (lit. "the lover named Rasiya") on Mt. Abu regarded as the abode of the mendicant or that name, which fact can be regarded as hinting at the historicity of the character of Śrīmātā whom Rasiyā loved and wanted to marry and who, on that account, killed him through miraculous powers.

The last prebandha entitled "Gālā-śrī-Varaddhamānāsūri-prabandha" is again, not found elsewhere. The story runs thus: Bṛhaspati Rānāka was ruling over Vāmanasthalī-Modern Vanthalī in Saurāstra—which was known as miniature Kasmira. Vardhamāna-sūri, the well-known author of the Vāsupujyacarita, lived there. While he delivered sermons, nine vessels were kept on his right side for holding nectar in the form of the nine sentiments flowing from his speech and a dagger on his left which would work upon his tongue in case of a corrupted utterance or repetition! At the command of Goddess Sarasvatī, he sent his two disciples named Vāghalau and Siṅghalau to Śrīpattana to vanquish the dialectician Devamahānada hailing from the Gauḍa country, who had 84 puppets tied to his legs, probably indicating the number of disputants defeated by him. The contest continued for eighteen days. At last Mahānanda was defeated and died of heart-bursting. The wealth left by him was utilized in erecting 24 Jaina monasteries furnished with residential accommodation for monks.

This prabandha, not traced elsewhere, may again, be regarded as informative. The work ends with the following stanza:

“Rāyāṇa dantidante pāmaratōṇa vaśahakhandhammi l
Suhaḍāṇa khaggiagge mahitāṇa payohare lachhī ll”

Thus this small prabandha-text displays considerable bearings on contemporary history and furnishes a number of fresh historical points, which require investigation in the light of other sources of historical information, and, if supported by future researches, tend to throw considerable new light on mediaeval history.

It also throws much light on the contemporary Society. To mention but a few gleanings: (1) Samasyā-pūrti was a pastime among the learned. (2) There were residential schools where all responsibilities of the students lay upon the preceptor. (3) Students used to traverse to distant lands for learning different lore. (4) Farewell was characterized by betel-rolls. (5) There is a reference to locking rooms from in-side. (6) Labourers used to wait for work at cross-roads in the city-bazzars.

Four of these prabandhas are unique in as much as they could not be traced anywhere else. In the case of the rest of the prabandhas different versions are available. The archaic nature of the language and style of the present text, however, compels us to conclude that its versions are the oldest ones. It is brimming with the peculiarities of the Prabandha-style and the so called 'Jaina Sanskrit' such as back-formations, hyper-Sanskritisms, Prakritic and dialectical influence on the syntax and so on. Prakrit and Old Gujurāṭi words, expressions, phrases, clauses, sentences and even paragraphs and verses have crept into it, giving, of course a powerful colloquial and realistic touch. As such it really furnishes a good deal of material highly significant and interesting from linguistic and lexicographical points of view.

Thus the Laghu-prabandha-sangraha makes indeed a very useful, interesting and enlightening addition to the Prabandha literature. Being very important especially from the historical, cultural and linguistic points of view, it is expected to inspire scholars to try to unearth more and more precious literary jewels of its type which outwardly appear dark and filthy but yield a powerful and wholesome flash of light when brushed and rubbed and scratched in an appropriate manner.

A RETHINKING ON DIGNAGA'S DEFINITION OF PERCEPTION

Chhote Lal Tripathi

Perception is perhaps the most familiar form of human apprehension. Yet, the analysis of the familiar leads us to the most unfamiliar regions of thought, creating unique problems in the matter of grasping its inner nature and proper codification thereof in precise scientific terminology. The history of Indian thought too supports the above analysis, where the formulation of the definition of perception in clear and unambiguous language had been a point of hot controversy both among the realists and the idealists. At first Indian philosophers give a realistic definition of perception. Thus, for Aksapada Gautama, the founder of Nyāya School of Realism, perception consists in knowledge which arises from the intercourse of sense-organs with their objects, being determinate, unnamable, and nonerratic¹. This definition of Gautama was in line with the definition given by Kanāda the founder of the Vaiśeṣika School who defines perception as the knowledge which arises from the intercourse of the soul with mind, the mind with a sense-organ and the sense-organ with its object.² Asaṅga and Vasubandhu the great Yogācāra philosophers too fell in the line of the realists and defined perception as "Knowledge immediate non-conceptual and non-illusive which has its source in external objects³ and as Knowledge arising from that (very) thing respectively."⁴

The later Buddhist philosophers found these definitions defective. Because these make such perceptual judgments as "this is a cow" "this is a pen", etc. possible, while proper perception, according to the Buddhists can never have any judgment. Because a judgment or a decision presupposes a distinct image⁵ which is utterable⁶ or in other words expressible by means of names but the object of perception has no power to amalgamate a sensation with a name, because names are neither appended to it, nor inherent in it, nor produced by it.⁷ In perception of the cogniser apprehends a simple reflex but thinks that all the conceptual qualities of the mind are present in the object. He has two faculties: the faculty of perception and the faculty of imagination. The imaginative faculty⁸ is mind's own characteristic⁹, its own spontaneity. It has its source in a natural constructive capacity¹⁰ by which the general features¹¹ of the object are apprehended,¹². It is so powerful that even in the perceptual process the cogniser thinks that all the imaginative qualities are present in the object while they are nothing but the constructions of his own mind.

¹. Indriyārtha sannikarsotpānam jñanam, avyapadesyam, avyabhicavi, vyavasāyatmakam, pratyakṣam. Nyāya Sūtra 1. 1. 4.

². Atmendriyārtha-sannikarsad yannispadyetc tadanyat, Vaiśeṣika Sūtra, 3. 1. 18.

³. Pratyakṣam aparokṣam Anabhyūhitam anabhyūhyam abharantam-yogacarabhūmi-smṛtimayibhūmi, 10. quoted in Rahula Śāṅkṛityayana's *Dśarsana Digdaśana* p. 729.

⁴. Tāt'rihad Vijñanam pratyakṣam iii/ Nyāya Vartika, 1. 15.

⁵. Nityatpratibhasa

⁶. abhilāpasamsārgayogya.

⁷. Paṇisuddhi. Quoted in *Buddhist logic* Vol. 2, p. 259.

⁸. Utpreska-vyāpara

⁹. manasamatmīyam

¹⁰. Vikalpa vāsanta vāsat.

¹¹. yanyatārtha or anyata-pratibhasa.

¹². Nyāya-Vartika-tatparya-tika p. 88 line 7—9.

In order to remove this defect Dignāga makes a radical distinction between perception and imagination. He defines perception as that which being free from conception is unconnected with name, genus etc.¹ It is the cognition of the form of things which through the imposed identity of the qualifying and denotative adjuncts—appears as non-determinate in connection with each of the sense-organs.²

According to this definition there is no distinction between the perception of a snake in a piece of rope, or perception of a cow, for both are thought-constructions. For instance when we perceive a cow and say that “it is red” or “it is black”, it is not perception. It is simply a description of its general characteristics which are found in other cows as well, while the object of proper perception is a particular cow which has its own individuality, and which can not be compared or contrasted with class—character and also cannot be designated by a name. It is a self-conscious process which determines the object and conforms to the unique individual nature of the object even without attributing it a name or a colour.³

Realists like Udyotakara and Kumārila raise serious objections to this definition. According to them it is defective and inconsistent with the general position of the philosophy of Dignāga, who holds categories or universals, action, quality, substance and motion to be unreal mere thought-constructions which possess no objective reality. Being mere creations of understanding they cannot be associated with a real object; because association is possible only between two real things like milk and water or between table and chair, etc. Hence the association between the conceptual content and “categories” is untenable.

If this association is maintained there would be no distinction between the position of Dignāga and the realists who believe in their objective reality. Hence the definition is inconsistent with his philosophy, and his quality of looseness of expression or confusion of thought or perhaps of both because of this tortuous formulation.⁴

Furthermore this definition makes activity impossible, and in absence of activity, the entire business of the world will come to an end.⁵ Men resort to activity with the hope that from its performance they will get pleasure or avoid pain; and this is possible only when there is certainty regarding the object that “this is that” or “this is a cow”. This certainty can not be secured from perception of Dignāga which is non-conceptual and hence unable to lead to any judgement.

“Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla defend Dignāga by maintaining that his definition expresses both the views of the realists who hold that conceptual content is always associated with universal as well as of the Buddhists who hold that it is associated only with name.⁶ Hence the realist view is to be rejected and the Buddhist view is to be accepted. The realist objects to this explanation. According to him it is inconsistent with the explanatory note given by Dignāga, where he says that in the case of proper names like *Dittha* what is denoted is an object qualified by a name, in the case of common nouns like ‘cow’ what is denoted is the object qualified by

1. Pratyakṣam Kalpanapodham namajatyadyasamyutam. *Pramana-Samuccaya* 1-3.

2. Yat jñanam artha-rupadau Viśesanabhidhaya-bhedapacarenavikalpakam ta dṛkṣamaksam prativartata iti pratyakṣam. *Nyayamukha*, Quoted in *Tatva Samgraha Panjika* p. 88 Lines 7—9.

3. Viśayasvarupa panuvidhayaḥ paricchedakḥm atmasamvedanam pratyakṣam iti. Quoted in the *Fragments from Dignaga* p. 6

4. Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux p- 284

5. *Tatva Samgraha-panjika* p. 389-39 lines 7, 1—6

6. *Tatva samgraha* Kerse1221

the universal "cow" in the case of adjectives like "white" what is expressed is the object qualified by the quality of "whiteness" in the case of verbal nouns, what is denoted is the object qualified by the action, and in the case of words speaking of substances like stick-holder, horned and the like, what is denoted is the object qualified by the substance. This 'note' proves that things qualified by the qualification of the 'universal', etc. are also separately denoted by words.¹ Kamalaśīla meets the objection thus. "The note given by Dignāga is not inconsistent with his general position. Just as when proper names are pronounced, what is denoted is the object qualified by the name, so also in the case of words expressive of the universals etc., like "cow" what is denoted is the object qualified by that name, similarly in all cases object, are denoted qualified by a name.² Realists object to this unnatural explanation saying that it is inconsistent with Dignāga's definition of perception where conceptual content has been mentioned as associated with Universal (Viśeṣaṇa) and name (abhidhāyaka)³. Kamalaśīla refuses the realists objection by saying that this definition also contains both the Buddhist and the realist views. Here he interprets the term "viśeṣaṇa" or "qualifying adjunct" for the "universal and the term "abhidhāyaka" or "denotative adjunct" for the name. Thus "perception" is free from the conceptual content associated with universal and name.⁴ According to another interpretation it is purely a Buddhist view or conceptual content. Here the term "Viśeṣaṇa" stands for differentiation or exclusion, and the word "abhidhāyaka" is denoter of the "exclusion and not of the Universal."⁵

The epithet jātiyojanā or association with universal is an unnecessary addition to the definition of the Kalpanā or the conceptual content. The nāmayojanā or verbal association itself is sufficient to characterise it. Even Buddhist philosophers like Dharmakīrti, "Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla" had at least to admit that verbal association alone was sufficient to indicate the distinct role of Kalpanā. The "association with universal" was added only out of regard for other's views which were widely prevalent⁶.

Hence Dharmakīrti excluded the epithet jāti from the definition of Kalpanā and defined it as a "distinct cognition of mental reflex which is capable of coalescing or being associated with a verbal designation"⁷. Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla also followed this line and defined Kalpanā as idea associated with verbal expression⁸. This view of Kalpanā is supported by modern Buddhist scholars like Stcherbatsky as well who observes that it corresponds to our judgement and more specially to a judgement in which the subject represents HOC Alivid, i. e. something indefinite to be made definite by the predicate, a judgement of the form "this is that". The judgement "this is Dittha" is nāma Kalpanā, "this is a patch of blue colour" is guṇa Kalpanā, "this is a cow" is jāti Kalpana. This can be called the "epistemological" form of judgement and every judgement is reduced to this form. It can be also viewed as a construction, a division, a bifurcation, an imagination (vikalpa) etc., since every judgement suggests in its predicate a division of the whole into the predicate and its counterpart, e. g. "blue and not blue" "cow and not cow" etc⁹.

Answering the second objection Kamalaśīla says that the nonconceptual nature of perception does not hamper activity in any way. Whenever a sense-perception of something, e. g., of fire takes place, it takes place as differentiated from all homogeneous and heterogeneous things

1 Pramāṇa samuccayavittī Quoted in Tattva samgraha Panjika p. 369 Line 23-25

2 Nyaya-mukha-Quoted in Tattva samgraha panjika p. 372 Line 25-26

3 Nyaya-mukha Quoted in Tattva samgraha panjika p. 372, line 25-26

4 Tava samgraha panjika p. 373 lines 3—7

5 Tattva samgraha verse 1238

6. Abhilāpa samsargayogya pratibhasa pratitih kalpana. Nyaya Bindu 1'5.

7. Nyaya bindu tika p. 10, lines 9-10,

8. Abhilāpini pratitih kalpana, tattva samgraha verse 1214.

9. Stcherbatsky Buddhist Logic Vol. II pp. 20-21 note 6.

and is also accompanied by the idea of the thing as differentiated from all homogeneous and heterogeneous things, and is also accompanied by the idea of the thing as differentiated from all other homogeneous and heterogeneous things. It manifests in that very thing certain positive and negative concepts as for instance "this is fire" and "this is not a bunch of flower"².

Further realists confuse between the objects of perception and the objects of understanding or inference. They are right in maintaining that activity proceeds from a piece of certain knowledge but wrong in holding that objects of perception can be certain or doubtful. The question of validity is different from the question of genesis. Perception generates knowledge. It does not answer the question of validity which pertains to the sphere of understanding.

Objects of perception are facts. They are neither true nor false, neither certain nor uncertain. Facts are facts or sense-data. They are given. Objects which are constructed out of them can be either true or false, certain or uncertain. Hence according to Buddhists although Realists are correct in saying that activity proceeds from certain knowledge but they are wrong in holding that this knowledge is perceptual. Activity proceeds from conceptual knowledge which has its base in perceptual knowledge.

Omission of the characteristic of non-illusiveness from the definition of perception was another point of hot controversy in the philosophy of Dignāga. As we have already seen Dignāga dropped the nonillusiveness from the traditional definition of perception and defined it as "a cognition free from conceptual content and unassociated with name, universal, substance, quality and action."³ The reason for the omission of this characteristic was manifold. He thought that the adjective "Kalpanāpodham" was sufficient to exclude inferential knowledge which was invariably associated with ideal constructions, from the domain of perception.⁴ For him the entire empirical world, this interconnected whole of substance and its qualifications, and the inferential knowledge founded upon it, is a construction of our mind and has no reference to an external existence and non-existence.⁵ Therefore such constructions or judgments as "this is a tree" or "this is a patch of colour" do not come under the domain of perception, they are within the purview or indirect knowledge of inference. Hence it is unnecessary and useless repetition to say that perception is non-illusory. It is also capable of excluding errors and illusions from the category of perception, because these errors and illusions are never in harmony with facts, though they may be free from ideal constructions, while the perception is always in harmony with facts.⁶

Jinendra Buddhi enumerates some other reasons for the omission of "non-illusiveness from the definition of perception. According to him Dignāga desired to make it more comprehensive so that it may be acceptable to both the realists and the idealists.⁷ Had it been added to the definition, of perception it would not have been acceptable to the idealists for whom the entire world is an illusion. Further the term 'illusion' admits many interpretations. Its ambiguous nature might have created a difficulty for the entire system of Buddhist Logic. Explaining the position of Dignāga Vacaspati Misra says that the Buddhist Logic is based on two entirely different sources of knowledge—Perception and Inference. The object of perception

2. Tattva janigraha panjika p. 390 lines 1013.

3. Pratyaksam Kalpanāpodham nama jatyadyasmyutam. Pramāṇa samuccaya 1'3.

4. Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux P. 275

5. Sarvō'yam anumānanumeya Vyavaharo buddhavarudhenaiva dharma-dharmi' bhavena na bahih sadasmattva mapeksate. Nyaya-Vartika-Tatparyatika P. 39 line 13-14. Manovisayah. hi vibhrama visayah. Pramāṇa Samuccaya vrtti 1'19.

6. Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux P. 275.

7. Tattva samgraha panjika P. 392 line 6, Nyaya bindu tika tippani P. 19, Buddhist Logic, Vol. 11156.

can never be the object of inference and vice versa. The object of perception is svalakṣaṇa or particular,—a simple reflex, an indeterminate momentary sensation, and the object of inference is sāmānya lakṣaṇa or universal, a determinate, enduring and decisive thought-construction. On the basis of above reasoning the objects of perception such as cow, tree, etc., are as unreal and illusive as moving fire brand and mirage, etc. Because they are not svalakṣaṇas. If we accept the former to be real way should we not accept the later also to be real¹.

With Dharmakīrti we find a fundamental change in Dignāgas definition of perception. He followed him with a strategic retreat, which has an important bearing on the development of Buddhist epistemology. Felling in line with Asanga, he reinserted non-illusiveness in his definition of perception and defined it as non-conceptual and non-illusive knowledge². Explaining 'non-illusiveness he says that it is not contradicted by that underlying essence of reality which possesses efficiency³. In other words it denotes "the knowledge which is not at variance with the direct reality. For instance water is no water if it does not quench our thirst nor fire is fire if it does not burn our finger.

Kamalaśīla also followed Dharmakīrti's definition but gave a different meaning to "non-illusiveness". According to him if we take this word in the sense of an object which really exists it will not be applicable to the yogācāra Idealists who do not believe in the real existence of objects⁴. Hence, we should use this word in the sense of avisamvādi or non-incongruous, which means "the presence of the capacity to envisage a thing which is capable of the intended fruitful activity. It does not mean actually envisaging it because there may be obstacles in its actual envisaging⁵.

The question arises "Why did Dharmakīrti and kamalaśīla, etc., insert the characteristic of non-illusiveness in the definition of perception. Was it an improvement on the definition of Dignāga.

According to Kamalaśīla the reason for insertion of the characteristic of non-illusiveness to the definition of perception is necessary to combat⁶ the prevailing notion among the followers of Dignāga who hold illusions to be purely mental. Even if the illusions are purely mental the inclusion of this characteristic in the definition of perception is not superfluous. Because the purposes of this definition is to include not only sensuous perceptions but mystic intuitions and dream cognitions as well which are purely mental⁷. Further in all our Knowledge there is a tinge of conceptual content hence it cannot bring distinct knowledge of a thing⁸, in absence of this characteristic. In short the purpose of Dharmakīrti and his followers in inserting this characteristic was to distinguish perception from all mental and sensuous illusions which are caused by colour blindness, rapid motion, travelling in a boat, sickness or other causes⁹. These illusions and hallucinations although resemble perception but they are contradicted by their subsequent experiences and are incapable of producing effects. Perceptions on the other hand are free from such defects. They are uncontradicted by later experiences and are also capable of producing effects. These considerations led Dharmakīrti to insert the attribute "non-illusive" or "abhrantam" in the definition of perception.

1. Nyaya Kanika p. 194 line 17.

2. Kūlpānupādānam uphrāntam pratyaktam. Nyaya bindu, 1.4.

3. Nyaya bindu p. 6—8.

4. Tattva samgraha pañjika p. 392 lines 5, 6.

5. Avisamvāditam abhimātārtha kriya-samārtthartha prapana saktikatvam, natu prapanam eva pratibandhādī sambhāvāt. Tattva samgrah pañjika p. 392, lines 7—8.

6. Abhranta grahitaṁ vipratipittinirakarānartham Nyaya-bindu-tika p. 9 line 8.

7. Tattva samgraha pañjika p. 392 lines 15—18

8. Tattva samgraha pañjika p. 392 lines 23—25

9. Nyaya bindu 1.6

Looking back on this whole complicated development of interpretations on the nature of perceptual thinking we are inclined to think—that of all the definitions given by Asanga, Vaṣubandhu, Dignāga Dharmakīrti and others the definition given by Dignāga is the most revolutionary and most convincing because of its being most logically sound and in consonance with the fundamentals of Buddhist epistemology. The reinsertion of *abhrāntam* in the definition of perception was made by Dharmakīrti and his followers due to some misconceptions which are as follows:—

First—they misconceived the role of inference in cognition that is the reason they include dreams, illusions and hallucinations in perception. According to Dignāga they are not perceptions. They are like the cognitions of pots and trees, mental constructions out of *svalakṣaṇas*. Worldly objects are not objects of sense—perception. They are objects of mental construction.

Secondly—The object of perception cannot be “*bhrāntam*” or “*abhrāntam*” valid or invalid. It is the datum. *Bhrāntam* and *abhrāntam* are the attributes of mediate or inferential knowledge.

Thirdly—the discriminative adjective “*abhrāntam*” implies that there is a perception which is *bhrāntam* also. But this is not the case.

Forthly—objects of perception are like the impressions of Hume, matters of fact. They are neither true nor false. Truth or falsity is the property of judgements. Lastly Dignāga has been misunderstood by Dharmakīrti and Kamalsīla. His opponents Kumārila and Udyotakara have understood him correctly. They have refuted his theory of perception and maintained that perception is discursive. But their criticism does not answer the problem of sense-data of *svalakṣaṇas*. They are either constructed or given. If they are constructed, their construction will lead to an infinite regress, for they will be constructed out of materials which are also constructed. Moreover in that case they will not be different from the objects of understanding and perception will not differ from understanding. If they are given then the process of their reception cannot be construction. This appraisal of the term “*abhrāntam*” is partly supported by Dr. Satkari Mukerji who says that the introduction of the adjective “*abhrāntam*” was not made by way of improvement but was dictated by a practical necessity to rebut a prevailing misconception among a section of Buddhist philosophers which perhaps on account of its volume and strength called for this amendment. ¹ The above appraisal is also supported by the author of the *Nayayābindu tīka tippāni* who clearly says that this insertion was made in accordance with the external view of the Sautrāntika philosophy. It is inconsistent with internal view of *yogācāra* idealism where validity of perception is inherent and there is nothing which can be excluded from it self. ²

1. Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux p. 281.

2. *Nayayābindu tīka-tippāni* p. 19

BUDDHA AND MAHAVIRA

A Philosophical Perspective

T. G. Kalghatgi

I. Buddhism and Jainism have enriched the cultural heritage of India. The two belong to the Śramaṇic current of thought. They have influenced the Indian Weltanschauung by preventing some fundamental metaphysical and moral concepts which were assimilated in the mainstream of Indian culture. There have been some striking similarities in the mythical content of the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra and their form of teaching. They need to be studied in the sociological and historical setting. Philosophical interpretation of the fundamental teachings of the two prophets would reveal that a common source of philosophic thought must have influenced the two leaders. And there appeared to be a common social canvas on which the lives of the two and their teachings were set.

II. We may consider a few of the fundamental concepts which need to be studied in the panoramic picture with the historical and sociological setting.

1. The historical Buddha called Śākya muni was the last of the Buddhas in this aeon. He began to prepare himself to this task thousands of years ago under the guidance of Dipankara, the first Buddha. The Buddha was, at that time a Brahmin young boy named Megha. He bowed to Dipankara and thought that some day he might be the Perfect one as Dipankara. And then said the Perfect one, Dipankara, "You shall be, young Brahmin, in a future period, after an immeasurable and incalculable aeon, in Kapilvastu, a tathāgata by name Śākyamuni an Arhat, a fully enlightened Buddha." *1.

Similar incident has been mentioned in describing the gradual preparation of Mahavira, the twenty fourth Tīrthankara for the attainment of perfection. The first tīrthankara, Rṣabha, thousands of years ago realised by the Kevala jñāna that his grandson Marici would be the last tīrthankara, Vardhamāna Mahavira. Rṣabha, the first tīrthankara, said his son Bharata that Marici, his son, would be the last tīrthankara, Vardhamāna Māhavīra. There are many such parallel situations in the mythical content of the lives of both the prophets, Buddha and Mahavira. For instance ; the mother of Siddhartha Gautam, the Buddha, dreamt in a dream that the elephant entered her body. That was an auspicious sign of her giving birth to a prophet like Buddha. Similarly when Kṣatriyāni, Trisālādevī, the mother of Vardhamāna Mahavira the twenty fourth tīrthankara, got fourteen dreams, king Siddhartha called the interpreter of dreams who knew the great science and listened to his interpretation. *3 At that time there was a general belief that dreams are significant and they were interpreted by the experts in dream analysis. It was said that Bodhisattva distinguished himself in the science of dreams. According to the Svetāmbara version, there were fourteen great dreams. But the Digambar version mentions sixteen dreams. *4 In ancient India dreams were recognised as important and the study of dreams was considered an important science. The science of dreams has been described in the Matsya-purāṇa and Agni-purāṇa. (ii) It has been said that when Siddhartha Gautama left his home and went to the forest for penance, he moved about like a Jain Niggaṇtha muni for some time. Buddha has himself described it, "Sāriputta," he said, "I went about without clothes.....I took my food in the palms.....I took no food within a threshold or through the window.....I plucked my hair." *5 This

resembles the instructions for the Jaina munis given in the *Mulākāra*. He then came to realise that extreme self-denial, as extreme indulgence in pleasures, is one sided and one extreme which should be avoided by those seeking self-realisation. This attitude of Buddha gave rise to the doctrine of the *Madhyama marga*.

(iii) Buddha and Mahavira were contemporaries preaching their own doctrines to the people. They showed respect to each other. The Buddha expressed his regard for Mahāvīr whenever he talked about him to his disciples. Once Lord Gautama went to Vaisali and there he said to Sinha, the layman *Sravaka*, "Sinha, your family has been serving *Nigganthas* for a long period. When they arrive you should not refrain from giving them alms." * 6. Buddha said to Upali, when the great *Niggantha Nataputta* was moving in the company of a large number of disciples at Nalanda, "Your family has been serving the *Nigganthas* for a long time ' when they arrive, you should not refrain from serving them with alms. " * 7. Considered from the point of view of the conceptual content of these incidents, it appears that the two streams of thought propagated by the prophets had a common cultural heritage. They spring, as has been generally accepted, from the Sramanic current of thought which is distinct from the Brahminic thought and which was later assimilated in the general stream of Indian culture. There was a community of interests among the two schools of thought. The primary object of the movement was ethical and was meant to lift the suffering humanity from the mire of misery and show them the way to salvation. They also wanted to save the common man from monopolist approach of section of people towards the spiritual path. They wanted to make man good citizens and ultimately good men. Ritualism and sacrifices had sapped the energy of the common man and made him a helpless creature begging for salvation from the man who claimed to have the exclusive knowledge and the right to lead them towards the path of freedom from misery. The two prophets had this common aim before them. Therefore, they talked to the people in their language and inspired in them self-confidence and zest for the life here and the life beyond.

III. It is sometimes suggested that the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīr, coming from the common source of Sramanic current of thought have common points of interest and essentially similar, although the presentations were various with different emphasis. The Buddhist cardinal principle of thought was *madhyama marga*. The Jainas aimed at spiritual salvation by self-denial to a great extent, for the *śravakas* it was necessary to strike balance between self-denial and the performance of social duties. Some of the concepts have a close affinity although they are not identical in presentation. We may mention a few instances of philosophical concepts of the Buddhists and the Jainas in this connection.

(i) The Buddhist view of *Nirvāna* can be very well compared with the Jaina view of *Mokṣa*. *Nirvāna* according to Buddha was passing away of pain, it is passing away that no pain remains. It is the extinction of suffering. Buddha never discussed the metaphysical question of the nature of *nirvāna*. For him all absorbing question was how to free men from suffering. It was the later philosophers who gave different interpretations of the nature of *nirvāna*. Some have given a negative interpretation saying that *nirvāna* is nothingness. It is extinction of everything. But it appears that the Buddha meant that the highest end is the extinction of egoity. There are passages which show that *nirvāna* is positive blessedness. It is a kind of state devoid of egoity, a timeless existence. It is a state of purity, freshness and bliss. It is becoming one with the eternal reality, which Buddha does not explicitly admit "To think that *Nirvāna* is annihilation is, according to Buddha a wicked heresy" * 8. However, two different attitudes were developed regarding the interpretation of nature of *Niravana*, Buddha's description of state of the highest knowledge as given in the *Majjhima Nikaya* shows that *nirvāna* is not extinction, but a blissful condition, free from attachment and all knowledge**

Similarly the concepts like *asrava* and *apramatta* have been used by the Jainas and the Buddhists in a similar sense. The Jaina view of *moksa* has a positive content. When all the *karmanas* are destroyed, the soul reaches the state of *siddhahood* where it remains in eternal bliss in the *siddhasila*. There he possesses infinite knowledge and infinite conation, and is pure and unrivalled. * 10. In the highest state of perfection, the individuality, the masks the formal personal features are distilled away. *11.

(ii) Buddhism does not give a clear and scientific account of the doctrine of *karma* as the Jainas do, although the *karma* theory lays an important part in Buddhist philosophy. The Buddha had to undergo innumerable previous birth before he reached the state of Buddha-hood. The Jainas have given a systematic and scientific account of the doctrine of *karma*. It is not necessary to go into the details of the *karma* theory as given by the Jainas and the Buddhists. Suffice to say that the *karma* theory has been the central principle and the basal presupposition for both the teachers, Buddha and Mahavira. It appears that the Buddhists had the Jaina conception of the doctrine of *karma* in mind while elucidating their theory of *karma*. We find the use of concepts like '*asrava*' and *samvipa* Buddhist literature. Similarly, the concept of *karma-vipaka* has been widely used. * I2.

(iii) The doctrine of *ahimsa* has played an important part in the Jainas and the Buddhist ethics. Buddha was compassionate and he was averse to causing slightest injury to any living being. For the sake of liberation, one should give up causing injury to the vitalities of living beings. * 13. Buddha instructed his disciples to see that the remains of the food after eating should be thrown in such a place where there are no herbs or in water devoid of living beings. * 14. Sramana Gautam does not eat at night and he keeps himself aloof from destroying the seeds and group of beings. * 15. The protection of vegetable life should also be cared for by the monks. In describing the daily conduct of monks, it is said that they should avoid destruction of seeds and creatures: such as grown through roots, grown through trunks, grown through fruit, stem and grown through seeds, *16. In the *Diggha Nikaya* it has been stated that the form of *yajna* which is performed with ghee and oil and without any form of injury is the true *yajna*. *17.

The Jaina conception of *ahimsa* is all-pervading. For Jainism, *ahimsa* is the cardinal ethical principle. *Ahimsa paramodharman* is the primary motto of Jainism. Jainism forbids any one to cause injury to any living being however small it may be or a life force of an organism (prana) directly with our own hands, by causing some one to do so on our behalf or giving consent to the act of injury caused by others. *Himsa* has been defined as injury caused to the living organism due to carelessness and negligence and actuated by passions like pride and prejudice, attachment and hatred. *18. Jainas give importance to the psychic violence which must be avoided, Harboursing the wish to harm constitutes psychic violence. *19. *Acaranga-sutra* gives detailed description of the codes of conduct of the monks in practising *ahimsa* and other *vratas*. In the *Ratanakandaka-rava-kacara*, we get the description of the social morality for the layman for practising the *vrata* as in the form of *anu-vrata*. Non-violence is not more noninjury in the negative sense. It has a positive content in the expression of love and compassion. Buddha was the embodiment of compassion. Religion of Jesus is the religion of love. In this sense, there is identity of expression of love and compassion in Buddhism, Jainism and Christianity.

Yet, it has been suggested that the Buddha and Buddhism had to compromise their position in the practice of *ahimsa*. It is said, the monks and the laymen were permitted to eat flesh. Certain references are quoted in this connection. It was maintained that Buddha allowed the monks to eat flesh of the animals killed not for their sake. *19. Buddha is supposed to have

accepted a meal from the Jaina General Siha who had provided meat. The report was that he killed an ox for the sake of Buddha. *20. It has also been reported that Buddha ate the flesh of a pig (Sūkara maddava) at a meal given to him by Chunda, a blacksmith. *21.

However, it is difficult to believe that such a conception of permitting to eat flesh for the monks and the laymen was preached by the Buddha as it would not be consistent with the abounding love and compassion, almost superhuman, that Buddha embodied in himself. It is very much unlikely that such a widespread and inconsistent concession to the practice of *ahiṃsā* was seriously entertained as a principle of conduct, although there must have been stray reference to eating of flesh depending on the circumstances that the Buddhist monks had to face. For instance, (i) it is difficult to believe that the Jaina commander, Siha, killed an ox for providing meat to Buddha. It seems impossible. It must have been a form of a parade. (ii) The last meal of Buddha with the Blacksmith Chunda might not have contained the flesh of a pig. (Sūkara maddava) was also translated as some form of peas, or rice. In the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* there is explicit prohibition from eating flesh. The followers of Buddha should not eat flesh and one who is kind and compassionate to animals cannot eat flesh as it involves killing of animals for whatever motivation. *22. It appears that when the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* vigorously protested against the eating of flesh which was the practice when Buddhism entered Ceylon. The Pali texts mentioning the concession for eating flesh must have been written at that time. And *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* was a vigorous protest against that practice. *23.

6. Buddha and Mahāvīra were against the sacrificial rites in which the animals were sacrificed. They protested against sacrifices and held that sacrificial rites would not bring lasting peace to man. If by sacrificing a goat at the altar of yajna, the performer of sacrifice would go to heaven, it is much better for the person to sacrifice himself at the altar. Buddha said, 'I do not approve of sacrifices; for I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of others' sufferings. *24. "That sacrifice is glorious in which the cows and the goats are not killed...even the grass is not cut....One who follows the *vrata*s performs the real sacrifice." *25. Mahāvīra protested against the elaborate ritualism of worship and causing of injury to animals at the altar of sacrifices. The vigorous protests of Buddha and Mahāvīra against killing of animals during sacrifices had the salutary effect on the minds of the people. As Radhakrishnan says; The Upanisads also, like Buddhism, protested against the practice of killing animals during the sacrifice. *26. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanisad*, we are asked to meditate on horses sacrifice. *27. But, as Radhakrishnan says, the authors of the Upanisads were cautious enough to give mild protests so as not to disturb the social stability. **28.

7. Buddha and Mahāvīra were against caste distinctions that has vitiated the lives of the innocent people in society for centuries. Buddha said that one cannot become a brahmin by birth; one does not become an outcaste by birth. One becomes a brahmin or an outcaste by acts. *29. "The Brahmin who has removed all sinfulness, who is free from haughtiness, from impurity, self-restrained and an accomplished master of knowledge - - - is the Brahmin. *30. Mahāvīra decried caste system, which brought misery and inequality among men. No one is inferior to another man. No one is a brahmin by virtue of his birth or a *ksatriya* by virtue of his birth. One is a brahmin or *ksatriya* by virtue of his actions. *31. Similarly, one cannot become an ascetic by pulling one's hair on the head (*keśalocana*) or a brahmin by repeating *Onkāra* mantra, a muni by residing in forest nor an ascetic by wearing the bark of trees as clothes. *32. One has to experience the fruits of karma. He cannot be free from the bondage of karma.

In the Chandogya Upaniṣad we get a similar protest but in milder form. Satyakāma Jābāla went to Gautama, son of Haridrumat and said, 'I wish to become a Brahmacarin'. He explained that he did not know of what family he belonged. His mother conceived him in her youth when she was a servant. 'I am Satyakāma, the son of Jābāla'. "He was then initiated, as 'no one but a true Brahmin would thus speak out.'" *33. IV. We have, so far, surveyed the conceptual panorama in the lives and teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra. The Buddhist and the Jaina view of life is fundamentally the same. Life is to be looked as 'a vale of soul making' in which the individuals have to struggle for perfection. The attainment of perfection has a long and arduous path. Ahimsā and compassion are the ethical foundation of their view of life. The terminology might slightly differ according to the context of the discourses that Buddha and Mahāvīra had with their disciples and lay followers. We have, therefore, suggested that the life incidents and the teachings of the two prophets have to be understood in the historical and the conceptual setting, in the study of sociological background. This needs to be investigated by the social philosophers and historians. That would enable the present day to scholars to understand the two prophets and their teaching in the proper perspective.

We may mention a few of the problems which have engaged our attention for some time past :

(i) We have, as we mentioned earlier, twenty-four tirthankaras and twenty-four Buddhas in the present aeon. Similarly, number three is important in the Buddhist, the Jains and Hindu religious and philosophical setting. The Jains have sixty-three silakha puruṣas. The significance of these numbers only, not more nor less is to be properly understood. I had a discussion with Padmashree Dr. Bendre, the noted Kannada poet and a mystic philosopher in this respect. He has suggested the numbers mentioned above have gained philosophical and spiritual significance, as the religious concepts had formed certain astronomical correlations. The Jains have shown remarkable sense of mathematical acumen. They have presented fabulous mathematical calculations in analysing their concepts of karma and janāna. This needs further study.

(ii) The Buddha and Mahāvīra did not claim to present new theories. They revived and regenerated the concepts in the Śramaṇic tradition. Mahāvīra did adopt the teachings of the twenty-third tirthankara Pārśvanāth and modified them in respect of the number of vratas to be practised by the monks and the laymen alike. Buddha said that Thathāgata had no theories of his own. Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. Radhakrishnan says that Buddha carried the tradition of the Upaniṣads. *34

(iii) Buddha and Mahāvīra were not fatalists. They taught that we are shaped by the karma that we earn by our activity. The statement Karmaṇye vādhikaraste, presented in the Bhagavadgīta, can well be interpreted in the light of the teachings of the two prophets as "We are the masters of our own karma. We earn the karma that accrues to us and we are only responsible for the fruits of the deeds that we do".

(iv) In this sense, we have not to depend on the grace of any higher being and even of God. For the Jains it is not necessary to surrender to any higher being, nor to ask for any divine favours for the individual to reach the highest goal of perfection. There is no place for divine grace ; there is emphasis on individual efforts in the moral and spiritual struggle for self-realisation *35. The Buddha said to his disciples " And now, brethren, I take my leave of you : all the constituents of beings are transitory : work your own salvation with diligence*36". These were the last words of Buddha.

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Jain Cosmogony—A Comparative Study

Damodar Shastri

INTRODUCTION

Cosmogony—a creation of Human mind

It is a psychological fact that man as distinguished from all other developed animals with five senseorgans, is a thinking and inquisitive animal.

Since the days when he became consciousness of himself and his surroundings for the first time, he was wonderstruck by the complicate yet fascinating universe around himself.

The feeling of admiration, awe and wonder animated him to religious acts and also to probe into them with a speculative thought to interpret and explain the deeper meanings of life and nature. He began to ponder over the problems of life and phenomena of nature.

This quest for knowledge of the said problems of life and nature started among the thinkers of various countries, consequently the different systems of Philosophy with their cosmogonical thoughts evolved out. Thus cosmogony is a creation of the human mind in satisfaction of some emotional or intellectual drive for the purpose of discovering a descriptive order into the world as a whole of which man himself is an important element.

Cosmogony in India

In India, the thinkers of the yore were not exception to this. The questions on the life and the universe had puzzled the curious mind of Indian thinkers from time immemorial, and they made a great contribution, in the process of time, to the evolution of cosmogonical thought as it is revealed in ancient and medieval Indian literatures.

Vedic texts contains various references which reveal the inquisitiveness about the origin and sustenance of the universe and ther possible solutions, and these have a strong bearing on the views expressed in the post-vedic sacred literature, viz., the Upanishads, the Great Epics and Puranas which are full of immense materials related to cosmology, cosmognoy and cosmography. Puranas expand and thus present important modifications in the progress of opinion. They present important modification in the progress of opinion. The Indian-Vedic and Puranic cosmological theories present striking similarities in fundamentals with those which prevailed in western Asia and the Mediterranean lands.

Non-Vedic philosophies and Cosmogony

Apart from the Vedic current of thought, discussed so far, one more current of thought namely, Shramanic current of thought, shines in the fermanent of Indian philosoply with no less grandeur than Vedic current of thought.

The vital point of difference and distinction may be summed up as that Shramana current of thought (which is divided into two streams—Jainism and Buddhism) deny (or ignore) the authority of Vedas which form the bedrock of Brahmanism, while all other Indian philosophical systems—

the streamlets of Vedic current of thought have accepted, more or less, the authenticity and authoritativeness of Vedas and also their parts, e. g., Upanishads, etc. Jainism and Buddhism—both are based solely on the preachings of their own omniscient, enlightened great Masters.

These non-Vedic systems, like other philosophical systems paid good attention to the problem pertaining to Cosmology, Cosmogony, and Cosmography. The very elaborate discussions and systematic exposition with technical details and cumbrous calculations and thus presenting in reader's mind a clear picture of the universe, its habitants and its constituents are found in their sacred literatures. In the domain of knowledge, the contribution of Jainas as well as Buddhists is so great that the study of Indian Cosmogony is considered incomplete if Jain and Buddhist theories are ignored.

In this monograph, attempt has been made to bring out as concise as possible the Jain Cosmogonical ideas contained in Jain texts—religious or secular.

The significance of Jain Cosmogonical Study

The study of Jain Cosmology (or Cosmogony) is a matter of importance and absorbing interest for more than one reasons, which are as under :

- (a) The fact that Jainism has a prehistoric origin is admitted by most of the scholars. It, is pointed out by Zimmer, reflects the Cosmology of a much older, pre-Aryan upper-class of north-eastern India.
- (b) The characteristics of Jainism is that, unlike other philosophies, in the treatment of cosmology, it adopts the rational, many-sided view.
- (c) The non-Jain Cosmology is basically an assumption of a primitive society and its gradual development, modifications, alternations and also the varied forms are seen throughout the vast Vedic Literature, viz., Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads, the two Epics, Puranas etc. The Jain Cosmological ideas are expounded by these superman i. e. Jainas, Arhantas, who had by undergoing a course of rigorous self-discipline, had attained the fullest and clearest self-realisation and absolute spiritual perfection, known and experienced the reality and realised the Truth.
- (d) The significance of the Jain Cosmographical study is enhanced due to the fact that it is closely related to the ethical metaphysical doctrine. It is admitted by Jainas that the contemplation of the structure and nature of world, its three regions, pleasure and pains experienced by cosmic beings is a type of virtuous meditation known as 'Sansthāna-vichaya' which is regarded as a cause of liberation. The meditating on the nature of the universe, etc., is known as Loka-anuprekshā or Bhāvanā or reflection which helps to stop the inflow of Karman matter into the soul. The moral teachings without the knowledge of the universe is also condemned by Jainas.

Reference Books

Besides Tattvārtha Sūtra by Umāswāmi and several elaborate commentaries on it, the entire Jain literature—religious or secular are permeated by the details of metaphysical doctrines forming cosmological views, though the entire Jain Canonical literature (in Ardhamāgdhi Prākṛit) belonging to the Shwetāmbera tradition and the religious literature which represent the Dravyanuyoga, and Karanānuyoga groups in the Digambara tradition are important for the study of Jain Cosmology.

For the sake of clarity, the subject may be treated under these heads :

- (A) Jain Cosmogony (B) Cosmic constituents (C) Cosmic Law
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Jain Cosmogony

Damodar Shastri

By Cosmogony is meant the theory of origin of the universe, i. e., Cosmogony explains as to how this universe came into existence.

According to Jainism, the universe is eternal without a beginning and an end, though it may undergo changes during the course of ages. The universe has existed since eternity and will exist for ever, because the constituent substances of the universe are all eternal.

Changing-cum-permanent Existence of the Universe

All substances possess some immutable, constant and distinctive attributes of their own, known as gunas or qualities which separate and distinguish them with each other, but they are not at a standstill. Each substance apart from its permanent quality as its essential character, has also infinite impermanent attributes and modes or modifications as its accidental character known as Paryayas which constantly undergo changes in the form of appearance and disappearance, the old one disappearing and new one appearing, while the original substantiality abides there unchanged. Thus each substance has a triple aspect of manifestation disappearance and continuity, i. e., it eternally exists in the midst of continuous appearance and disappearance of the modes of its own attributes.

This complex nature of the substance or reality has been stressed in its definition by Umaswami—Reality or Substance (according to the Jainas, Substance, Existence and Reality are all identified) is that which is possessed of the quality of permanency with generation and destruction as modifications of itself.

Hence the three characteristics may be expressed in three different ways: the substance may be said to be eternal, neither created nor destroyed due to its permanent substantiality and eternal existence, it may be said to be created as well as destroyed. When it is explained in the light of its infinite modes coming into existence one after another, after disappearance of the former ones. In short, the substance is both permanent and impermanent because it possesses of dual properties, one transitory and the other eternal. Due to the first, all things are in a state of flux, i. e., they undergo changes constantly, they cease to be and they become, while due to the second property they do not lose their existence throughout the transformations.

Thus the Jainism tries to apprehend or describe fully the whole of reality by taking into combination the different aspects, emphasising one particular aspect than other one at a time.

On account of many-sided or rational method being adopted, Jainism accepts both the identity and difference (i. e., permanency and impermanency) as equally significant in comprehending reality or substance and hence it condemns the philosophical system which clings to a partial aspect of the Reality. It rejects the views of those (e. g., vedantins) who advocates the permanency as the essential nature of Reality and it also opposes the theory of those (e. g., Bauddhas) who maintains

difference or impermanency alone is the characteristic of reality declaring everying in the world to be momentary, and thus denying an enduring substance.

These non-Jaina philosophical systems are the examples of one-sided absolutism of thought which ignore all other points of view. Both these views are partially true, true, only in relation to the observer and each develops into a dogma as soon as it is asserted that it conveys the whole truth about reality. The Reality, according to the Jainas, is so complex in its nature that while every-one of these views is true as far as it goes, none is completely true, though the precise nature of reality baffles all attempts to describe it directly and once for all, yet it is not impossible to make it none through a series a partially true statements without committing ourselves to anyone of them exclusively.

This triple aspect of appearance, disappearance and permanency are probably presented in Hindu Puranas as three gods—Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu respectively who are regarded creator, destroyer and sustainer. But Jainas do not agree in accepting the creation and sustenance as function of Brahma and Vishnu.

The concept of Jain Substance or Reality as a whole which is a subtle essence underlying all the substances of the world and is a cause of their existence and modifications is analogous to the concept of Hindu Goddess described as creator, protector and destroyer. It also reminds us the Upanishadic concept of Brahma which pervades the entire world ; but we do not forget that this Jain Reality is dwelling inseparably in all the substances constituting the world, while the Brahma is a separate entity existing also outside the world as indicated in a Vedic verse (Rig. X. 90.1).

Creation and destruction explained

The constituent substances of the world are eternal, imperishable and beginningless. Jainism denies creation of any non-existing things and destruction of existing ones. So, it does not accept the theory at some particular time the emanicipation or springing up from as well as annihilation or disappearance or submerging of the universe in any supreme or ultimate Reality takes place, as some Vedic theologicians advocate.

As creation and destruction apply only to the condition or manifestation of the substance and these are rooted in the essential nature of it (substance). The substance is itself a material cause of its changes—creation and destruction, while time (substance) is an efficient or external or auxiliary cause. Every substance is subjected to these endless and continuous changes, may be imperceptibly, slow, but certain To sumup, Nature and Time are the co-operating conditions by which even the minutest object of our world is able to continue its own existence for ever alongs with the endless chain of cnanges revolving in. So, logically there is no need of postulating a God (as a separate entity existing outside the substances), and as Creator, Ruler, sustainer, and also a First cause—either material or instrumental or efficient of the World, as indicated in Vedas and Upanishads.

Jain concept of God

The term God is used in Jainism to denote the highest state of existence of Jiva or the concious principle. When a soul gets itself free from all karmas, it attains full divinity, becomes a Paramatma and begins to enjoy infinite bliss, Infinite peace etc. According to the Jainas, there are two types of Paramatma or God ; (i) Sakala and ii) Nikala. The former is a spiritually perfect and ideal saint equipped with the infinite Perception, infinite bliss and infinite power, devoid of anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment, hatred and ignorance, and known as Arhanta or Jina—a state of Jivanmukta. The latter is a soul absolutely free from all types of karmas and attained the state of

perfect spirituality and is incapable of maintaining causal relation with the Karmic series-an absolute bodiless state, known as Siddha or Pūrṇa Mukta which is synonymous with Nirvāṇa. In this stage the soul reaches the top of the universe and never descends to the defective limited mundane condition. The soul is existing in both the conditions-that of Jīva Ātmā (mundane soul) and Paramātmā (liberated soul) since eternity. The former whirling round the wheel of birth and death, the other being uninfluenced by external (karmic) conditions, fully absorbed in the transcendental bliss of his own pure nature for ever. This is the conception of Godhood accepted by the Jainas.

It is to be noted here that though Jainism does not deny the existence of God, but it does not attribute the quality of creating and causing dissolution of the world to God.

Jainas also accept the existence of gods (or celestial beings) residing in heaven or on this earth, who due to their meritorious deeds in their previous birth are born as gods with a varied certain period of life and some supernatural powers and capacity but these are regarded as other mortal beings, even inferior than human beings in some cases. They have nothing to do with the creation and substance of the world.

Hence Jainism differs from Vedic thought that gods are representations of the causal energies from which each aspect of the subtle and visible world is derived, that the gods are regarded as a subtle entity Presiding over the functioning of one aspect of the universe and that the gods are like the notes of the flute whose differences are the basis of music although they are envisaged as mere modalities of air vibration.

Jainism is vehemently opposed to the Vedic and puranic view which regards Vishnu and Rudra as ruler and destroyer. According to Jainism, this cannot be accepted as God because they are not supposed to be freed from the feelings of attachment and aversion.

Jain God compare with Brahman

Some similarities, however, might be traced between the Jain concept of God (Pāramatmā) and Upanishadic and Vedāntic (Shankar's) concept of Brahman, viz. (I) Jain tradition, like Vedānta and Upanishads regard liberation (or siddhahood) as Brahma Pada i. e. accepts Brahma and Paramātmā synonymous and interchangeable, (II) it regards liberation as a summa bonum of life, i.e. transformation of Ātmā into Paramātmā is the ultimate aim or realisable goal for a follower of Jain path, (iii) It describes Siddhahood as Advaitāvasthā (iv) It identifies ultimately the individual self with Paramātmā, (v) maintains that liberated soul pervades the entire universe (see Prevaṇasāra, 1:23,26. But the difference become obvious as soon as we go deep and discuss in the light of their creation theories.

Creation-not an act of God

Jainism maintains that Jiva and Ajiva-these two primary substances, when coming in contact, become somehow attracted and combined and bound with each other, constitute the universe. Jiva-intelligent substance alone without the aid of Ajiva- a non-intelligent substance is not supposed to be a cause for mundane existence. As Siddha or liberated soul of Jainas is a pure and perfect soul without the least karmic impurities, he is absolutely free from and dissociated with the matter of all kinds and completely devoid of feelings of attachment and aversion with the result that new matter ceases to be attracted towards himself and he is no longer able to be a cause for mundane existence.

Secondly, liberated soul can not be a material cause or able to evolve this world out of himself because it being an intelligence substance cannot be cause of non-intelligent materials.

Thirdly, the liberated soul of Jainas with infinite qualities differs from ideal of Nirguna Brahman as accepted by Shankar School. The Brahman of this nondualist school is ultimately

beyond all attributes, while Jainas hold that a liberated soul is crowned with the eight attributes. The liberated soul according to the Jainas, though formless is described to occupy space and that too, of a measure determined in comparison with the bodies last possessed, e. g. it is stated to be two third of the size of the body it had last. If this is the case, it cannot be identified with formless Brahman. A substance according to Jainas, is never supposed to be without a quality, so a concept of non-qualified Brahman without attributes is impossible.

Jain God compared with Ishwara

The Vedantins also accept a concept of qualified Brahman; they maintain that Brahman infected with Māyā its inherent power or potency is qualified Brahman which is also known as Ishwara. But it is also disagreeable to Jainas, because a soul once liberated, being equipped with infinite knowledge never suppose to have illusion as its inherent power. Vedantins hold that Māyā is of the nature of super-imposition, it is an error it is a wrong cognition and it is a removable bright knowledge.

The Ishwara of Vedantins is described as Creator and caretaker too, of the universe like father and mother. God takes birth (or incarnate) on the earth whenever there is decline of righteousness and rise of unrighteousness. This is called divine incarnation. Jainas do not believe in such a theory, as true God, according to them, is devoid of love, hatred etc. and a liberated soul cleansed from Karmic dirt has not possibility of ever appearing again in the Karmic conditions and to be subject of birth & death.

Fourthly, neither Brahma nor Ishwara of Vedantins can be regarded as similar to Jain God because Jainas believe in realistic pluralism where Vedantins Shankares believe in only one Reality and all Vedantins along with Nyāya & Vaiśhṣhika agree in oneness of creator Ishwara. Though the Vedantins accept the uncreated and eternal nature of the individual selves in a way still they do not recognise the substantiality thereof individuality is an illusion for them. They assert the unity of soul and deny its plurality. But Jainism, on the contrary, holds that souls exist in all living beings and each separately. In their claim that all pure Jīvas (souls) are alike, the Jainas do not rightly support the doctrine of oneness of Vedantins. Jainas hold that infinite liberated soul may exist touching each other and intermingles with each other, but they retain their individuality, while some vedantins hold that a liberated soul emerges in Brahma (Supreme Essence) and loses its individuality.

Jaina's Karma plays role of Ishwara

The concept of Ishwara found in Hindu Shāstras suggests that the Ishwara as a creator of the systematic creation has to uphold law and justice and for that sake he has to protect the just and punish the unjust and preserve the peace in the world. Wherever there is dispute between good and evil, he intervenes, to settle it by siding the good against the evil.

But here a question arises, does the intervention of God in the scene of the world overrules the law of Karma? If it is replied affirmatively, then he is supposed to reward those who are involved in evil actions, and punish those who are engaged in good deeds. Naturally it is not accepted because it proves him unjust. If he does not overrule the Law of Karma, then the purposelessness on the part of God is proved-God becomes a superfluous entity. The Karma according to Jainas has the capacity at its proper time, of producing the effects upon the person who has generated it; it is held responsible for enjoyments and suffering of all beings. It is due to Karma that the universe keeps on going. All changes, all manifestations, all phenomena are due to Karma. In this sense, the Karma plays the same role as Māyā or Avidyā of Vedantins in explaining the diversity of the phenomena of the world. Though the Karma theory has all along been accepted by all systems of Indian philosophy and elaborated in Indian religious and secular literature, but Jainas have explained this theory in such a way that Karma, Ishwara, Brahmā all become as synonymous of each other.

Universe is eternal and real

The existence of God as Creator or sustainer is elaborately and logically repudiated in *Syādvā-amanyari* (Verse-6), *Ādipurāna* (Verses-417-40) *Sutrakritāṅgā* (1.1.3.5-9) and *Shaddarshana Samu-chaaya* etc. etc.

Jainism also rejects the theory of Shankar school of Vedanta that the phenomenal world and individual souls are unreal or illusory, all events are passing appearances, the ultimate reality behind the phenomenal universe is Brahman. The assertion of some idealist Buddhists that the external world is purely psychical and its existence is illusory and as such has not substantiality of its own, and the theory of emptiness or void of Madhyamika Bauddhas that all things do not exist absolutely but relatively i. e. all phenomenal things have interdependent and interlinked process to pass through all these have been rejected by Jainas, because Jainas declare existence or reality as the characteristic of substance.

The creation-theories as indicated in Vedas, Upanishads and Purāṇas have been condemned not only by Jainas but some of orthodox Indian philosophies though they accept the authority of and expresses due regard to the Vedas.

The views of other Philosophies

The Pūṛva Mimāṃsā Philosophy which is perhaps the most orthodox system in as much as it emphasises on the Vedic testimony, rejects the theory of creation. According to this school the world is not created, controlled or sustained by God; it is accepted as a going concern. Man's actions through their own potency are responsible to bring the internal changes and development of the world. Without the guidance of any sort form a spiritual or conscious principle. The Mimāṃsakas, like the Jainas, deny any ultimate creation as well as dissolution-initial or periodic. Kumārīl Bhatta rejected the concept of Brahman accepted by the Vedantins who regards this world either as a real transormation as accepted by Bhartri-Prapancha and Vallabhāchārya, or as apparant transformation of Brahman as accepted by Shankara.

Sāṅkhya System also ridicules the creation theory and contends that it is quite impossible and untenable as a metaphysical doctrine. Sankhya postulates two eternal entities—Purusha & Prakriti (Prakriti of Sankhyas exactly corresponds to Pudgala of Jainas and Purusha to Jain Jiva). It is latter that is the material cause of whole unconscious or material world, while the former is an efficient cause. Creation, according the them, is not coming being of what is non-existent, but it is and appearance of what is latent and hidden in its cause. Dissolution is, in the same manner, disappearance of the phenomenal world into primal matter. They don not accept a creator God for two reasons: Firstly, its existnce cannot be logically, and secondly, there is no such necessity, beacause the diversity of the phenomenal world is dus to the various deeds of living beings and also due to the predominance of the different qualities inherent in substances. Sattava, Rajas, and Tamas—these three gunas inhere in Prakriti—the primal matter and its all effects, and these (gunas) as everchanging, dynamic energies of the universe. Their respective functoins are illumination or manifestation, activity or energy and restraint producing pleasure, pain and sloth or ignorance. These are the agents which bring about the multifariousness of the universe. The Prakriti is the sum total of material processes, but without the light of consciousness it is bling and ineffective. The dust of Prakriti is somehow enchanted by Purusha (or in a sense the womb is impregnated by Purusha). This action starts in Prakriti, but guidance comes transcendently from Purusha; it is Purusha that supplies the design for evolution, but he himself remains unchaned, unmodified. The evolutionary process emerged when the equilibrium of the three gunas of Parkriti is distrubed. Thus the universe and its processes are the result of a peculiar association between these two dissimilar and eternal prinicples Purusha & Prakriti. When these gunas form a state of equilibrium i. e. exert equal influence, the ceration

stops, and all phenomenon world is absorbed in Prakriti and thus dissolution takes place. When gunas through their mutual interaction form unequal aggregation, the creation takes place. i. e. the world begins to emanate and through the process of creation the gunas manifest their various characteristics. Whichever guna is predominant in any phenomena, it becomes manifest in it, although the two others are not absent.

Yoga system admits God, but he is not creator & preserver of the world, and serves as a mere ideal for those who follow the path of yoga. He is defined as a distinct purusha who is untouched by the vehicles of affection, action and fruition. He only facilitates the attainment of liberation by being the object of concentration. The God hood of human aspiration is the absolute separation of Purusha from Prakriti but not union with God as Vedantins hold.

The only Vedic Philosophy which *prima facies* appear to recognise the doctrine of creation are NyayaVaisheshika schools, but if we study them closely it becomes clear that the function of God as creator is mere direction & guidance. As these schools hold that the ultimate principles of atoms and souls are eternal and uncreated, these atoms are material cause of phenomenal effects. According to them, the universe will be never destroyed because souls & atoms—both are indestructible forever, yet they accept world-dissolution in which atoms and souls cease to be combined together and when the movement of atoms starts, the creation begins. But here a question arises : What is a source of atomic movement, or who is an intelligent controller (i.e. efficient cause) in shaping of things and building up a body, suitable to each soul according to its merit or demerit ? then the concept of God was admitted. The earlier authors of these systems seem either to be silent about God or to make a reference to Him in a very insignificant manner, but the later logicians prove His existence by elaborate arguments.

The theory of creation of these schools is critically examined by Kumārīlā Bhatta as well as Shankara and have been rejected as untenable.

Buddha Philosophy, also denounce the idea of a God as the maker and moulder of the world. It denies the theory of Vedantins that the world is playful work of Ishwara or any other God. According to them the universe is without beginning and end. Buddha logicians are seen to be refuting strongly and elaborately the arguments as well as objections put forth by opponents for existence of God.

The Hindu Purānas, which elaborately mention evolution and dissolution, also admit that Kalpas and dissolutions are beginningless and endless. As the process of creation always has reference to the stock of merit and demerit acquired by individual selves in a previous world, we cannot speak of a first creation of the world. The term Sansara also points out its cyclic movement.

(B) COSMIC CONSTITUENTS

Substance is the main cause

According to the Jainas, Substance is the cause of making the whole universe since eternity. The substance comprises Jīva and Ajīva. Ajīva class comprises five substances, viz. a) Dharma (medium of motion) b) Adharma (medium of rest) c) Akasha (spaces) d) Kāla (Time) and e) Pudgala (matter). These irreducible substances being themselves existential give an existential character to the universe, hence are regarded as constituents of the universe. These are regarded as the fundamental realities or ultimate categories in this world. These two entities Jīva and Ajīva are equally real substances and neither of them is derivable from the other. All the six substances are eternal, uncreated and except pudgala formless. Except Kāla (Time) all the five realities are called Astikāya i. e. 'extensive' because each of them form one organic extension (According to the Jainas, the astikāyas are those which are existent, real, related to space by being in it, manifest themselves in various forms through their numerous qualities and modifications, or in other words the substances which have existence and are also extensive are known as Astikayas by name.

Among these 6 substances, Jiva alone is sentient or conscious as well as formless, while pudgala is insentient but with form. All other four substances (Dharma, Adharma, Akāsha and Kālā) are non-conscious) but formless. Dharma, Adharma and Akasha-these three substances are stated to be mutually interpenetrating and coincident, and hence of the same size and forms, but through their diverse fuctions, they can be differentiated.

JIVA

Jiva means one who lives or has a conscious existence. It has consciousness as an essential nature or attribute, which in its active and attentive form cvloves in two forms: Perception and knowledge-both collectively denoted by the term Upayoga.. Upayoga is concomitant with consciousness, hence both are enumerated as the main qualities of Jiva.

The souls are infinite from the aspect of substance. They are distinct entities though they are substantially similar to one another, each sould due its co-extensiveness with space (having infinite points) is stated to be possessed of innumerable points.

It is devoid of sence qualities of taste, smell, colour, touch and sound, but due to association of karma, it has corporeal form as well as four Prānas or vital forces (strength of mind, sences, duration of life, respiration etc.). It is eternal from the point of time. It is beginingless, unending continuous existence. It is unlike Dharma and Adharma, not all pervasive, but just as light of a lamp lit on open space extends to some extent, in the same manner it by the contraction and expansion of its space-points pervades the whole body where it is destined to dwell. It may in some respect exists in every point of space of the universe and in special cases, its size can fill innumerable space-points and even the entire universe.

The souls are of two kinds: worldly or transmigrating and liberated or emancipated soul. The former is a mundane soul who because of its association with karma loses its intrinsic purity, gets bound and is caught up in the cycle of birth and death, while the latter is a pure soul, who realised his true nature and liberated himself from the shackles of birth and death or transmigration.

The mundane souls are divided according to their four conditions of existence viz. human being celestial beings, hellish beings and sub-human beings.

In the state of bondage (of mundane souls) the manifestations of consciousness in the form of Upayoga (faculties of perception and knowledge) is of two kinds: auspicious and inauspicious. The former being a cause of meritorious karmic influx leads one to plenty of pleasures while the latter causing association with the sinful karmic influx to extreme miseries. When a soul becomes eqanimous, devoid of attachment and aversion, knows the nature of reality, it is said to be endowed with pure manifestation.

The flow of the consciousness in the state of bondage is also stated to be in three directions: knowledge, activity, and the feeling of pleasure and pain. All mundane souls are associated with three forms of consciousness developed with the association of karma and become knower, doer and enjoyer. These different levels of consciousness are its modes and there are only in relation to the mundane soul, or in other words from the practical point of view. In the liberated state, soul remains pure conscious and there is no diversity of knowledge. It has infinite knowldege, infinite perception, infinite power, infinite bliss etc. which were in the state of bondage crippled by karma. Imme diately after annihilation of all karmas, the soul is liberated, has naturally upward motion, goes right to the top of the universe and rests there as pure consciousness.

Mundane souls are divided according to the number of senses which they possess from five sensed souls to onesensed souls. The one sensed souls are the non-moving beings and hence are

known as *Stāarara* by name, while the souls having more than one sense have capability to move and are known as *trasa* by name. The one-sensed souls (possessing one organ of touch) are classified under five categories—(a) earth-bodied; b) water-bodied; c) fire-bodied; d) air-bodied and e) vegetable. These have either gross or fine bodies, the former being known as *Bādara* and the latter as *sūkshma* which permeate all space in the universe. Their physical size is stated to be equal to the innumerable parts of a cubic finger, hence are not visible by ordinary eyes.

Jainas have also conceived of such innumerable souls like a packed box which have collectively one common body, and belong to the vegetable sub-class of the immobile class of souls. These souls known as *nigoda* take birth, breath and die together, many times within an instance. These *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls in place of those who attain *nirvāna* or liberation.

Dharma

It is the principles of motion which is eternal and pervades the entire universe. It is the auxiliary cause of the motion to the souls and matter when they tend to move. It must not be wrongly understood that it self moves or impel then to move. It is a substance without activity. Its function is analogous to that of the water of tank, river etc. which helps a fish to swim. It is stated to comprise innumerable space-points. Yet unlike souls and forms of matter, it is a single immaterial-substance or continuum, in other words it is conceived to have no parts in its structure.

Adharma

It is regarded as a principle of rest. It serves as a fulcrum of rest and is allpervasive. It is like Dharma an indivisible whole, i. e. one continuum or indivisible expanse of existence due to its co-existensiveness with space, and facilitates living beings and material objects to rest or cease to move being itself inactive and neutral media which may be compared to the shade of trees which renders assistance to the pilgrims who coming from a far distance in the hot sun desire to take rest under it. It corresponds to the 'field or force of gravitation in the field of science.

These two (Dharma and Adharma) play a vital role in the world-process, because in the absence of these there would be a state of eternal paralysis. No soul or any particle of motion succeeds in going beyond the boundary of the world and enter into pure space for the want of these indispensable and essential conditions of motion and rest. These are visible only to the omniscient person, because of its being without sense qualities. They exist in one unit of space, yet have separate entities of their own.

Ākāsha (space)

Space extends infinitely. It is a substance or reality which is regarded as an all comprehending container enclosing not only the universe but also the non-universe. It accommodates the extended as well as non-extended substances. It is of two kinds—physical space and non-physical or super-physical space. The former is co-extensive with all other substances and is a place when the entire drama of the universe is confined, while the latter is a pure and infinite space which surrounds the former on all sides and where nothing exists.

Kāla i. e. time

It is a substance consisting of separate invisible, innumerable particles. It has no spatiality or extensive magnitude, or in other words it has only the longitudinal extension. The time occupies only one space-point while all substances have got extension in space, hence regarded as *Astikāya*; they have one, two, many innumerable or even infinite space-points. It is mixed with the space-points, in each part of the space again of time is located.

The function of time is to assist the substances in their continuity of existence, in their modifications, in their movements and in their priority and non-priority or juniority in time.

Pudgala (i. e. matter)

Pudgala is a permanent and insentient substance which is composed of minute atoms and is associated with the physical properties (i. e. tangibility, taste, smell, odor) to the last unit, and hence regarded as *murta* substance. It denotes matter or all material objects (things which have form) in general which can be perceived by the senses or sense-organs.

The term 'Pudgala' etymologically suggests that it has compability to undergo modification by combination and dissociation.

On account of their quality of touch, they unite together to construct a reality. The various distinct forms of material objects depend on the nature of combining and dissociating particles of matter. With its modifications, the pudgala exists in two forms, *Skandha* and *anu* or four possible states or conditions, viz. *skandha*, *skandha desha*, *skandha pradesha*, and *paramānu*. The first is in its gross form is a complete molecular constitution having all the physical qualities without exception, second is stated to be the half of the first, the third, is half of the second while the *paramānu* or primary atom, as it is obtained by dividing the *skandha* to an infinite extent, is an indivisible and invisible unit which constitute the *skandha* or aggregates, etc. The *skandha*, *skandha desha*, *skandha pradesha*, all the varieties of molecules are formed either by the combination of atoms, or by dividing big aggregates of atoms. It is atom that from the real point of view deserves to be called as pudgala, the aggregates (*skandha*, *skandha desha*, etc.) are only from the practical point of view pudgala. It is eternal and constitute the basis of corporeal things and furnish the examples of extreme fineness in matter. The primary atom has no spatial extension i. e. each elementary particle occupies one unit of space and it can not accommodate another space-point. It cannot be perceptible by ordinary senses, but may be apprehensible in the form of *skandha*.

According to the Jaina, it is also regarded as a measure of time. Its motion from one space-point to the immediate next determines the minutest instant of time.

Jains deny the sound as its quality. It is a mode-particular state or a condition of matter and is produced when the aggregates strike one-another.

According to the Jains, each and every atom can form either of the four root matters, viz. earth, water, fire and air. Jainas, unlike Naiyayikas, maintain that the atoms of fire, earth, etc. have no qualitative difference.

The primary atom may have either cohesive or arid touch, each varying in degrees. These unite on certain conditions related to their forms and varying degrees of their tangibility.

The molecules formed by their atomic aggregation are of six different kinds.

(1) *Sūkshma-Sūkshma* (subtle, very minute)—invisible e. g. the form of combined two atoms, below karmic matter (2) *Sūkshma* (subtle or minute),—invisible e. g. eight kinds of karmas which bind the soul, (3) *Sūkshma-Sthūla*, (subtle-gross)—invisible but not unexperienced, e. g. sounds, smells, sound, order, etc. (4) *Sūkshma-Bādara* (gross-subtle) or *sthūla-sūkshma*—visible but impossible to grasp or break e. g. shadow, darkness, sunshine, lightning, etc. (5) *Bādara* (gross) or *sthūla*—visible as well as tangible but in liquid form, their parts become one again if divided, e. g. water, oil and melted butter etc. (6) *Bādara-Bādara* (gross-gross) or *sthūla-sthūla*—the visible material objects that have distinct and separate existences, e. g. metal, wood, stone, etc. the combination of which is impossible if broken.

The physical world is stated to be thickly packed with the subtle or gross forms of pudgala. In its subtle form, the atoms of pudgala, when associated with a soul when the latter develops attachment

gross emotion and other psychic impure modes, are transformed or get modified into karma, they penetrate into the space-points of a soul and serve to the latter as the basis of physical appearances, mind sense organs, speech, respiration, etc. and also become a media of its worldly pleasures and sufferings, life and death, etc.

C—COSMIC LAW

Nature is sustainer

The world is sustained by Nature, which has two forms, one the Nature of the substance in general, the other, nature of a particular substance.

The former is the intrinsic nature of the substance which keeps the world in continuance while the latter stands for a particular function of a substance which becomes helpful for the existence or activity of others. For example, space affords all substances to subsist, i. e. it accommodates all substances, dharma (media of motion) makes it possible for other substances to move or to be moved; Adharma (media of rest) likewise to rest; time helps the substances to make their existence continued; Pudgala assists souls in their mundane existence it forms the physical basis of the bodies, speech, mind, the respiration of them, it is also the basis of their pleasure, pain, life and death etc. The souls in their mundane existence also help and support each other.

Among all these substances, the nature of time and pudgla (Karma) is most significant because the sustenance of the world mostly depend on these two substances.

In short, according to the Jainas, the world is sustained by a law of Nature which might be classified in three groups; (a) law of substantiality (b) law of karma, and (c) law of time, (or cosmic cycle).

The whole universe undergoes an infinite number of revolutions produced by the powers of nature with the intervention of any external deity.

The substances operate according to the way they are, their own nature; of course this usually leads to nothing unexpected. The substance of Jains is a dynamic reality having a continuous flow parallel to the flow of eternal time. The substance is not an unchanged, and eternal identity, but is essentially self preservative, through its ceaseless passing modifications; there are again modifications in the nature of a thing; even when it is established in its pure nature and these modifications in the substances of a thing continuously evolving from within itself and independently of the influence of any thing foreign or external to it are its essential modifications.

The definition of substance accepted in Jain Metaphysics is that it is a permanent reality in the midst of change of appearance and disappearance. Every where we find growth and development due to the intrinsic nature inherent in substances. It is this law of Nature (of substance) which acts and sustains the universe. All the six substances by their changing conditions and interaction cause the world to be what it is. Each substance acts upon the others and is itself acted upon by others.

Karma

Karma Philosophy explains everything and is a complete solution of the riddle of life, the enigma of universe, the why and wherefore of everything. It gives an explanation of our individual characteristics, in other words it interprets our actions and reactions found in the form of introspection as well as behaviour. The obvious disparity and diversity in the mental, physical, hereditary, environmental and sundry other conditions of individuals are all due to their actions (karma).

According to the Jainas, souls has been eternally infected by matter. Scattered throughout the world space. Souls become active by matter. This somehow causes emotional and passionnal developments in the soul, which in its turn causes modification in the matter i. e. matter becomes changed into karma, soul gets adulterated with karmic matter as milk and water. The karmic matter clings to soul as just to a body annointed with oil, or it pervades and tings the soul as heat causes an iron ball to become red hot. This is a state of bondage.

In this transformation of karma from matter, the very fine material molecules serve as a material cause and the emotional state of the soul is an efficient cause. The karma molecule possess such an extraordinary potency that it drags the soul after death within an instant to any nook and corner of the universe to take birth as any one organism it decides. It also decides the souls new parentage i. e. conditions of existence-bith as celestial, human, animal or hellish beings, alongwith the span of life, shape, stature colour, the extent of its knowledge, fame, pleasure, pain, desease and death. The all powerful soul itself falls prey to the karma and remains a slave until it will and makes utmost effort to relive itself from its culthes. One one side the soul experiences the fruits of their past karmas; on the other side, they also bind fresh good or evil karama through their physical—vocal & bodily action. As long as this process goes on, the soul is destined to roam in Sānsara and transmigrates from one condition ot another. When the soul is absolutely freed from karnic matters, it becomes liverated from the mundane existance, the cyles of birth & death for ever. According to the Jainas, the continuance of the sinful activeities of Jīwas and influx of karamas into soul ate some of the rea sons which sustains the universe.

It is evident that the karma theory is based on the law of Nature, i.e. it is the nature of matter which becomes karma and determines the bondage of the soul, and also presents a fulfilledged theory known as karama Siddhānta.

All the Indian systems of Philosphy exept Chārvāka accept the theory of karma. Even the Gitā admits that the Lord neither removes one's sins nor takes away the merit of anyone's good deats; all tuings are caused by the nature of things. But it does not mean that the souls of Jainas is solely and slave and dependent or pessimist because the theory also indicates that the soul is Lord of his own career. He may by the ignorance roam in the world, he may liverate himself by its own karma, following the path preached by Jina, i. e. he can stop the process of bondage and eliminate all karamas by own effort and attain Emanicipation. Even in the state of bondage, by effort the karma may be prevented for some time, from taking effect, may be neutralized or may be annihilated altogether or some partly neutralized and partly annihilated.

Kāla

The souls and matter become active under certain conditions. The external condition of activi-ty of soul in merely the karmas—the material substances, while the external condition of activity of matter—the physical bodies or skandhas is time. Hence time is regarded as the auxiliary cause of continuity and succession, by the help of time, all substances soul etc. are altered in their modifications

It is devided into two categories (i) Real and (ii) Practical. The practical or relative or apparent or empirical time as the different conventional periods e.g. Samaya, Awali, past, present and future etc. which is determined by the changes or motions in things. Real or transcendental time makes simple units revolve on themselves, thus giving rise to the idea of progress or change in the same plac that is continuity. The real time is eternal or infinite duration, while relative time is of finite duration. Just as the Ccentral iron pin of)the potter' wheel is necesaeey for its revolving, so is time necessary for the revolution of substances in nature.

According to the Jainas, time unlike other substances has no speciality. It is not Astikāya. It has in mathematical term ūrdhvaprachaya—vertical extension or longitudinal extension, in other words, it has monodimensional assymetrical series and not horijontal extension or multi-dimensional series.

It has a sort of atomistic constitution. The impercatible, formless and inactive, innumerable and partless atome of time are mixed up with space i. e. each atom in each space—points, hence they fill Lokākāsha or world-space (i. e. absent in Alokākāsha). These are not capable of mising up or coalesceing with one another i. e. each atom of time accupies only one pradesha or space—point, hence they always remain sparate i.e. they can not form Skandha. These are compared to the heaps of jewels which though embedded in a garland remain separate.

The Hindu Shastrad like that of Jainas also describe kāla or time as a dyanamic principle which moves the process of evolution by activising both the material and non-material elements. The Nyāya Vaiśheshika Philosophies also accept it as the cause of the origination, maintenance and destruection of all objects of the world. The Vedāntin Sri Venkatāchārya, the author of Tatvivamuktā kalap also holds that it is the conditions of all changes—internal and external both.

COSMIC TIME CYCLE

General concept

It has been stated earlier that each subject is undergoing change through its modes. Though this is imperceptible, yet it becomes perceptible to us in the long duration of time. Whether we look to the world of plants or of animals, the field of botany or biology, this process of change is clearly borne out. A seed which is nplanted in the soil begins to break the cell and sprout out. This sprouting seed further undergoes change and some portion of it comes out seeking the sunlight, while another portion of it goes down into the earth in order to obtain nourishment from the soil and gradually undergoes enormous changes into the root-system. The portion that shoots up into the air and sunlight also undergoes enormous changes, of sprouting out in tendrils and leaves and finally resulting in branches and stem of the plant. It grows in a big tree. Every year, its old leaves become shed off and new leaves sprout out. The life-history of a man or an organism also reveals the same principle. An individual starts its life as a single cell organism which undergoes elaborate anatocical change within the uterus of the mother and comes out as fully constituted body in this earth. Every part of the physiological system of the body of the child undergoes change and it becomes teenage, young and adult gradually. In this process of growth, we see gradual increase of strength etc. But we also see gradual decrease in the strength at the end of his youth age. He begins to feel some weakness which at the time of old age becomes fully developed. Finally he is unable to continue his life and passes away, but she does not lose its existence and the soul again takes birth elsewhere, then he follows agains the same process of growth and decay. Thus the life of man or other animals is clear a processes of growth and decay and also the states of pleaur and pain.

What is true of an organism or a plant must be equally true to this world as a whole. This universe is everygoing, it will never be dissolved or completely annihilated, yet it undergoes through periods of evolution and decline. It always rotates like a wheel which revolves incessantly round its nave. In a moving wheel what has been down at a time comes up while what has been up at a time comes down. Likewise, in this world the condition in the various parts of the world generall varies as the wheel of time rolls round in never-ending crescendo-decrescendo bringing alternately the periods of evolution and degeneration. The variations in the conditions do not occu

unsystematically but always are being regulated by a law or system which is nothing but a nature of time. It is a concept of cosmic time cycle which is accepted by the Jainas to express the gradual change in the world as a whole and to explain it as a system or law in the terms of practical time.

A complete round of the wheel of time is called Kalpa, also known as Addhāsāgaropama Kāla which is divided into two equal parts, one of them is ascending known as Utsarpinī, and the other is descending known as Avasarpinī. Each part has its six divisions, thus making 12 divisions of the wheel of time which are designated as 12 Aras or spokes.

Utsarpinī & Avasarpinī

During the Utsarpinī (ascending) Age, as the same suggests, an evergrowing evolution of prosperous condition of the world along with the virtuous qualities as well as strength, bodily stature, longevity of life etc. take place till the world returns inevitable to virtue and highest pleasure, while during the Avasarpinī (descending) Age the condition becomes reverse, all things go to gradual devolution till the chaos and confusion reign all over the world. The Hindu Puranic cycle of 4 ages (viz. Sat, Tretā, Dwaparā, Kali) is also marked by gradual decline in the virtues, and thus the first typifying the predominance of virtue, the last that of device and the two intermediate ages progressive deterioration. This cycle of four ages follows the process of only descending condition of Jaina Avasarpinī Age only whereas the Jainas have maintained both the systems: ascending as well as descending. In Vishṇu Purāṇ (2. 4. 13) however, we find both the terms Utsarpinī & Avasarpinī used in the Jaina sense. Probably this seems to be borrowed from Jain texts.

These two conditions, gradual evolution and devolution, like bright and dark fortnight in a month follows each other. In other words during the Utsarpinī half circle, there is gradual winding up of the universe at a slow rate until a state of the highest organisation reached. After this, there is again unwinding up of the universe, during which the universe runs down until a state of the highest disolation is reached. Thus the whole enycle is repeated again and again for eternity. The period of each cycle (Avasarpinī) and Utsarpinī is stated to be consisting of.

$41345^2 63030^8 20317^7 74951^1 192$ (with 77 digits) years or 10 katakoṭi Addhā Sāgaropama years. The period of Kalpa consists of.

20×10^{14} Addhā Sagaropama solar years.

Six subdivisions of Utsarpinī and Avasarpinī

The Avasarpinī age comprises the following six subdivisions.

(1) Sushamā—Sushamā or Happy—Happy; (2) Sushamā or Happy (3) Sushamā—Dhushamā or Happy—unhappy (4) Dhushamā—Sushamā— or Unhappy—Happy (5) Dhushamā or unhappy (6) Dhushamā=duhshamā or unhappy—unhappy.

The Utsarpinī age consists of the following six subdivisions which are in a simply reversed order of Avasarpinī Age:

(1) Duhshamā—duhshamā or Unhappy—unhappy (2) Duhshamā or unhappy (3) Duhshamā Sushamā or Unhappy—happy (4) Sushamā—duhshamā or Happy—Unhappy (5) Sushamā or Happy (6) Sushamā—sushamā or Happy—happy.

Different Schools of Buddhist Philosophy

Bhadant Anand Kausalyayana

While discussing **DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY**, as I intend to do today, one thing has to be borne in mind, it is this that the different schools of **BUDDHIST PHILLOSOPHY** are not and have never been just various emphasises on philosophy alone. Philosophy, in its restricted sense has been but one aspect. For each and every Buddhist School has dealt with or discussed almost all the fundamental problems of man; of Man not of the East or the West; of man not of the past or the present; but of man in his totality and universality; as he has been, as he is and perhaps as he shall always remain; at least as long as Man is swept and swayed by the whirlwinds of Sansara.

Another thing, that is no less important and has also to be borne in mind is the philosophical commitment of the Buddha Himself. To say that Buddhism has no metaphysics or is just a conglomeration of ethical tenets alone, is to betray one's ignorance.

It is true that the all Enlightened one was not interested in idle speculations and eulogize them as eminent philosophy, for philosophy's own sake. But it is also true that He did not neglect and did not fail to solve each one of the intricate problems of life. He showed the path, which led to the solution of each and every one of them.

To the extent, philosophy helped any and every body to purify his life and enlighten his mind, to that extent alone, the Buddha admitted the use of philosophy and gave it's due place in his Dhamma-vinaya. He could not withstand the misuse of philosophy, as a distortion and detraction from the real purpose of life, i. e., total annihilation of all suffering.

It is certainly true that there are a few topics, a few unprofitable subjects, on which the Buddha has refused to commit Himself, but those topics are just ten, and they are fixed and enumerated as follows :—

1. Is the universe permanent ?
2. Is the universe not permanent ?
3. Is the universe with an ending ?
4. Is the universe without an ending ?
5. Is the soul and body one entity ?
6. Are the soul and body two entities ?
7. Do the Tathagatas live after their passing away ?
8. Do the Tathagatas do not live after their passing away ?

9. Do the Tathagatas both live and do not live after their passing away ?

10. Do the Tathagatas both not live and do not live after their passing away ?

When Malunkya-putta asked the reason for not having answered the above questions or of having not committed Himself on the above topics, the Master replied:—

“I have not committed myself on the above topics as their discussion is purposeless, it is fruitless, it does not help any body to remain non-attached from the SANSARA, it does not help one to attain enlightenment, it does not help one to realise Nibbana. It is for this specific reason that I have not committed myself on the above topics.”

It is not only to be noted, but underlined that this list of non-stated topics—Avayaktas—does not include or even does not suggest the conceptions or misconceptions of Atma and Parmatma, the sanskrit synonyms for SOUL and GOD. Hence it is not only incorrect, but even mischievous, if intentionally done, to suggest that the Buddha kept absolutely mum, when He was questioned about SOUL AND GOD.

SABBE SANKHARA ANICCA—All is transient.

SABBE SANKHARA DUKKHA—All is dissatisfying.

SABBE DHAMMA ANATTA—Nothing consists of any changeless permanent entity, not even Nibbana. These three pertinent aphorisms, to my mind in a nutshell, formulate the metaphysics of Buddhism.

In this strange world, we are all surrounded by so many, who profess to believe in a big or small SOUL and A big God—always with a capital letter. But when you talk to them, you invariably find, that even to them their soul and God is similar to a sign X in Algebra, which may mean anything and everything.

According to Abhidhamma (Which is a comprehensive statement of not only Buddhist psychology, as it is often wrongly supposed to be, but also of Ethics, also of Physics, also of metaphysics), a man is either five Khandhas, or twelve Ayatnas or eighteen Dhatus.

It is not easy to translate any of these words in to any non-Indian language. Hence we shall adopt these terms as they are and remain satisfied with their explanations :—

5 KHANDHAS are five groups of existence—RUPA (form) VEDANĀ (sensation) SANNĀ (perception), SANKHARĀS (no less than fifty mental-differentiation or classification) and VINNĀNA (consciousness).

12 ĀYATANAS are six sense-organs (mind is enumerated as the sixth one) together with their six sense-objects.

18 DHATUS are six sense organs + six sense objects + six eye-consciousness, etc.

Anything and everything of this universe can be assigned to this or that category, according to any one of the above three classifications. Everything is bound to come under one head or the other.

All that exists is transient, that which is not transient does not exist is the first and foremost stand taken by Buddhism. It has been rather well said that changeless change is the law of nature. Buddhism wholly corroborates this statement. In fact this statement in itself is but an echo of what the Buddha declared centuries ago.

Under no conditions should this change be misunderstood. This change is not an outward change of any changeless entity ; It is total extinction or one condition and total new arising of another condition. The Buddha has clearly instructed : “The one that goes out of existence is another and the one that comes in to existence is quite another.”

It is really astonishing that this change, this law of transiency should always be understood as if in all circumstances, it was a law for the worse. When a man passes away, we always say a **ANICCĀ VATA SANKHĀRĀ**—All things are transient. When a child is born why we cannot and why should we not repeat the same **ANICCA VATA SANKHARA** is beyond my comprehension. Anicca or the law of transiency is not biased, is not partial. **ANICCA** is perfectly neutral, perfectly impartial. It is neither pessimism, nor optimism. It is just a truism.

But as the scales are overburdened on one side, it is high time that we inaugurate reading a message of hope and redemption in this law of transiency and say to ourselves. How fortunate, the world is changeable. We can always improved ourselves. We can always improve others. We can transform our subjective-life. We can transform our objective-life. What else do we want ?

The world is not **DUKKHA**, as it is generally misunderstood to be. It is **DUKKHA**, it is all misery only for the misinformed, only for the **PUTTHUJJANA**. If it is all suffering, it is nobody's fault, but our own. We cannot blame anybody else except ourselves. We ourselves manufacture our hells and we can convert them into heavens, if so desire and endeavour.

We can conveniently do away with these hells and heavens, we can even realise **NIBBANA**.

Transient this universe is, but if one accepts it as intransient. in one's thoughts in one's feelings in one's attitude, in one's behaviour one is bound to suffer, nobody can help him.

Bereft of any abiding changeless entity this universe is, but if one taxes it, as if it were a composition of separate changeless entities, known as **SOULS** to **ATMAS**, one is bound to get into endless trouble, whoever one might be.

Thus the world is **DUKKHA**—all suffering—only to the ignorant, most certainly not to the wise. True, the Buddha has declared, that all **UPĀDĀN KHANDHAS** are suffering, but it only means that all grasping—groups of existence are suffering. It does not mean that all groups of existence are suffering.

The Buddha's doctrine aims at the uprooting of this suffering, this suffering of the unwise, this suffering of the ignorant, as it exists only for such as do not know.

The way to put an end to this suffering is generally known as the noble eightfold path, which begins with **SAMMĀDITṬHI** (Right-Views), and ends with **SAMMĀ-SAMĀDHI** (**RIGHT-CONCENTRATION**).

Important surely is the doctrine of impmanence in Buddhism, but no less important is the Non-soul doctrine the teaching known as **ANATMAVADA**. The Buddha has condemned the superstition of Soul in no uncertain terms :—

“And with such unwise considerations, he adopts one or other of the six views—one of them being : This may self, which can think and feel, and which now here, now there, experiences the fruit of good and evil deeds—this my self is permanent, stable, eternal, not subject to change, and will thus eternally remain the same.

"If there really existed the self there would exist also something which belonged to the self. As, however, in truth and reality neither the self can be found, it is therefore really an utter fools doctrine to say, This is the world, this am I : after death I shall be permanent, persisting and external".

"Such views are more views, a thicket of views, a puppet-show of views, a toil of views, a snare of views, and ensnared in the fetter of views the ignorant worldling will not be freed from—rebirth, from decay, and from death, from sorrow, pain, grief and despair, he will not be freed. I say from suffering".

To me PATICCA—SAMUPPADA or the law of dependant origination as it is often translated, is nothing more or nothing less than a positive statement of the doctrine of impermanence and of the doctrine of "NON-SOUL". It is not just a simple statement of cause and effect, as it is often misunderstood. Buddhism makes a subtle but no less clear distinction between the law of cause and effect and the law of dependant origination.

According to PATTICCA-SAMUPPADA, the subsequent origination is neither the same as previous origination, nor quite different. Another point is that the previous origination is absolutely necessary for the coming into existence of the subsequent origination the subsequent origination does not and cannot come into existence without its previous origination. So we have AVIJJĀ PACCYĀ SANKHARA (on delusion depend the Karmic formations (SANKHARA PACCYĀ VINANAN on Karmic-formations dependants consciousness).

Various questions suggest themselves as soon as we utter the word consciousness. One of the often-asked questions is : Is consciousness a monistic conception or a pluralistic conception ? According to Buddhism all existence is compound. It is not impossible that our analysis of this universe might lead us to a situation where further analysis might become impossible. Buddhism submits, the whole world is a composition of exactly such ultimate entities, which though further unanalysable are yet compound. Nothing is absolute, neither in the exterior world nor even in the interior world.

Our consciousness in its ultimate analysis is but a single name given to no less than eighty nine different types of consciousness, each of these in its own turn, happens to be one of the permutations and combinations of as many as 52 factors of consciousness, known as Cetasikas. Not a single type of consciousness can be conceived without being based on the interplay of some or the other factors of consciousness.

All consciousness forms our subjective world. How it is related to the objective world ? In simple Buddhist phraseology, what is the relationship which VINNANA bears to RUPA ? Modern people have got used to think, in terms of MIND and MATTER, and their conception of mind and matter is of the two entities standing poles apart from one other. It is also true that this attitude is changing for the better. Buddhism teaches : Neither mind is totally independent of matter, nor matter of mind. Both are transient. Both continue to rise and fall, and only seem running their course as if in a parallel.

It has been argued that if both mind and matter are transient and neither is permanent, nor there exists any other agency such as a soul of permanent nature, then how can the very experience of impermanency be explained ? The answer is that it is on the basis of total impermanency alone that the experience of transiency can be explained. Any SOUL, any entity, supposed to be permanent and changeless can have no experience whatsoever, for the very capacity to observe or any facts or witness any occurrences presupposes transiency on the part of one who is presumed to be an experience.

Two parallel trains running exactly at the same speed—will never be able to experience the movement of each other, for not only all movement, but even taking notice of the movement of both the trains is also relative. Buddhist psychology and physics fit in very well here, because according to them, although NAMA (mind) and RUPA (matter) are both transient, although both seem to be running parallel yet there is a difference in the speed of the transiency NAMA and RUPA.

Hence the possibility of observing the impermanence of all transience nature

The whole of DHAMMA—VINAYA, which has been termed as Buddhism is not merely a set of philosophical tenets. It is a—path, of course the right path, which is capable to lead one to the total annihilation of all suffering. What a great hope that this annihilation of all suffering, This Nibbana is attainable in this very body of six feet.

“Two things O monks I teach, suffering and the total—annihilation of suffering has been summarily said by the Buddha.

Suffering can be of three kinds past, present and future. Can we put an end to the suffering, which we have already—suffered, which is a bygone fact? Of course not.

Can we put an end to the suffering, which we are already suffering from, which is a present fact? Of course not.

Can we put an end to the suffering, which we might suffer in future, Of course. Hence it is not putting an end to—anything that is already existing. It is simply obstructing the—coming into existence of some unwholesome experience which might otherwise come into existence. **DUKKAN HEAYAM ANAGATAN**, Only future Dukkha, future pains, future sufferings, future misfortune are to be stopped from arising, are to be eliminated.

We have intentionally touched upon the transient nature of the universe. We have explicitly spoken of the dissatisfactory nature of the universe. We have with purpose referred to the non-permanent nature of the universe. We have also mentioned the law of dependant origination; and last but not the least the summum-bonum of Buddhism i. e. Nibbana. It is absolutely essential that one is conversant with the Chief characteristics of Buddhism, so that one may be able to appreciate the subtle and fine distinctions between the various schools of the Buddhist philosophical thought.

A hundred years, after the passing away of our Lord Buddha, there took place in Vaisali a conference, which is generally termed as the 2nd Sangit or the second convocation of the Buddhist monks. The differences, which were underlined in that Sangiti, all related to Vinaya or discipline of the Brotherhood. It was only in the 3rd Sangiti or the council of Buddhist monks, held at Patiliputra or modern Patna, that there arose differences as regards Abhidhamma, the deeper study of the Dhamma.

Leaving aside such differences as existed or still exist in the very minor sects of Buddhism, we propose to discuss only the four principal schools of Buddhist thought. They are fairly well known as SARAVASTIVADI (VAIBHASHIKA) SAUTRANTIKA, VIGYANAVADI (YOGACARA), MADHYAMIKA (SUNYA-VADI).

Accordingly to Indian logic there are three main proofs, which have been admitted as valid : —

1. The proof of direct perception
2. The proof of inference
3. The proof of the spoken or written word, as found in the so called revealed books.

We see fire, with our own eyes and we say : there is fire. This is direct preception.

We do not see fire with our own eyes, but we see only smoke. We infer that there is fire, because we see smoke. This is inference.

We do not see feel, or cognise the existence of any soul or God ; yet we proclaim that they do exist. Why? Because, the books, which from our childhood, we have been taught to regard as revealed books, state so. This is the proof of the spoken or revealed word, as found in the "revealed books".

It is the special characteristic or singularity of Buddhist logic that it admits the validity of only two proofs :—

(1) The proof of direct perception.

(2) The proof of inference.

Now according to SARAVASTIVADA (VAIBHASIKA) the objective world exists, because it's existence can be ascertained and maintained as a result of direct perception. Their position is the consciousness or the subjective—world exists indepenantly. And so does the objective world or nature. It is the consciousness which experiemeces the existence of the objective world.

What is the position of SAUTRANTIKAS on this point? They also like sarvastivadin accept the existence of the objective-world, but they say. There is no direct perception of the existence of the objective world : we have to infer the existence of the objective world.

According to VINNANAVADA OR YOGACARA, VINNANA or consciousness alone exists. All that is assumed to be the experience of our senses—the cubtotal of the objective world—is nothing else but the mental creation of our consciousness. It does not recognise the independent existence of the objective world. To VINNANAVADI, a believer in the monism of consciousness, the whole of the objective world is Asata ; it does not exist at all.

It can be easily seen that how Buddhist YOGACARA is the forerunner of SANKARACHRYA'S Vedanta. Much advertised SANKARACHARYA and even his teacher's teacher GAUDPADA-CARYA are greatly indebted to YOGACARA form of Buddhism.

The fourth Buddhist school is that of MADHYAMIKAS. Their philosophical tenet is known as Sunyāveda. They neither accept the independent existence of consciousness, nor of the objective world. They deem that neither consciousness really exists, nor all that which is supposed to be object of cognisence by the senses. Both are merely truths of every-day-life-VOHARACACCA none has got an absolute existence.

We have named VAIBHASIKAS as SARAVASTIVADINS. This does not mean that all VAIBHASIKAS WERE SARAVASTIVADINS. This merely means that SOME AIBHASIKA if they held any philosophical view, it was that of Saravastivada. Vaibhāsikas were known as Vaibhu-
asikas, not because they held any particular philosophical view. The well known book GYANA-
PRASTHANA was commented upon and the commentry was known as VAIBHASA. All those who upheld and agreed to abide by the teachings and explanations of VAIBHASA were known as VAIB-
HASIKAS.

The book from which we can learn anything about the VAIBHASIKAS of KASMIR is VASU-
BANDHU'S ABHIDHARAMKOSHA. Vasubandhu himself was perhaps neither a VAIBHASIKA
NOR EVEN A SARAVASTRIVADI. He was perhaps a SAUTRANTIKA. Like the word
Vaibhasik, the word Sautrantike also has got no philosophical derivation. It merely refers to those
who held the validity of Sutras.

All the four Buddhist schools of thought have individually, got something specific and different from the other Buddhist schools of thought, almost on all the topics of interest.

We have stated that :—

(1) RUP (Forms), VEDANA (Sensations) SANNA (Perceptions), SANKHARA (Karmic formations) and VINNANA (Consciousness) are the five Skandhas.

(2) Six sense-organs and their six sense-objects are the 12 AYATANAS.

(3) Six sense-organs+six objects+six consciousness are the 18 DHATUS.

According to Vaibhasikas five Khandhas, 12 Ayatanas and 18 Dhatus are all real realities (DRAVYA-SATA).

Sautrantikas contend that 18 Dhatus alone are the real realities five Khandhas and 12 Ayātanas are mere verval realities (PRANNAPTISATA).

AKASA AND NIRODHA (Pratisankhya-nirodha and apratisankhya nircdha are the three ASANSKRTITA DHARMAS.

That which is uncovered is Akasa. Sautrantikas claim that Akasa is no real reality. To them Akasa is but a name for the non-existence of RUPA or forms. They distinguish between Akasa and Akasa-Dhatu.

Vaibhasika believes in the natural coming into existence of this universe. His system propounds the doctrine of the plurality of SANSKRITA Dharmas. As Vaibhasikas are after all Buddhists, so they cannot agree with the assumption of the existence of any change less continuation. Vaibhasiks's decrying the theory of the creatorhood of God, say, that had everything come into existence from one single cause, then.

It aught to have been simultaneous. But as we see, all existence is not simultaneous.

It is just possible that some One might contend that the order in which all the things all the rivers, all the mountains, all the forests, all the deserts have come into existence, depends upon the intentions of one Almighty. In that case also, the theory of plural causality is established, argue the Vaivhasikas, for the intentions of the Almighty are many. It is not a proposition of one single intention at all.

In our everyday usage, we say : Eyes see. Vaibhasikas agree that eyes do perform the function of seeing. But the VINNANA VADI says that the eyes do not perform the function of seeing, if they actually did, then the eyes should be able to see even in the absence of eye-consciousness. The Vaibhasika replies : We also do not say that eyes alone perform the function of seeing. We say that eye together with eye-consciousness performs the function of seeing.

Sautrantiks stand is quite different from both. He says : there does not exist any eye which sees ; there does not exist any object which is seen ; but wherever there is a coming into contact of eye and its object, eye-consciousness arises.

There does not exist a single work in Sanskrita literature, which could claim to propound the tenets of Sautrantikas. It is only from the references available in the works of other schools that their system of thought can be studied.

Like Vaibhasika's a Sautrantika also believes in the natural coming in to existence of this universe. Sautrantiks are not generally included in Mahayana. But they should be taken as early representative of Mahayana, for they believe in the Dharmakaya of Mahayana. Their specific feature which

distinguishes them from the followers of Vaibhasika school, is that they too admit the real existence of the objective world, but maintain that its existence depends upon the validity of inference alone.

Birth, existence, decay and impermanency—these four are said to be the Chief characteristic of all **SANSKRITA DHARMAS** or of all the five groups of existence.

Sarvastivadins say that Jati or birth brings them into existence, existence maintains them, decay deteriorates them and impermanency destroys them.

Sautrantikas do not admit that the above four characteristics of all the five groups of existence are possessed of real reality. To them origin or birth simply means that there is a start of the continuum. Its changeability is its transformality, origin, etc. are not real realities.

Out of the three tenses past, future and present—which one is really real and which one not, is also a question worth paying serious attention to.

Vaibhasika says : Past future existence of anything is as much real and true as the present existence. Sautrantika says past and future existence of anything are not really real as the present one.

One who upholds the doctrine of impermanence, he is often known as **KSHANIKAVADI** upholder of the doctrine of momentariness. Sarvastivadi and Sautrantika both uphold the doctrine of momentariness and both are **KSHANIKAVADI**. But there is a difference and distinction in the doctrine of momentariness of both of them. According to **SARVASTIVADI** a moment is the smallest possible division of time. He accepts the existence of a thing may be only for a moment. But according to Sautrantika all forms, all sensations, all perceptions, all karmic formations, all consciousness goes out of existence as soon as they come into existence. There is no moment, whatsoever, which could represent their standstill nature.

So a Sautrantika is a believer in the doctrine of momentariness and also in the doctrine of flux. But his conception of momentariness does not admit anything to remain the same even for a moment ; Going out of existence, as soon as coming into existence.

Now the question, a very important question is : Is this vanishing due to any cause ? How can this vanishing be the result of any cause ? This vanishing is just natural. Only effects (**KARYA**) can claim to have causes (**KARANA**) Vanishing is merely the non-existence of a thing. In case we maintain that vanishing also must have a cause, we shall have to accept the position that the non existence of anything and everything also must have a cause.

Out of the two schools of Buddhist thought—Vaibhasika and Sautrantika it is Sautrantika which to some extent is inclined towards Mahayana. As regards the third school of thought i. e. **VIGYANAVADA** or **YOGACARA**, it is not only definitely Mahayana, but an adverse critic of **THERAVADA** or **HINAYANA** as it pleases them to call us.

Mahayana-Sutralankara—the joint composition of Acarya Maitreya and Asanga can definitely be accepted as an important test of Mahayan. All Buddhist philosophers—without exception—are upholders of the 'Non-Soul Doctrine'. But the great propounder of **VIGYANAVADA**—Acarya Asanga is quite pungent too. He asks : Of what kind is that after ignorance, due to which people cannot see the existing law of dependant origination, but can see the non-existent Atma or soul ? It is just possible that any illusion of one kind or the other, might stand in ones way and one may not be able to see that which exists ; but how can one see that which exists not ?”

Acarya Vasubandhu also later became a supporter of Vigyanavada.

The Chief Characteristic of Vigyanavada is that it admits the real existence of Vigyana alone. According to Vigyanavada objective-world, does not exist consciousness alone exists. Vigyanavada maintains that : What strikes us as the objective world is merely the coming into existence of the conceptual objective world. We are not conscious of anything else except our consciousness. In reality it is our own consciousness which strikes us as an objective world. Objects are non-existent. They do not exist, do not exist.

Questions have been asked, such as—if the consciousness of the objective world can arise and does arise in the total absence of real objective world, then why this limitation as regards time and space etc ? One should be able to see or feel anything and everything anywhere and everywhere.

Vigyanavada had to try to explain and to uphold its own against many such objections and criticisms.

The one strong argument that Vigyanavada had to face from the opposite side was this : You hold that consciousness is momentary—coming and going out of existence every moment. Once out of extinction, how can it, all by itself, come into existence again ? To meet this argument, Vigyanavada had to introduce and accept the conception of an ALAYA-VIGYANA a joining consciousness.

Let this ALAYA-VIGYANA be not misunderstood and mistaken as something akin to the Upanishadic Atma or Purusha ? As Upanishadic Atma or Purusha are supposed to be changeless entities ; but according to Vigyanavada Alaya-vigyana is merely a beginningless and endless stream of consciousness.

If upanishadic Atma or Purusha is conceived as an immovable changeless rock ; then Vigyana Vadis Alaya-vigyana is an ever changing, everlasting stream.

Amongst Buddhist schools of thought, the most revolutionary one, and perhaps the most orthodox one is MADHYAMIKA. It is logical par excellence Marvellous is the Manner, in which it has been conceived and propounded by Acharya NAGARJUNA.

The special characteristic of MADHYAMIKA school of thought appears to be that it does not aspire to prove anything ; it's business is to demonish everything.

If there is anything that Madhyamika school of thought is concerned about to prove, then it is only to demonstrate that no school of thought can possibly prove any statement, whatsoever, as true. All statements, however self evident they might appear to be fall flat when come in touch with the piercing intellect of NAGARJUNA.

One can of course, say that the statement that no statement can be proved is also a statement. And as no statement can be proved, so this statement also, as it cannot be proved, is not necessarily a true statement. Nagarjuna, I think, will be the first to accede to the truth of even this contention.

Nagarjuna is known as the great propounder of the doctrine of NON-ORIGIN : of AJATI VADA. He does not accept the coming into existence of anything by itself. He does not accept the possibility of anything coming into existence due to some cause. He does not accept the possibility of anything coming into existence both by itself and due to some cause. He does not accept the possibility of anything coming into existence neither by itself nor due to any cause.

Nagarjuna with his intellectual onslaughts has tried to establish the VOIDNESS of even such sacred truths as the four Aryan truths, Aryan eight fold path and law of dependant origination

But it has to be remembered that Nagarjuna's doctrine of Void is not a synonym for anybody's doctrine of "NOTHING-NESS".

To Nagarjuna each and everything is void. Void of what ? Void of any *atma-tattva*, void of any soulness.

To me Nagarjuna appears to be the best and the foremost and the most thorough going expounder of the teachings of his Master. His obedience to the Tathagata is as it ought to be from one who really understood him :

ANIRODHAM ANUTPADAM ANUCCHEDAM ASHASVATAM.

ANEKARTHAN ANANARTHAM ANAGAMAM ANIRGAMAM.

YAH PRATITYASAMUTPADAM PRAPANCHOPASHAMAN SHIVAM.

DESHYAMASA SAMBUDDHAM TAM VANDE VADATAM VARAM.

Without destruction and without origination, without being cut off and without being eternal.

Neither being one thing, nor different things, neither coming nor going,

He who can thus teach the dependant origination,

the blissful coming to rest of all illusory unfoldment,

Before Him, the Enlightened one, the best of all teachers,

I reverently bow down,

FUNDAMENTALS OF JAINISM

Narendra Kumar Sasti

I feel it is my great fortune that the committee has given me a good opportunity to read my paper in this seminar on the subject—Fundamentals of Jainism.

Yoviśvaṃ vedavedyaṃ Jananajalanidherbhaginatḥ pāradrśvā Paurvā paryā viruddhaṃ vaca-
namanupamaṃ niṣkalankaṃ yadiyam Tamvande Sādhuvandyaṃ sakala gunanidhiṃ dhvasta
dosa—Buddhaṃ vā bardhamānam satadala nicayam Kesavamvā dvisantam sivaṃ vā ”

I pay my Homage to such a liberated being, one, who has understood the whole world and universal principles universal truth, fit to be comprehended one, who has crossed through the farthest end of the ocean in the form of transitory and perishable world life ‘Sansar’, one, who has become once for all freed from the ever rotating wheel of birth and death, one whose teachings are incomparable and faultless, one, who is fit to be adored even by saints, one, who is a veritable repository of all virtues, and one, who has destroyed or conquered all internal enemies, defects or faults (Rāga-dvesa-moha) one, who has obtained disattachment (vītarāgā) & omniscience. (Pūrṇajñāna.)

Let such a being be called by any name, such as Buddha, Vardhamana, Lotus—seated Brahman, Keśava or Śiva.

Name assigned to such a liberated being does not matter in the least.

But variety His disattachment, omniscience and beneficent teachings shape the destiny of humanity.

Religion is the highest bliss. All living beings hanker after happiness. Happiness is the religion, an internal natural virtue of the soul. It does not stand in external matter, non-sentient thing (Ajiva). It stands in every sentient being.

But all living beings try to obtain the happiness from external non-sentient things. Non-sentient matter, does not possess the happiness itself, how it can give happiness to the sentient being.

Thus, on account of ignorance or wrong knowledge about the existence of happiness, every living being falls itself in the misery.

Wrong faith, wrong knowledge and wrong conduct about the existence of the happiness, the real virtue of the soul is the main cause of misery

Right faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct is the real path to get happiness.

A human being, who has got omniscience about the reason of misery and happiness, and who has got disattachment from all defects or faults, who has got victory, after conquering all desires, all passions is called Jina.

Teachings of such liberated being, (Jina) is called Jainism. Jainism shows the real religion :—

Vatthu sahāvo dhammo. The religion is the nature of the substance.

Science or knowledge is the instrumental cause to know the Religion, a nature of the substance.

Religion is blind without science and the science is lame without religion. Religion of the soul is highest bliss. Every being wishes to get rid of misery and to obtain a happiness.

Yatobhyuda niḥsreyasasiddhiḥ Sa dharmah.

On account of which a man can get worldly prosperity, as well as eternal happiness which is called a real religion.

Samsāra dukkhaḥ Satvān yodharatyuttame sukhe sa dharmah.

The science, which teaches the system for the removal of misery of samsar and for attainment of the highest happiness is called a real religion.

As the nature of the substance is one, therefore the religion is also only one.

As the world is uncreated (Akrtrima) and it has no beginning and no ending (Anādinidhana) similarly the religion is uncreated and it has no beginning and no ending.

All teachers of the religion are not founders but they are thinkers, followers and guides only.

Some scholars dare to give their statement that Buddhism and Jainism are sisters and both are off-schoots of motherhood Hinduism. But that judgement is quite wrong.

Jainism is a religion which is not of recent growth. It is existing from time immemorial (Anādi) As there cannot be fixed any time from which the truth can be traced, we say that Jainism cannot be limited to any particular time.

Universal truth is of one kind. It does not differ in many kinds. Its thinkers are different and they look the truth through the different view points. That is basic cause of different religions. All religions teach a path of eternal peace and to get rid of misery. Therefore all religions are true. No one can say my religion is true and the other religion is wrong.

Every child thinks that its own mother is the best. But children do not force upon other children to accept their mothers. That is wisdom children have.

If all religions would show the same wisdom, and do not force upon other religions to accept their religions, I think we shall have cleared all conflicts. The very idea of the Parliament of all religions I suppose, based on this assumption, and it is fact that all religions are true. There are many problems crying for solution from the religions of the world, for instance women are not free, childrens are not happy, the domestic animals are not happy.

I suppose by coming together like this and by thinking, together we ought to find some solution for these problems.

Buddhism expounded an elaborate ethical system for the removal of misery.

It preaches four noble truths —

- (1) Misery (Dukkha)
- (2) Causal chain (Dukkha samudaya)

(3) Dukkha nirodha, cessation of sorrow.

(4) a path leading to the cessation of sorrow.

Non-fulfilment of desire is sorrow. The right knowledge about these four noble truths is a real path leading to cessation of sorrow.

But Jainism preaches that—

Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct about fundamental truth is real path of the removal from misery and to obtain salvation.

The world is union of beings.

The world is divided into two sections : (1) Jiva (living being), (2) Ajiva (non-living substance).

Ajiva falls into five main sub-divisions—

1. Pudgal (matter)
2. Dharmastikay (cause of motion)
3. Adharmastikay (cause of rest)
4. Akash (Sky)
5. Kala (time) (cause of changing)

1. Jivas are innumerable (Aṇanta), 2. Pudgalas (atoms) are innumerable (Aṇanta), 3. Dharmasti is only one substance, 4. Adharma is one, 5. Akasha (Sky) is one, 6. Kalanus (Kālāṇu) are Aśamkhyatā.

Every substance possesses its own separate existence. The existence consists three positions : 1. Utpad (creating) (appearance), 2. Vyaya (destroy, disappearance), 3. Dhrouya (persistence).

It is the nature of every substance it changes in shape or formation at every moment. Previous form loses its appearance. It absolutely disappears, and new one form is assumed instead of previous one, that means, a earlier is replaced by the succeeding one. Still the essential nature of substance remains persistence. That is called Dravya knowledge of the existence of these six Dravya is not important thing, to solve the problem to get rid of the misery.

Jainism preaches seven fundamental truths (Tatvas) the knowledge of which is most essential to get rid of misery and to obtain eternal happiness (Mukṭi).

Right faith, right knowledge and right conduct about these seven fundamental truths is the real path of liberation (Mokṣa). Every living being one who is stripped of all its ajiva-bondage Bhāva-karma, dravyakarma, nokarma) can become Paramatma . A God itself and can attain its unlimited (Ananta) ultimate mukti stage.

Although from unlimited (Anādi) past time to time innumerable many a being has attained (Mukṭi) salvation, and although those who are attaining at present time, and those, who will in future unlimited (Aṇanta) time, be liberated are also innumerable, such is the infinitely endless number of jivas, that they never come to an end and this universe will always contain innumerable living beings.

Jainism preaches seven fundamental truths—1. Jivas, 2. Ajivas, 3. Asrava, 4. Bandha, 5. Samvar, 6. Nirjara, 7. Moksha.

These are seven stages (Avasthāparyāya) of jiva and Ajiva, those, who have got combination (Bandhana) by the cause of their dismerits, since (Anadi) unlimited time.

With the mixing up of different karmas particles, the living beings acquire those seven steps or stages. Both Jiva and Ajiva (Karmic substance) have no origin of their combination, but they can be separated sooner or later. When Jiva understands a real fundamental truth, a natural difference between Jiva and Ajiva, Jiva can get rid of the bondage, of karmas and can attain its real Dharma, nature, omniscience and unlimited (Ananta) happiness.

When Jiva is completely freed from Ajiva (both internal karmas Bhāvākarma), i. e., (Rāgadvesamoha) and external karmas (Dravyākarma, nokarma) it becomes absolutely pure, standing in its natural virtues, having nothing to keep it down, it at once goes up the abode of liberated stage, Sidha Kshetra which is at the top of this universe, and never comes back from that stage muktī for ever.

To know the fundamental truth of universe we should understand a real knowledge of these seven fundamental tatvās.

All substances in the universe are divided into two main divisions (1) living being (Jiva), (2) non-living being (Ajiva).

The combination of these two substances is called sansar. This combination takes place through two kinds of varieties—1. Bhava Sansar 2. Dravya Sansar. Thus, these seven fundamentals also are divided into two kinds of varieties—

1. BhāvaJīva Dravya jīva, 2. Bhava Ajīva Dravya Ajiva 3. Bhavasrava Dravya srava, 4. Bhāva bandha—(Bhāva āsava dravya āsava) Dravya bandha, 5. Bhava sanvar Dravya sanvar, 6. Bhāva nirajara, Dravya nirajara, 7. Bhava Moksha Dravya Moksha.

The combination of Bhava jiva & Bhava Ajiva is called Bhava Samsar, and the combination of Dravya jiva Atmapradesa and Dravya Ajiva (Karami ematter Karmaparamānu) is called Dravya sansar.

In fact Bhava sansar is the main cause of misery. On account of Bhava sansar automatically Dravya sansar, a connection of Ātma pradeshas and karmic paramanus, takes place.

For separation from this karmic bondage Dravya Samsar, first the separation of Bhava Samsar is most essential.

(1) Bhāvajīva—Suddhopayoga attention fixed upon self meditation.

(2) Bhava Ajiva—Asuddhopayoga subhopayoga and Asubhopayoga attention upon external matter through the view mixed with impure thoughts, such as, attachment (Rāga), aversion (Dveṣa), delusion (Moha). These are first and second fundamental truths.

(3) This Bhava Ajiva creates Bhāvāsava and Bhavabandha when the soul entertains the impure thoughts by which karmic matters get into the soul those are called Bhavasrava. Bhavasravas, the impure thoughts are divided into five kinds 1. (Mithyātra) wrong faith, delusion 2. (Avirati) lack of control 3. (Pramāda) inadvertence, 4. Kaṣāya. (passions), 5. (Yoga) activities.

Bhāvāsravas impure thoughts prepare the way for the influx of karmic matter into jiva. That is called Dravyasrava. This is the third fundamental truth.

(4) The mere inflow of this karmic matter is no obstacle. But four fundamental passions kashayas (anger, pride, deceitfulness and greediness) with wrong belief (Mithyādarśan), (Avirati) non-discipline (Pramāda) negligence and (yoga) Psychophysical activities, hold the karmic matter in bondage (Bandha), with soul. This is the fourth fundamental truth of Jainism.

(5) The fifth fundamental truth is that this inflow of fresh karmic matter is to be checked. The pure and natural thoughts with right faith, right knowledge and right conduct can check the flowing matter. Those pure thoughts are called Bhavasamvar on account of them following matter can be checked. That is called Dravya Samvar.

(6) The sixth fundamental truth is regarding Nirajata of such karmic matter as may already be accumulated by the soul. This is rendered possible by right knowledge, penance and meditation.

(7) The seventh fundamental truth is that of liberation (Mokṣa) where the soul, who was engulfed in the mud of karmic matter since past immemorial time, after getting rid of it, shinges forth in its intrinsic natural purity of infinite knowledge, intuition, bliss and potency.

These seven fundametalts of Jainism are the corrolaries of the famous doctrine of karma, on the foundation of which not only the edifice of Jaina ethics, but of all ethical systems.

"As you sow, so shall you reap". is the most fundamental doctrine of all eithical systems.

Man is the architect of his own fate. This right faith which holds him responsible for his own miseries and happiness. The soul is itself God, a pure substance full of infinite attributes of Omnisience, omnipotence, etc.

Wrong faith, wrong knowledge and wrong conduct of our soul, a real God is the main cause of misery of samsar. And right faith, right knowledge and right conduct of our soul is real path to get rid of misery, and that is real cause of liberation. It is the fundamental truth of real religion, which shows the real nature of universe. The real nature of every substance in the universe has two sides vastu Anekantatmakam.

That means every substance is the union of Aneka (here the word Aneka does not define number in plural—many.) but it means (Ubhaya) Ubhaya—duel two catagories those are opposite or contrary to each other such as Sat, Asat, Nitya, Anitya Eka, Aneka ,Tat, Atat, etc.

To analyse the complete substance these two opposite sides should be understood. Every coin has two sides. Front and back. Thus every substance has two sides —

(1) Sāmānya (General)

(2) Viśeṣa (specific)

Things in nature are characterised by two sidedness. Each of them presents a number of aspects which have to be known, before we can be said to have exact knowledge of their nature.

Two different points of view are quite necessary for studying every substance, because every thing stands in two different characters. Samanya stands always Sat, Nitya, Eka, Tat (unchanged), Visheshas— stand always Asat, Anitya, Aneka, Atat, Changing.

The science or knowledge, which has understood these both sides of the every substance is called omnisience. That is called Anekāntavāḍ or Jainism.

Jainism says that every science or every religion of knowledge teaches, any how one point of the substance. Therefore religion can be said quite worng. Every religion touches one real point. But they do not know realty of that real point consists in understanding its opposite side. Without admitting the real existence of another opposite point, they do not prove their own specific point even 'Svavairiḡaḡ paravairitvāḡc,

Jainism says that those sciences are enemies of themselves, who deny, refuse, the real existence of other opposite point.

Buddhism teaches — that substance are divided into two divisions—1. Chitta kṣaṇāḥ.

2. Chetya kṣaṇāḥ. But they are quite different from one another. There is no real connection of (Anvaya, Dravya) Every kṣaṇa takes existence 'Niranvaya' without consisting previous existence and it destroys at next moment absolutely without taking existence at all. But Buddhism says—main principal Sarvakṣaṇika saṭtvāt, every kṣanatakes existence for a moment. But they do not consider that, the science of knowledge, which does not take existence. pre or fro how it can say the word sarva, and how it can prove that is Ksanika Omniscience only which takes connective (Dīva) existence can say Sarva kṣaṇika saṭtvāt which has known previous and future stages of the substance. 'Nirapekṣāḥ nayahā mithyā, sāpeckṣāt vaśtu tēṭhakṣi. Those sciences, who neglect the other opposite point are called wrong and those, who do not neglect are right. Union of those sciences is a real fundamental truth of universe and universal principals. Jainism teaches the universal truth, because Jainism says that omniscience or Anekant knowledge only can understand the real universal truth. Thats all

“Jaiṇaṃ Jayatu Sāsanaṃ”.



DISTINCTION AND CONFUSION : A STUDY OF NEUTER PLURAL ENDINGS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

L. A. Schwarzschild

I. Introductory Note

From the time of Vararuci on, scholars, with the exception of some Jain writers, have tended to view Prakrit in terms of Sanskrit, and it was mainly the divergencies from regular Sanskrit derivation that have caused interest. But one of the most striking features of Prakrit grammar is the bewildering profusion of declensional endings and the apparently haphazard manner in which they can be used. Thus in the case of the nominative—accusative plural of the common neuter nouns in *-ā* the grammars state that *-ā*, *-āṃ*, *-āṇi* and *-āni* are all used in Prakrit (Pischel 1900, p. 255). It is well known that some of these endings are dialectal variants as will be discussed below, but this does not account for the entire situation. Such a profusion of alternants, and free variation of the kind postulated by Prakrit grammars would be unthinkable in any natural language. It would seem obvious that syntactic and stylistic variation must be involved. An attempt has been made in a forthcoming paper to show this in connection with the locative endings and a similar situation is discussed here in relation to the neuter plural endings.

II. Derivation and Distribution of the neuter plural endings

There are two main problems :—

- (1) What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending *-ā* ?
- (2) What principles govern the distribution of the neuter plural ending *-āṃ* ?

II. 1. (a) The ending *-ā*

The neuter plural ending *-ā* occurs occasionally in the older Pāli texts, and in Ardhamāgadhī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, though only rarely. It has been thought by Geiger (1916, p. 80) and by Pischel (1900 § 367) to represent a survival of the old vedic ending *-ā* of the neuter plural.

The situation is, however, slightly more intricate than it may appear at the first glance. *-ā* is the older etymological form of the neuter plural of nouns in *-ā*, just as *-ī* and *-ū* are the older neuter plural endings of nouns in *-ī* and *-u* respectively. The ending *-āni* (just like *-īni* and *-ūni*) is an innovation based on the influence of the group of nouns that have a stem-final *-n* such as *karman* 'action', plural *karmaṇi*. In the R̥gveda (see Wackernagel 1930, p. 103) forms in *-ā* outnumber those in *-āni* by 3 to 2. The distribution is not arbitrary, there is stylistic and syntactic variation : the older ending in *-ā* is favoured in formal, fixed locutions, it also survives most readily in adjective and particularly in past Participles, while *-āni* occurs mainly in nouns (Renou 1952 p. 255). The two forms are frequently in juxtaposition as in the formula—

viśvā bhuvanāni
adj. noun

'all creatures', which recurs even in the Mahābhārata (Michelson 1904 p. 103).

and in

trī pūrṇā madhunā padāni
adj. adj. noun

... 'the three footsteps filled with mead' (I. 1544)

sugā no visvā supathāni santu 'may all paths be good and easy to cross for us
adj. adj. noun (VII. 63'6).

mā nah priyā bhojanāni pra moṣīh 'may you not take away from us our well-liked
adj. noun nourishments' (I. 104'8).

A definite development can be seen within the Rīgveda : in the later hymns the proportion of -āni endings is on the increase and even adjectives are isolated instances affected by this change :—

uttarāni sadma .. 'higher abodes' (X. 67'10)
adj. noun

haviṃṣi prayatāni barhiṣi 'the offerings laid out on the strew' (I. 115'11)
adj.

But the ending -āni only very gradually became common in adjectives. This delay may be attributed to two reasons :—

- (i) —āni originated from the nominal declension in the first place (from nouns in —n)
- (ii) within the unit of the noun-phrase, the noun is the dominating constituent. The noun rather than the adjective therefore takes more readily the fuller and more distinctive ending —āni in the neuter plural.

The short form in —ā was also favoured in Vedic when several nouns and particularly adjectives in the neuter plural were listed, and this was evidently for the same reason, the absence of need for distinctiveness.

It seems that there was still some survival of the Vedic situation in the earlier phases of Middle Indo-Aryan. The forms in the Aśokan inscriptions (found everywhere except at Girnar) are well known (Bloch 1950 p. 59) :

(J. R. E. II) osadhāni halāpitā ca lopāpitā ca 'medicinal herbs have been caused to
noun adj. adj. be imported and planted'.

There are also instances of this usage in early Pāli texts (Weller 1915, p. 45) and in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel 1900 § 367), mainly in adjectives and in enumerations where one might expect the short forms according to the Vedic tradition.

Jhāṇassa cattāri lakkaṇā, cattāri ālambaṇā, vāyaṇā paripucchāṇā 'of that meditation there are four outward signs, . . . four supports, . . . words, and questions' (Thāṇaṅga 4'1).

But this usage is rare, and can be regarded as an archaising stylistic variant

The situation as discussed above can be summarised in the following manner :

Vedic neuter plural —ā (archaic style, adjectives and enumerations)
V

early Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī, jain —ā (archaic style, adjectives and enumerations)
Māhārāṣṭrī, Aśokan.

V

usage then discontinued —ā supplanted by the long form —āni

II. 1. b. The late MIA neuter plural —ā.

There is however a different kind of situation in which forms in —ā are found in later Pāli texts, in southern Indian inscriptions (Mehendale 1948 p. 241) and particularly in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit : these forms are not associated with adjectives or enumerations, they occur, readily in all kinds of nouns, sometimes with complete confusion of gender: sabbe te rūpā

all these appearances'. This different usage does not appear to have arisen from the Vedic tradition described above, and an explanation must be sought elsewhere. Such an explanation was already indicated by Hemacandra (I-33) and was discussed further particularly by Edgerton 1953, p. 58) : the use of —ā for —āni in the neuter plural shows the influence of the old nominative masculine ending —ā —āh.

The main argument in favour of Edgerton's theory is the early evidence of confusion between the neuter and masculine endings in the plural. Although the distinction between masculines and neuters was always weak (Renou 1961, p. 278) the confusion seems to have begun in the East and it arose from the similarity of the neuter plural nominative, vocative and accusative ending —āni and the masculine accusative plural ending —ān. This confusion and the subsequent use of —āni in the masculine has been discussed in detail by Luders (1913, pp. 988 ff.) and more recently by Regamey (1954, p. 526 and by Bechert (1958 p. 310).

The use of —ā in the neuter plural, based on this confusion of genders, became more widespread in later Middle Indo-Aryan and was particularly common in the eastern Apabhramśa of the Dohākoṣus (Tagare 1948, p. 138). This is in agreement with the growing lack of distinction between genders which was especially pronounced in the east where all distinction between genders has disappeared in the modern language; (Bloch 1963, map 5). Gender distinction has also disappeared in the Niya inscriptions, and —āni is only used in Sanskritising formulae (Burrow 1937, p. 25). The situation can be summarised in the following table :

Sanskrit		
Neuter pl		Masc.
Nom.		āh
	āni	
Acc.		ān
Middle Indo-Aryan (Eastern) (Ardhamāgadhī, Jain Māhāraṣṭri, the eastern dialect underlying Pāli, and Apabhramśa)		
Neuter pl.		Masc.
Nom.		-ā
-ā, -āni, -āim		
Acc.		(-āni, traces in Pāli) -e (Western influence)

1. 2. a. The ending āim.

There has been some discussion of the origin of this ending. Gray (1935, p. 566) thought of it as coming from Vedic -ā with the addition of -ini borrowed from nouns with a stem-final-in. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory, particularly in view of the existence of parallel forms in-īim and -ūim for the -i and -u stems, and because there is no further evidence of any such composite ending. -āim is much more likely to be a derivative by metathesis and weakening from -āni (and-īim, -ūim from -īni, -ūni). This change was made possible by the well-known phonetic weakness of terminational elements in Middle Indo-Aryan (Turner 1927, p. 230). The isolated forms in -mim, e.g. dhanāmim, quoted by Kramadīśvara in his grammar, are of interest in that they may well represent intermediate forms.

The distribution of -āim and āni is as follows:

-āni only	-āim and -āni	only -āim (and minor variants of -āim)
Pāli	Ardhamāgadhī	Māhāraṣṭri
Gāndhārī Dhammapada	Sauraseni	Apabhramśa
Inscriptional M. I. A.	Māgadhī	
Jain Sauraseni	Jain Māhāraṣṭri	

It is obvious that -āni is the older ending, and -āṃ with its minor variants is more recent. This involves a stylistic difference: āni belongs to a more elevated and formal style, and it is therefore not surprising that it is the only form found in inscriptional Prakrits. It is equally obvious that āni survived longer in the west and that āṃ like many other innovations began in the eastern dialects. But it is these dialects in which both -āni and -āṃ are found that are most interesting in this respect: it is here in Ardhamāgadhī, Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī that the stylistic and syntactic differences between the two endings can be seen most clearly.

-āni, the older form, is soal the more emphatic ending : it is used in situations where phonetic weakening of terminational elements' is least likely to occur. Thus -āni is the prevailing form before enclitic and emphatic particles of any kind; some examples of this were already listed by Pischel (1900, § 367).

ruppa-pāyā ṇi vā, suvaṇṇa-pāyā ṇi vā

'silver or golden vessels'

(Ovavāiyasuttaṃ 37)

enclitic
anṇāni vi jāṃ loe dukkhāṃ
 enclitic

enclitic

'and those other misfortunes that are in this world'

(Kūvalayamālā 135.24)

The ending-āni is particularly common with anncanya 'other' because a strong contrast is usually implied:

annāni ya mahā-kaviyara-kappiyāiṃ

'and those other works of
great authors'

(Kūvalayamāla 174.23)

11. 2. b.

On the whole the stronger ending -āni is preferred in nouns rather than in adjectives, particularly when there are no enclitic particles involved:

antāṇi teṇa viraiyā īṃ pāveṇa

'these devices have been set up by that evil-doer'

noun **adj.**

(Paumacariya m 6.226)

vatth'ābharaṇāṇi rāya-santiyāmi

'the garments and jewels belonging to the king' (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen*)

noun **adj.**

eyaim panca mula-sipāpni

'these five basic skills'

demonstrative	noun
pronoun	

(Avaśyakacurṇi)

Some times both an enclitic particle and the adjective-noun contrast are involved :

bhava nāṇi toraṇāṇi ya, aṭṭālaya-viviha-citta-tungāṇi

noun noun encl.

adj.

'dwellings and gates, high and bright with various upper stories' (Paumacariyam 28.87)

Although in poetic works in particular there is a certain amount of liberty in the use of the two different endings of the neuter plural, the basic theme of emphatic (-āṇi) versus less emphatic (-āṇ) prevails and is in fact so marked that this should probably be reflected in translations :

uttāpi ya maṇḍalaggāim	'and their scimitars were <u>completely</u>
adj. encl. noun	shattered'

In the Vasudevabhiṣṭ the ending -āni prevails, but -āṁ is used occasionally in conversational style and in quotations and clearly the use of the two endings is governed by finer nuances of style.

The distribution of the endings of the neuter plural thus shows us that there is still much to learn about Middle Indo-Aryan style and details of syntax : the most important texts from this point of view are the vivid prose-stories in Jain *Māhārāṣṭri*.

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The Jain-interpretation of The Gāyatrī Verse

Manjul Mayank Pantul

The famous Gāyatrī verse, mostly known as Brahma-Gāyatrī, appears in the Ṛgveda¹ without 'Om' and the three Vyāhrtis, later associated with it the Yajurveda² and with omission of Vyāhrtis in the Taittirīyāraṇyaka.³

Thus, the compact form of the prevalent Gāyatrī as a whole, constitutes as follows:—

Aum bhūrbhuvah svah tatsaviturvareṇyam bhargo devasya dhi mahi.
Dhiyo yonah pracod yat.

Vedic commentator Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the Ṛgveda and Taittirīyāraṇyaka, Mahīdhara in his commentary on the Yajurveda and Shankarachārya in his Bhāṣya, all have explained this verse with their individualistic mark, without any uniformity. For example, the word Bharga alone has been explained by Sāyaṇa in his Ṛgvedic commentary in three ways; Bharga as self-illuminated universal light, as the light of the sun and as the eatables. In the Taittirīyāraṇyaka, he takes Bharga as the superior light. Mahīdhara in his commentary on the Yajurveda, understands Bharga, to be that light which burns the worldly sins. Shankarachārya takes it in the sense of a burning power which burns worldly ignorance. From such deviations in the meaning of the Gāyatrī, one is misled. It also approves that the vedic verses are obscure and uncertain in their meaning. The varied interpretations, exhibit the skill and excellence of wisdom of those people only, who have explained them. Here one may be reminded of the famous Charvak statement—Vyākhyā bhuddhibalāpekṣā.

This tug of war of meaning within the vedic tradition, inspired Shubhatilaka Upādhyāya, a Jain Scholar, to show his skill and excellence of wisdom, to explain the Gāyatrī to suit various Philosophical thoughts prevalent in India, including Jainism. Many Jain-scholars have attributed to him a credit of academic philanthropy to other systems, including vedic. But it is evident from one of his concluding verses in Gāyatrika, that he did all this out of a humour to show that the Gāyatrī verse can be made suited to other systems through his skill of presentation.

Chakre Shubhatilakopadī yayaiḥ Swamati- 'ilpa-Kalpanayā

Vyākhyānam Gayatryah Krīdāmatropayogamidam. ⁴

In Vedic tradition, that is in Hinduism, the three-syllabic divine 'Om', consisting of three letters *ṛ*, *ṡ* and *ṃ* with the three Vyāhrtis Bhūh, Bhuvah and Svah is proclaimed before the pronouncement of the sacred Gāyatrī. According to tradition these three letters, are supposed to represent various names of God when pronounced collectively. For instance *ṛ* includes Virat, Agni and Viśva. *ṡ* Compendse Hiraṇyagarbha, Vāyu and Tejas. *ṃ* denotes Iśvar, Aditya and Prajñā. But in Jainism 'Om' is a collective expression of Pancha-Paramesthi:—

Arihantā Asarirā Ayariya Uwabbhaya Muṇiṇo

Pancharakarnippanno Omkaro Pancha-Parametthi.⁵

Shubha-Tilaka, therefore, treats अ symbolising Arihanta, Asarira and Ayauya (Acharya), all beginning with the letter अ. Similarly उ and ऋ symbolize Upādhyāya and Muni beginning with उ and ऋ. The vedic text of the Gayatri with separation of Sandhis, each word marked with proper accents, is accepted like this—

2 Aum—bhuh—bhuvah —Svah—tat—Savituh— Vareṇyam- bhārgah—devasya—dhīmahi—
dhiyah yah—nah—prascodayāt.

But Shubho—Tilaka Upādhyāya, ignoring the accents, has paraphrased this verse in the following manner:—

Om Bhūrbhuvah/svahat/Savituh/Vareṇyam/Bhargoe/Vasi/Adhimahi/Dhiyah/Ayo/Nah/Prachah
Udayāt.

In this paraphrasing, the three Vyāhrtis, have not been separated from each other to suit a compound with the word (Tat).

The vedic tradition, treats each Vyāhṛti as a separate word, in various meanings such as— 'the earth, the ether, the heaven'; 'The Prāṇa, The Apāṇa and the Vyāṇa'; 'The Sat, The Chit and the Ānand'; and so on. Shubha Tilaka, in Jain-interpretation of the Gāyatri confines himself to the first meaning and takes Tat as a derivative noun from Tauavistāre supported by explanatory sentence 'Tanoti Jñānatmana Vyāpnoti', instead of a pronoun, as in Vedic tradition. Thus the Pañcha-Paramesthi pervades through the whole universe, is the meaning of "Om Bhūrbhuvassvastat". This pervasion is possible for the Arhatsiddhas alone, who with their knowledge-soul are supposed to be present every where in the universe; following the Jain tradition:—

"Savvagayam Sammattam".⁶

Therefore that Tat the knowledge of Arhatsiddhas, is superior even to the material light of the Sub-Savituh Vareṇyam. The sun enlightens only a specific part of the world but the Keval-Jñāna of Arhatsiddhas, illumines the whole world. This also has support of the following extract:—

Chandaicchgaḥāṇam Pahā Payāsei Parimiyam Khittam.

Kevaliya Nānalambho Logālogam Payāsei.⁷

One can argue here that the Āchārya, Upādhyāya and Muni who constitute the group of Pañcha-Paramesthi, all deprived of Kevala-Jñāna, can, by no means, be regarded to be omnipresent. To this, it is submitted that the omnipresence of these three is retained with their acquaintance of those who have attained Kaivalika-Jñāna.

In Bhargode, three words Bharga meaning Ishwara, U meaning Brahmā, and Da being derived, from the root Dya to protect, meaning Viṣṇu, have been compounded together: "Bhargas-h, Uscha, Dashchet Bhargodam". Bhargode, thus, is treated as a singular of 7th case-ending. Vasi is derived from vis to dwell with Kvip suffix and has been placed in co-ordination with the former.

Adhīmahi has also been treated as a compound of three words ī nahī and Adhi. The monosyllabic A is a monosyllabic name of lord Viṣṇu, which with Taddhita suffix iñ, goes under the form ī, supported by explanatory sentence—Asya, Viṣṇoh Apatyam, referring to the deity of sex, Lord Cupid, who according to Hindu tradition is supposed to be the son of Lord Viṣṇu. The deity of sex is generally associated with the ladies as all our feelings of sex flutter around them. So to say, the ladies are the field of action of the lord Cupid. There is

no better object, of course, to honour ones sexual feelings than a lady. Therefore they are *Imahī*, proper field of action of the god of sex. The derived word, *imahī*, when compounded again with indeclineable *Adhi*, carrying the sense of 7th case assumes the form *Adhīmahī* and *Vasi* qualify the word *Bhargode* of the same co-ordination and mean—"The trait of *Mahesha* (*Iswara*) *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu*, being in the grip of amorous ladies." It is authentically confirmed by a quotation from *Shruti* like — "Prajapatiḥ *Swām* *Duhitara-makāmayata*"

Nah and *Ayo* have been treated as the exclamatory singulars of *Nṛ*. and *Ayu*. The derivation of *Ayu* from *yu* to mix and separate is highly interesting. Of the two meaning of this root, the later alone being suited to the context, *Yu* has been derived in the sense of "separated", supported by the explanatory sentence "*Youti Prithagbhavati iti Yuh*". Say either peculiarity or irregularity of grammatical rules in *Veda*, debars substitution of 'O' instead of *U* in *Pu*. Thus with negative particle *naḥ*, *Ayu* goes under the form *Ayu*, in exclamatory singular, qualifying *Nah* in common substratum.

Now from the syntactical regulation like "He *dhiyah ayo naḥ* we get the meaning "O, man ! not deprived of wisdom," to be adjusted with *Prachah* and *Udayāt*. *Prachah* has been derived from to walk based mainly on this explanation—"Prakṛṣṭam Charati iti Prachah." As a matter of fact *Prakṛṣṭāchāra* is an adoption of right path. The word *Udaya* in *Udayat*, is a Jain terminology, meaning—"Dravyādi-nimittavaśāt Karmaṇām Phalapraptiḥ," that is gain of fruits of one's own conduct due to *Dravya*, etc. as specified in Jainism, is possible in the case of *Pañcha-Parameṣṭhi* alone.

Now, the compact meaning of the whole verse, can be summarised thus : The *Pañcha-Parameṣṭhi* is pervading through the whole universe. Even the light of the Sun is inferior to their light. The deities like *Mahesha*, *Brahma* and *Visnu*, all are highly sexual and play in the hands of the ladies. Therefore O, wise man ! eclipse to the right path of *Udaya* of *Pañcha-Parameṣṭhi*.

Shubhatilaka by his skill of paraphrasing which is based mainly on Grammar, has explained *Gāyatri* suited to the theme of Buddhism, *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika* *Vaiṣṇava*, *Mīmāṃsa* and other views also. I leave then un-explained, in the content of my paper, devoted to Jain-interpretation only.

As a matter of fact *Shubhatilaka*'s interpretation suffers from three major limitations.

First, while showing Jainism in *Gāyatri*, he utilizes Hindu mythology. Recognition of *Kāma* as the son of *Viṣṇu* is purely Hindu. The conception of *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Mahesh* in Jainism is totally different from the Hindus. He could have done it in a manner, more suited to Jainism.

The Vedic concept of *Kāma* is rather Philosophical. In *Nasadiya Sukta* of *Rgveda*, the *Kāma* (desire) is supposed to be the first seed of mind, with a prior birth to *Prajāpati*,

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2. *Yajurveda* 36:3
3. *Prapathaka* 10, *Anuyāka* 27
4. 'Gāyatrika' of *Shubhatilaka Upādhyaya*
5. *Tattva-Nirnaya-Prasada* by *Shri Vijayanand Suni*
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7. *Tattva-Nirnaya-Prasada* by *Shri Vijayanand Suni*
8. *Sarvārta-Siddhi* by *Pujya-Pada*
9. *Rgveda* X. 129:4
10. *Rgveda* 1,154:2

Second, the negligence of gramatical rules in paraphrasing the Samhita form into Pada-text. While separating 'prachah' from Udayat, he forgets that the form "Prachodayat" based on Sandhi may have no support of Grammar. The word Prachah have no possibility of formation from the root cara as shown by him. It must be Pracharah. The Rgvedic word kucara derived from cara, ediquately demolished Subhatilaka's ungrammatical assumption. Similarly the derived Yuh must undergo the from Yut grammatically.

Third the most objectionable point in his explanation is the ignorance of accents in the regulation of inidividual words of Eāyatni to assess the right meaning. One must keep in mind that the commentators of vedic tradition, while showing possible meanings of vedic words, have not dared to change the original accents of these words. A word ceases to be vedic when it looses its original vedic accent. But Shubhatilaka seems to have ignored the original accents without thinking that his method of derivation, may adversely affect his proposition. On the line of his derivation, should be marked Anudātta, Bhargode Udātta, Vasi Anudātta. Ayo Sarvādātta and Nah Sarvā Anudātta and so on, which will lead to a chaos, while keeping them in close proximity with each other.

On a critical examination, one finds that Subhatilaka's effort to interpret the Gāyatri to suit Jain-thought, is nothing more than a pursuit for humcur.

Conception of Omniscience in Jainism and Buddhism

Bhagchandra Bhaskar

Omniscience is a prominent element of a Tirthankar or Buddha or any founder of a religion in ancient days. Both, the Nigānth Nātaputta (Mahāvira) and the Buddha developed this theory in their own ways based on the purification and destruction of karmas. It is closely related with knowledge and vision which is accepted by both the thinkers of the Sramana philosophy. The present essay deals with the subject as how it is interpreted by the Jaina and Buddhist philosophers.

Omniscience in Jainism is the *Pārmāthika Pratyakṣa* (transcendental perception) which is the outcome of the destruction of *Jñānanavarāṇakarma* (knowledge obscuring karma). It springs forth from the purified soul itself without the assistance of sense-organs or any other external instruments. That is why it is called the perfect lucid perception (*Viasda pratyakṣa*). It is of two kinds: *Sūkala pratyakṣa* (complete direct knowledge), and *Vikala pratyakṣa* (incomplete direct knowledge). *Kevalajñāna* or omniscience comes under the former and the *Avadhi Jñāna* (Visual knowledge) and *Manabparyaya Jñāna* (mental knowledge) under the latter.

Kavala Jñāna is a perfect knowledge of all substance and their modes. It is generated after complete destruction of the veil of the *Mohaniyakarma* (delusion action) which is the most powerful in the karmic matter. Hence the soul comes to perceive all things, past, present and future. When a person achieves perfect knowledge, he is called an omniscient. This the main characteristic of soul in Jainism.

According to Jainism, no one can be a teacher (Tirthankara) without being omniscient. This perfect knowledge can be obtained by the purified soul which has consciousness (*cetana* or *upayoga*) as its sole characteristic. The term *Upayoga* is used to denote the *darsana* and *Jñāna* which are the main features of soul. *Darsana* is perception and *Jñāna* is knowledge. Soul, its knowledge, and its intuition all these are identical and hence each can reveal the self as well as nonself. *Akalanka* is of view that when the soul perceives, it self, it is called *Darsana*.

According to Jaina philosophy, each and every entity is somehow related to all other entities in the universe. Such relations are called modes or *paryayas* of the entity. If one knows an entity completely, these modes will also be known completely. That is why it is said that one who knows one, knows all, and one who knows all, knows one. In the *Pravacanasara*, *Kundakunda* says: One who does not know simultaneously the realities of past, present and future, and the three worlds, cannot know even a single object with its infinite modifications, if one does not know all objects, how will he be able to know one. For instance, if one is inclined to have a knowledge of *ghata*, he should have knowledge of its intrinsic nature as well as *ghata* itself since knowledge

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1. *Niyamasara* 170
 2. *Tattvarthavartika*, 2. 8. *Vratī*
 3. *Pravacanasara*

reveals all the objects. As the soul has infinite capacity to know all the objects, when one attains such power, he has to know all the objects. Severe penance with right knowledge, right vision and right conduct is required to attain such purified stage of soul.

The early Pāli Canon as well as the latter Buddhist philosophical literature criticised the view of Jainas that their Tirthankares were omniscient. In the *Majjhimanikaya* the Buddha says to Sandaka Paribrajaka that "Some teacher, all, all-knowing (sabbannu), all seeing (sabb dissavi) claims all-embracing knowledge and vision (aparisesam nandassanam) saying whether I am walking or standing still or sleep or awake, knowledge and vision are constantly and perpetually (sataṭm samitam) before me". Further the Buddha says, "he enters an empty place, and he does not receive alms and a dog bites him, and he encounters a fierce bullock, and he asks the name of I village or market town and the way". So if any one ask him why does he need question in this manner if he is omniscient, then he replies this: It had to enter an empty place therefore a entered.

A number of such other references are found in the Pali literature where the Buddha criticises the conception of omniscience of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta¹. This is the general tendency of the rivilists as revealed by the contemporary literature of all the sects. In this regard it may be noted here that all the Nigaṇṭhas are not said to be omniscient, but only a very few who could obtain the perfect knowledge after performing the required duties. These references, however, refer to the Jaina tradition that its Tīrthaṅkaras and some prominent monks were omniscient*.

Likewise, later Buddhist philosophical literature also referred to the Jaina conception of omniscient. Dharmakīrti, in the course of establishing the "Dharmajñātva" in the Buddha, points out the superfluity of Jain view of omniscience and says that the Anuṣṭhānagatañāna (a knowledge that has a bearing on life or practice) is more important, than having knowledge of the number of bacteria (kīṭaśaṅkbyā), which is of no use at all for human beings. The real Tattaṭṭhāraṣṭa (knower of scripture) in the opinion of Dharmakīrti is one who knows that is to be abandoned and what is to be accepted and not everything or not, but what matters is whether he knows the essential thing, that is what he ought to know. If the mere range of knowledge was valuable in itself, without its bearing on life, why not worship vultures who soar into the atmosphere and thereby get a long range of sight². Thus he asserts the view that a absolute purity in life and not ultimated knowledge is the essential characteristic of a Teacher.

This much, however, we can say that the conception of omniscience in Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras is not a new one. It might belong to Pārśvanātha or the period prior to that tradition, since the Nigaṇṭhas whom the Buddha saw performing sever penance on Rājagiri Kālāṅḍilā at Rājagaha would be the followers of Pārśvanātha or an earlier tradition.

The whole Jaina literature seeks to establish the fact that Jain Tīrthaṅkaras are omniscient while denying the omniscience of any other. The Bhagatīśūtra (9:32) says that the Nirgranthas who belonged to the Pārśvanātha tradition did not accept the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as a prophet or head of a Jaina sect unless it was proved that he was all-knowing and all-seeing.

4. *Majjhimanikaya*, I. p. 529

1. *Majjhimanikāya*, ii, 31: *Dhammapad aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. 29, p. 74 ff. (translation)

2. *Pramāṇavārtika*, 2.31—33

* *Majjhimanikāya*, ii. 31, 214 ff; i. 92f *Aṅguttaranikāya*, iii:74 *Saṅyutta*. iv. 398

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 3. *Pravacanasara*

reveals all the objects. As the soul has infinite capacity to know all the objects, when one attains such power, he has to know all the objects. Severe penance with right knowledge, right vision and right conduct is required to attain such purified stage of soul.

The early Pāli Canon as well as the latter Buddhist philosophical literature criticised the view of Jainas that their Tirthankares were omniscient. In the *Majjhimanikaya* the Buddha says to Sandaka Paribrajaka that "Some teacher, all, all-knowing (*sabbannu*), all seeing (*sabb dissavi*) claims all-embracing knowledge and vision (*aparisesam nandassanam*) saying whether I am walking or standing still or sleep or awake, knowledge and vision are constantly and perpetually (*satatm samitam*) before me". Further the Buddha says, "he enters an empty place, and he does not receive alms and a dog bites him, and he encounters a fierce bullock and he asks the name of I village or market town and the way". So if any one ask him why does he need question in this manner if he is omniscient, then he replies this: It had to enter an empty place therefore a entered.

A number of such other references are found in the Pāli literature where the Buddha criticises the conception of omniscience of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta¹. This is the general tendency of the rivalists as revealed by the contemporary literature of all the sects. In this regard it may be noted here that all the Nigaṇṭhas are not said to be omniscient, but only a very few who could obtain the perfect knowledge after performing the required duties. These references, however, refer to the Jain tradition that its Tīrthaṅkaras and some prominent monks were omniscient*.

Likewise, later Buddhist philosophical literature also referred to the Jain conception of omniscient. Dharmakīrti, in the course of establishing the "Dharmajñatva" in the Buddha, points out the superfluity of Jain view of omniscience and says that the *Anuṣṭhānagataeñāna* (a knowledge that has a bearing on life or practice) is more important, than having knowledge of the number of bacteria (*kīṭaśaṅkbyā*), which is of no use at all for human beings. The real *Tattaḍiṣṭa* (knower of scripture) in the opinion of Dharmakīrti is one who knows that is to be abandoned and what is to be accepted and not everything or not, but what matters is whether he knows the essential thing, that is what he ought to know. If the mere range of knowledge was valuable in itself, without its bearing on life, why not worship vultures who soar into the atmosphere and thereby get a long range of sight². Thus he asserts the view that a absolute purity in life and not ultimated knowledge is the essential characteristic of a Teacher.

This much, however, we can say that the conception of omniscience in Jain Tīrthaṅkaras is not a new one. It might belong to Pārśvanātha or the period prior to that tradition, since the Nigaṇṭhas whom the Buddha saw performing sever penance on Rājagiri Kālāṅḍī at Rājagaha would be the followers of Pārśvanātha or an earlier tradition.

The whole Jain literature seeks to establish the fact that Jain Tīrthaṅkaras are omniscient while denying the omniscience of any other. The *Bhagatīśūtra* (9:32) says that the Nirgranthas who belonged to the Pārśvanātha tradition did not accept the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta as a prophet or head of a Jain sect unless it was proved that he was all-knowing and all-seeing.

4. *Majjhimanikaya*, I. p. 529

1. *Majjhimanikāya*, ii., 31: *Dhammapad aṭṭhakathā*, Vol. 29, p. 74 ff. (translation)

2. *Pramāṇavārtika*, 2.31—33

* *Majjhimanikāya*, ii. 31, 214 ff; i. 92f *Aṅguttaranikāya*, iii. 74 *Saṅguttara*. iv. 398

Later Ācāryas such as Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Vidyānānda try to establish omniscience on the basis of inference. We have already mentioned the arguments submitted by Kundakunda in this connection. Then Samantabhadra says that there are three kinds of entities, viz. the subtle (sūkṣma) proximate (antarita) and remote (duravartī). They must be perceived simultaneously by somebody, since all subjects are to be perceived. Hence there must be some one omniscient.¹

Vīrasen presents another argument in support of omniscience. He says that Kevaljñāna (omniscience) is innate in the soul. Due to destruction-cum-substance of karmas, it functions as mati-jñā. The self-conceived mati implies the fractional Kevaljñāna, just as the observation of a part of a mountain leads us to the perception of the mountain itself².

The Jain philosophers did not emphasise Dharmajñatva like Dharmakīrti or early Buddhist tradition, but they endeavoured to point out that a person is omniscient when he is both Dharmajñā as well as Sarvajñā, because Dharmajñatva depends on sarvajñatva.

Akalaṅka presents another argument which is also referred to by Dharmottara³ Buddhist philosopher in the Dharmottarapradīpa.³ His argument is that if we deny supersensorial knowledge, how can astrological divinations be made? Hence, it must be accepted that there is a faculty of super-sensorial knowledge which is nothing but Kevaljñāna or omniscience⁴.

After the destruction of the evil of karmic bondage one can attain the inherent capacity of his own soul, and perceive all things.¹ The very progressive gradation of knowledge implies the highest magnitude of knowledge attained by man. If one has no capacity to know or perceive all things at once he will not be able to do so even by means of the Veda.² Hence we have to accept that one can become omniscient. Impossibility of omniscience cannot be established unless one has knowledge of persons of all times. Consequently, one who rejects omniscience for all times must himself be omniscient.³ Presenting the positive arguments in this way, Akalaṅka relies on the negative arguments that there is no contradictory pramāṇa to reject the established omniscience and therefore it is certain. He then substantiates this argument by examining the various so-called contradictory pramāṇas.⁴

Dharmakīrti and his commentator. Prajñākaragupta think that the Jain conception of omniscience cannot be accepted for was of Sādhaka—bādhaka—pramāṇa—(assisting and contradicting evidence). Akalaṅka replies this criticism by saying that one cannot establish the non-existence of omniscience without being omniscient. He further says that there is no bādhaka pramāṇa to refute omniscience in Jainism, and the absence of bādhakapramāṇa is itself a sādhaka pramāṇa.⁵

1. Ājñamīmāṃsū, 5

2. Jayadhavalāṭīkā,

3. Dharmottarapradīpa, p. 245—248; 4. Nyāyaviniścaya, 414; Siddhivinī—ścayaṭīkā, P 526; Āstravārtāsamuccaya, 2. 3.

¹. Nyāyaviniscaya—Jñānayāti ayat siddhyed Vibhutvaṃ parimānavat.

². Ibid. 8.3.

³. Ibid. 8, 10—14.

⁴. Ibid. 8, 12—18.

⁵ Siddhiviniscaya, 8.6.

As regards Anusthānagatajñāna urged by Dharmakīrti, Vādarāja, a commentator Akalaṅka, questions" by which pramāṇas does the Buddha perceive Anusthēyagatavastu ? Neither an Pratyakṣa pramāṇa be helpful in this respect, otherwise what will be the use of Anusthāna of Nor will the anumāna pramāṇa will solve our problem, because it depends on the pratyakṣa. Thus the Anusthēyagatatvajñāna in itself has no importance.

So far as Kīṭasaṅkhyā—parijñāna and its puruṣārthopayoga are concerned, he says that it is essential to include Kīṭasankhyā—parijñāna as an integral part of omniscience, as acaturāryasatyā implies the dukhasatyā of creatures living around. If the Kīṭasaṅkhyā-parijñāna serves no useful purpose, what then is the use of Boikṣu—saṅkhyā—parijñāna in Buddhism ?

Thus the Jainas established the theory of omniscience, whereas the Buddhist ācāryas refuted it in Nigaṇtha Nātaputta. According to Jainism its adherents could aspire to be omniscient. But it only Nigaṇtha Nātaputta (Mahāvīra) who attained this spiritual height at that. However, the masses considered all Nigaṇthas to be omniscient, because some of them gained various powers of insight. The Buddha, apparently under the impression that this was the actual claim of Jainism criticised it. The later Buddhist philosopher also followed him.

Later on, on the imitation of Jainism, the Buddha is also made an omniscient in Buddhist literature. The development of the concept of omniscience in the Buddha and Buddhism can be traced out in the Buddhist literature.

First the Buddha seems to have declined omniscience in the sense of knowing everything at once and all the time as claimed by Nātaputta,¹ though he never denied the possessing of super natural power, which can be said a part of omniscience. The Buddha himself said that he had a three-fold knowledge (tissovijjā). He has remarked that "these who say that the recluse Gotama is omniscient and all-seeing and professes to have an infinite knowledge and insight, which is constantly and at all times presents to him, when he walks or stands, sleeps or keeps away—are not reporting him properly and misrepresent him as claiming what is false and untrue. On being asked how he could be reported correctly in this matter, he replied "in proclaiming that the Recluse Gotama has a three-fold knowledge (tissovijjā)". It is said therefore that whatever is well-spoken is the word of the Buddha (yam kiñci subhāsitam, taṃ tassa bhagawato vacanam).²

At another place the Buddha says to Prasenajita Kausale that it is not possible to see all the things at a time (sakadiva). That means the Buddha is of a view that the things can be seen gradually. This implies that the Buddha does not deny the concept of omniscience in toto³.

The very familiar Abhiññā in Buddhist literature has an "older and wider meaning of special supernatural power of a perception and knowledge to be acquired by the training in life

¹. Nyāyaviniśayaavivarana, 50—52. : Nyāyaviniśaya, 37—40.

². Majjhimanikāya, i. 31 : Buddhist Legend, Vol. 29. p. 74 ff.

³. Majjhimanikāya, i. 482

⁴. Aṅgutaṇikāya, iv. 164.

1. Majjhimanikāya, Kanhavatthukasutta

2. Dighanikāya, i. 83

3. ibid. i. 82

4. Majjhimanikāya, i. 213

and thought.¹ It has been interpreted as the following six powers called *Chalāhhiññā* attained.² by the Buddha.

(i) *Iddhividhā* (psychokinesis)

(ii) *Dibbasotadhātu* (clairaudience)

(iii) *Cetopariyāna* (telepathic knowledge)

(iv) *Pubbenivāsānussatiñāna* (retrocognitive knowledge)

(v) *Dibbacakkhu* (clairvoyance) also known as *Cutūpapātāñāna* (*Dīghanikāya*, i:82) of knowledge of decease and survival of beings, and

(vi) *Āsavakkhayañāna* (knowledge of the destruction of defiling impulses)

All these six powers have a close relation with the five knowledge of Jainism. The first two are similar to *Matijñāna* and *Īrutejñāna*. The fourth and the fifth correspond to *Avadhijñāna*, the third to *Manahparyayajñāna*, and the last to *Kevalajñāna* of the Jains.

On the basis of possessing the *Pubhanivāsānussatiñāna* and *Dibbacakkhujñāna*, the Buddha claimed to see and know the decease and survival of beings and their karmas³. *Anuruddha*, who is said to have attained the *dibbasotadhātu*, is believed to have the power of "seeing a thousand world"⁴. All the characters of these two *abhiññās* resemble the *avadhijñāna* of Jainism.

Manahparyayajñāna corresponds to *cetopariyāyana* in Buddhism. The general and particular character of another's mind can be known through this *jñāna*. The *Aṅguttaranikāya* gives four ways by which another's thoughts can be known viz.,

(i) by observing external signs (*uimitta—*),

(ii) by getting information from others or from an intermediate source,

(iii) by listening to the vibration (*vippharasaddam*) of the thoughts (*vitakko*) of another as he thinks and reflects (*vitakkayato vicārayato*), and

(iv) by comprehending with his mind the mind of another can be observed as how the mental dispositions are placed in the mind of a particular individual (*manosañkhāra panihita imassa antarā*) on the part of one who has attained the State of concentration free from cognitive and reflective thought (*avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ samādhim*).

Here the third and the fourth seem to be identical with *ṛijumati* and *vipulamati* of *manahparyāyajñāna*⁵.

The sixth *abhiññā* *Āsavakkhayañāna* is a knowledge acquired for the destruction of defiling impulses. *Ātmajñāna* (*attanavā jameyyāta*⁶) is essential for destroying the impulses and then for the attainment of salvation⁷. The Buddha is also called the *ñānavādin* in the *Nikāyas*⁸. The power of knowing and perceiving everything (*jānāti passata*) is a distinguishing characteristic of the Buddha⁹. This knowing and perceiving is connected with the Four Noble Truths (*ariyasacchānavecca passadi*¹⁰). After being eliminated the five impediments (*pañcanīvaraṇa-pahāya*) the Buddha is said to have known and perceived the Four Noble Truths with the last three *abhiññās*¹¹.

1. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, i 170-171 ; Early Buddhist Theory of knowledge, p. 440.

2. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, ii. 191

3. *Majjhimanikāya*, i 167

4. *Dīghanikāya*, iii. 12 ; *Aṅguttara*, i. 340

5. *Majjhima*, i. 111

6. *Suttanipāta*. 229

7. *Majjhima*, i. 347

8. *Dīghanikāya*, i. 84

The Buddha is one who has knowledge and insight into all realities (sabbesu dhammesu ca ñānadassi⁹), which can be comprehended by mental concentration (samādhi). Through this insight the Buddha could know that Sunakkhatta would die after seven days, and that of epilepsy and on dying he would be reborn as one of the Kālakanjas, the very lowest of the Asura groups⁹. Once when the bhikkhus were conversing in his absence, he was able to say that they had been discussing about the certain matter¹⁰. In the Kevadhasutta he is said to have claimed to answer a question which even Brahma was ignorant of it⁹.

All these references indicate that because of some short of insight the Buddha could know and perceive things. He is said to have a threefold knowledge (tissovijjā⁴), six intellectual powers⁵ (chaḍi māni.—Tathāgatabalāni⁶), ten intellectual powers (dasa balāni⁶) and so forth. He is therefore considered sometimes an omniscient. Keith refers to a passage from the Aṅguttaranikāya⁷ where the Buddha is compared to a granary, whence men every good word and points out the same view⁸.

These are the negative references to the Buddha's omniscience. They have been the stepping stones to establish omniscience positively in the Buddha in later Pāli as well as Buddhist philosophical literature. The Paṭisaṁbhidāmagga says in this respect that the Tathāgata's omniscience consists in knowing everything conditioned and unconditioned, and also knowing everything in the past, present, and future. Further it tries to prove omniscience in the Buddha and says that "he knows everything that has been heard, sensed, thought, attained, sought and searched by the minds of those who inhabit the entire world of gods and men⁹. Likewise the Kathāvatthu describes the two epithets "sabbaññu" and "sabbadasāṇvī" as occurring in a list of epithets of the Buddha.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, the Buddha never claimed himself to be omniscient. His disciples explained his supernatural power of threefold knowledge as omniscience and supplemented some references to establish it in the Buddha at the compilation of the Tripiṭaka especially the Abhidhamma. This happened so because of saddhā or faith and bhakti or devotion in the Buddha.

The conception of Dhammañāna (knowledge of ariyasaccāni) in the Buddha was gradually developed in Buddhist philosophical literature. Dharmakīrti supports this view that the Buddha was a Dharmajñe as well as Mārgajñe in the sense that he was knower of Caturāryasatye but he did not deny the omniscience of the Buddha. He said that spiritual knowledge should be recognised as an essential element of a Teacher.¹

9. Suttanipāta, 478

1. Dialogues of the Buddhas. iii. P. 12.

2. Ibid. ii. p. 4.

3. Dighanikāya, i. 223.

4. Majhim. i. 482.

5. Aṅguttaranikāya, iii. 417.

6. Majjhim. i. 71

7. Aṅguttaranikāya. iv. 173 ff. Smith, Asoka, p. 154.

8. Buddhist Philosophy, p. 33

9. Paṭisaṁbhidāmagga, p. 131

10. Kathāvatthu, 228.

1. Pramānavārtika, 2.32-33

Prjñākaregupta, a disciple of Dharmakīrti further observes that omniscience is possible, if one has destroyed all worldly attachments. This requires great effort.²

Śāntarakṣita emphasises sarvajñatve more than Dbarmajñatva. He says that an omniscient being can know everything that he intends to since he has already destroyed all the obstructions of knowledge.³ He then refutes the view of Kumāriḥa, and established complete omniscience in the Buddha. The later Buddhist philosophers followed Śāntarakṣita's view.

In these references we found that Jainas are firmcd from begining that their Tīrthaṅkaras are omniscient and omniscience can be achieved by any one through right knowledge, right vision and right conduct. The Buddha criticised this view and said that no one can know and perceive everything at once. But his disciples anxious to give their teacher a position of greater recognition and gradually went on to establish the theory of the perfect omniscience of the Buddha on the basis of the superhuman powers. There is no doubt that this was done with a view to stand the Buddha in the line of other Prophets, especially Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta or Mahāvīra.

2. Pramāṇavārtikālaṅkāra, p. 329

3. Tattvasaṅgraha, 3628

Educational Foundations of Jaina Philosophy

Swaroop Chandra Jain

1. INTRODUCTION

Jainism is one of the most significant systems of Indian Thought. Generally it is viewed as a religion, which came into existence as a reaction against the Vedic orthodoxy. But this notion is not quite correct. Jainism comprises profound philosophical and psychological speculations which are relevant as well as practicable even in the modern world of science. Jainism unlike Buddhism, did not develop as a world religion; but, unlike Buddhism it is still a living force in India. This means that there is something in Jainism that directly appeals to the finer feelings of Indians and commands their respect. What is it? It is its scientific out-look and a synthetic approach towards life based upon its peculiar doctrine of "Karma", which has added to its charm, its beauty and its effect.

My aim, in preparing this paper, as a student of education is to make a humble attempt to bring out the educational foundations of this school of thought. There is every possibility of innocent misconceptions and erroneous educations creeping into what I say. Despite such shortcomings, I humbly claim that the whole account has been prepared with an honesty of purpose and faithfulness of motive.

2. RELATION AMONG PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND EDUCATION

It is peculiar to India that theory of education has not taken its shape as a separate intellectual discipline because, here in India, life, religion, philosophy and education have always been interwined. Besides, as is evident, philosophy in India has always been the contemplative aspect of education and education always the dynamic aspect of philosophy. Philosophy and religion point to the goal of life and education to the means for its realization. In Jainism, there is complete harmony between philosophy and religion and between religion and life. Therefore, in order to evolve the theory of education from the Jaina philosophy, it seems appropriate to first draw an outline of its out-look towards life, because, such an outline will facilitate the understanding of educational foundations in the right perspective.

3. THE JAINA VIEW OF LIFE

(a) *Concept of Reality*—According to the Jinas, ultimate reality is complex in structure and it must, therefore, be examined from various points of view in order to enable us to comprehend its value and its nature. According to Jainism, every object has innumerable positive and negative characters. Moreover, with the change in time, it acquires new characters. Therefore, over-emphasis on any one aspect of the reality to the exclusion of the other aspects is unsound and inadequate. According to the Jaina view, ultimate reality is a combination of the threefold aspects of nature, viz., appearance, disappearance and permanence. Reality has been characterized to be permanent in the midst of change, identical in the midst of diversity and unitary in the midst of multiplicity.

(b) *Concept of Soul and its Investment with Karma*—According to the Jainas, the whole universe is comprised of Jivas and Ajivas (beings and non-beings). The Jiva is synonymous to the soul.

Every individual soul possesses infinite apprehension, infinite comprehension and infinite bliss and power. All these characters belong, by nature, to every soul while it is in perfection. But the souls in their empirical state, are not free to enjoy perfect apprehension, perfect comprehension, unrestricted bliss and unlimited power, because of their imperfection. Why is it so? The Jain philosophy answers that the innate faculty of the soul is invested with something foreign. This foreign element that covers and obscures the perfection and the purity of the soul is nothing but Karma. This Karma is an aggregate of particles of a very subtle nature imperceptible to the human senses. Through the actions of body, mind and speech, the self gets invested with a Karmic load. The intensity of its attachment to the jiva corresponds to the strength of passions through which the attachment takes place. In the state of such attachment or bondage or loadness due to the Karmic load, the self and the Karma are mutually more intimate than milk and water mixed together. The divestment of this Karmic load is possible only by the practice of the prescribed courses of meditation in the same way as the obstruction of the sun created by a veil of dust or fog or a patch of cloud is removed by a blast of wind.

(c) *Moksha the Supreme Aim of Life*—The supreme aim of life, according to Jainism, as has been said above, is the attainment of Moksha, which is possible only when a jiva is completely free from the bondage of the Karmic load. It stresses the spiritualization of individuality. Jainas do not believe in the existence of any personal God, apart from the soul (atma). Their contention is that the jiva possesses all the potentialities of becoming the Paramatman or the Siddhatman who is omniscient.

(d) *The Five Great Principles of Conduct*—In order to get freedom from the Karmic Load, the Jaina Philosophy lays down five great principles of conduct :—

- (1) Ahimsa (Non-harmfulness).
- (2) Satya (Truth)
- (3) Asteya, (Non-stealing)
- (4) Brahamacharya, (Absinence from indulgence)
- (5) Aparigraha. (Non-hoarding of things of property).

At the back of these Principals of conduct, lies the Jaina conviction that the needs and the opinions of the other souls or jivas are as respectable as one's own. The Jaina doctrine of Syadvada is also an outcome of the same conviction. Syadvada means that a given reality may be viewed differently by different people at different times and all such views may be correct in their own way. This conviction of the Jainas is of great educational significance, specially in the modern times.

(e) *Integration of faith, knowledge and conduct*—In order to achieve omniscience, the Jainas prescribe an ethical code to be practised in life. This code is known as the Moksha-marga (the path of liberation.) It consists of the tri-ratnas (three gems) which are Samyag-Darshana, Samyag-Jnana and Samyag-Charitra (i. e., right vision, right knowledge and right conduct). It is a peculiarity of the Jaina thought that it emphasizes the integration of faith, knowledge and action as a necessary discipline for the soul who is aspiring for perfection. Faith, knowledge and conduct of the Jain philosophy are synonymous with the

knowledge or the Jaina, bhakti and karma of the Vedanta. But, the difference is that the Vedanta considers any one of these as sufficient to liberate man, while Jainism considers a harmony of the three as essential for liberation. Jainism holds that knowledge, faith and conduct are inseparably intertwined with one another and the progress or the degeneration of one affects the other two.

(f) *Perfection is fourfold*—A soul who has practised the five great principles of conduct mentioned above and one who has integrated his knowledge, faith and conduct, attains to the fourfold perfection, viz., infinite knowledge, infinite faith infinite power and infinite bliss. This is the stage where the self becomes the paramatman or the supreme Spirit which is the goal of life.

(g) *Distinction between the House holders and the Ascetics*—The Jaina system of philosophy does not prescribe separate duties according to different classes as the Vedic religion. According to Jainism, all men are equal by birth and every one is entitled to liberation through proper discipline of knowledge, faith and conduct and through the adherence to the five great principles of conduct mentioned above. Still, Jainism makes a little distinction between the duties of a Jain householder and a Jain ascetic. The ascetic has to adhere to the five great principles very strictly and the householder is allowed some leniency.

We have now discussed the Jaina philosophy in brief. Let us now approach it as professional teachers and educators and make an attempt to deduce some pedagogical implication from it.

4. EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

(a) *Aims of Education*—Since, the supreme aim of life, according to the Jainas, is the spiritualization of the individuality of a person, the supreme aim of education can be none other than to make the pupil realize his inherent potentialities to achieve that final goal. Thus, a Jain teacher is expected to inculcate spiritual values in the pupils' life and try to divest him of his Karmic load, so that he may be helped to lead a life which may culminate in the liberation of his soul. But it does not imply that Jainism over-emphasizes individuality. According to Jainism, every individual is fundamentally divine. This leads the Jainas to be catholic in their outlook and tolerant in their view. In fact, the Jaina principle of Syadvada is a result of the catholicity of the Jaina Philosophy of life, and this Syadvada is a guarantee that emphasis on individuality will not undermine the general interests and the general welfare of society.

(b) *The Five Principles of Conduct as the Five Disciplines of Education*—Ahimsa, satya, asteya, brah, acharya and aparigraha being the five great principles of conduct in Jainism, shall also be the five great disciplines in the Jainistic system of education. A student in a Jainistic School apart, from his bookish studies in different subjects, will be trained to integrate his personality through the integration of his knowledge, his faith and his actions and also through the practice of the five great disciplines of conduct prescribed by the Jaina philosophers. Such a practice would be very valuable not only for the spiritual growth of the individual but also for the general progress and general welfare of human society.

(c) *Stages of Knowledge*—There are five stages of knowledge according to the Jainas. The first stage of knowledge is "Mati" or the knowledge acquired by the senses, the second stage is that of "Shruta" or the knowledge gained by learning, the third stage is that of "Avadhi" or the power to read the thoughts of other persons' mind and the final stage of knowledge is the 'Kevala' stage which connotes the supreme knowledge or omniscience attained only when all the Karmic load is divested from the soul or jiva. These five stages of knowledge correspond to the five stages of mental development or the five stages of self puri-

fication of the aspirant soul. The purer the personality, through self discipline, the higher the stage of knowledge one can achieve. Such gradation of knowledge is definitely far superior to the present gradation of various degrees awarded by our universities.

(d) *The Lecture Method with Drishtantas and Upamas*—As the stages of Mati and Shruta knowledge, the Jain teachers employ the lecture method of teaching. But, their lectures are not dull or dry. The Jaina teachers are expert at supplying beautiful drishtantas (stories illustrating a point) and upamas (similies) while they are explaining something by their lecture. At the higher stages of knowledge, supervised self-study, silent reading and the observation of the five great principles of conduct are emphasized. In contrast with this, our modern university education is inferior because it lays no graded courses of conduct for the students and even a misconducted fellow can very well become an M. A. if he secures pass marks in the academic examination. On universities could learn a lesson from the Jaina pedagogy, in this respect.

(e) *Universal Education in the Mother Tongue*—Jainism denounces caste system or any hierarchy of classes in society. Hence, Jainism believes in universal education through the mother tongue. In the Indian history, the Jaina acharyas have always stood for education and enlightenment of each individual who has come to them. In consonance with the principle of equality of opportunity for all and that of universal education, the Jain acharyas have always used the language of the masses as the medium of instruction unlike our present universities which take pride in using a foreign language for the same purpose.

(f) *Self-punishment for Self-purification*—Jaina pedagogy allows the use of punishments. But, the concept of punishment in Jaina pedagogy is different from that of the other schools of thought. Instead of corporal punishments, the Jaina guru will allow the pupil to punish himself voluntarily through japa, tapa, or vrata as the occasion demands. Whatever be the punishment, it must be an answer to the inner call of the aspirant himself and not an imposition by the teacher in anger.

(g) *The Teacher-pupil relationship*—The pupil-teacher relationship is the bed-rock of pedagogy. The Jaina guru believes in direct relation with his disciple based on mutual affection and respect. It is based on freedom and deep love on the part of the teacher and high esteem on the part of the pupil. The pupil who has no faith in the teacher is unable to learn anything from him. Similarly, a teacher should not teach merely for the sake of livelihood as is the case today. The teacher's mission should be well up in his heart out of sheer love, compassion and a feeling of self-sacrifice for the sake of the pupil. But, it is important to note that right faith is not synonymous with blind faith in the guru. Faith, according to the Jaina teachers, should be judicious and the disciples should be encouraged to put their doubt and quarries freely before the teacher. The teacher, according to the Jaina thought, should be an embodiment of high character as well as high learning. He should have an ideal and inspiring personality. He should be a real image of Samyag Darshana- Samyag Joan and Samya Charitra. He should strictly and regularly practise in his own life what he preaches to his students. He should assume full responsibility of his students' actions. He should not rouse fear in the minds of his pupils as regards their shortcomings. The teacher, according to Jainism, should have a pleasant and peaceful attitude and the pupil should be an embodiment of modesty and devotion.

5. CONCLUSION—

The above discussion gives a modest but vivid picture of the educational foundations of the Jaina philosophy of life. We have seen how beautifully, the Jaina philosophers and teacher have established a close relationship among life, philosophy, religion and education. The most

significant characteristic of Jaina theory of education is that there is no need of moral education apart from the general education of the educant. The type of education recommended by the Jaina acharyas, itself creates an environment for the spontaneous inculcation of moral values in the end, the Jaina theory of education can be summed up in the following main points :—

1. Spiritualization of individuality is the supreme and the foremost aim of education.
2. Individual soul possesses inherent potentialities for divine self-realization.
3. As regards methodology, concentration of mind, meditation, self-control, strict and democratic disciplines five great principles of conduct are the only sound means to high education.
4. The teacher-pupil relationship based on freedom and deep love on the part of the teacher and high esteem on the part of the pupil, is an essential condition of successful education.

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DRAVYA—LESYA—A COMPARISON WITH VISIBLE SPECTRUM

M. R. Gelra

Jain Agam literature very widely describe the pudgal and its combinations with the soul of mortal being. These have been elaborately discussed in Bhagwati, Prajnapana and sthanang sutra. Pudgal is a specific jain term and it is the synonym of the term matter. Tattvartha sutra defines pudgal as Sparsa varsa gandhavarnnavanpndagala i. e. pudgal is distinguished by possession of touch, taste, smell and colour.² Tattvartha Rajvartikam defines Pudgal as Purana galana nvartha sajnativat Pupgalah i. e. which associate and dissociate is pudgal.^{3,4} Jain siddantha Dipika mentions that pudgal is one of the six fundamental dravyas (substances) which constitute the universe, Dharma dharma kasapudgal jivastikaya dravyani.

Pudgal occurs mainly in two kinds, sthula and sukshma i. e. gross and fine.⁵ The sthula pudgal is perceptible to senses but sukshma pudgal are not. Sukshma pudgal pervades the whole universe.⁷ The interesting and illuminating discussion is of sukshma pudgal which is beneficial for the being. It is remarkable for the jainas that they do not consider soul of mortal being and pudgal to be contradictory but on the other hand they accept for soul as beneficiary by the right use of pudgal.⁸

A being is attributed to six main functions—Ahar, Sharir, indriya, swasoswas, bhasa and mana.⁹ By those functions the consciousness of a being is known. Consecutively the pudgal used in six functions are finer and finer. The sharir pudgal are finer relative to Ahar pudgal and similarly Mana pudgal are finer than Bhasa pudgal. Pudgal still finer than these six pudgal, are karmas which are used by every being.¹⁰ The characteristics of these karma-pudgal are of such a nature that make them live with the soul. Their co-existence is well recognised by jain philosophy. Karma is defined¹¹ as Atmanah sadsat pravrttya Krstastat prayogy pudgalah karma. Every activity of the soul is accompanied by a corresponding change in karma.

The six functions named earlier need inclusion of the karmic behaviour also for fuller description of the pudgal used by the soul of a mortal being. A treatment of the behaviour of pudgal used in these seven functions reveals a gradual change over in their material nature from finer to finer i. e. Sthula to Sukhma. The pudgal employed in the first three functions i. e. Ahar, sharir, and indriya are sthula and can only help in superficial realisation of the soul. The fourth one i. e. Swasoswas is sthula-sukhma and the last three Bhasa, Mana and karma are the Sukhma pudgal. It is necessary to point out here that jainas maintain Bhasa pudgal as different from shabda pudgal (sound).¹² Bhasa pudgal are finer than shabda pudgal. The seven functions of a being as discussed may also be classified as follows. The first three are external functions, the last three are the internal functions and the fourth one i. e. Swasoswas is internal and external both i. e. in between the two. It is a bridge in between internal and external set-up of pudgal employed by a being. Therefore in all yoga-systems, an emphasis has been laid on the right use of Swasoswas without knowing the right process of swasoswas it is not possible to understand the suksha pudgal particularly the mana and karma without which purification of the soul is impossible. The nature of pudgal rightly used by the soul points to the degree of realisation of the soul. To explain mana and its finer forms of pudgal, jainas have discussed another type of coloured pudgal known as lesya which are sthula than mana.¹³ A detailed account of changes taking place in mana can be known in

which give their pudgal. The effect of the reflection be mana manifest in formation of finer shapes terms of lesya impressions. These colour impressions are lesyas. It is known as dravya lesya. As the discussions are centered on the classification of the pudgal employed by the soul of a mortal being, bhavya lesya has not been discussed here. An elaborate description of the material properties of various lesyas are recorded in the jain scripture and its commentaries. The use of colour names to indicate spiritual development was popular among the Ajivikas. The Buddhist appear to have given a spiritual interpretation to the Ajivika Theory of six abhijatis and the Brahmanical thinkers linked the colours to the various states of sativa, rajas and tamas. But the jain thinkers made attempts to knit up the doctrine of karma placing the concept of lesya at its proper place. Various Acharyas have given definitions of lesya and most significant one which explain dravya lesyas is shining in some colour. It is not possible in such a short space to discuss the entire behaviour of lesya and the discussion has been confined to the comparative scientific treatment of lesya with the spectrum of visible radiations. Scientifically, light is regarded to dual in nature. i. e. corpuscular and wave.

By the wave nature of light radiations lesyas can be compared. The electro magnetic radiation which are waves pervade the whole world. Every wave is characterised by its wavelength and frequency or wave number. These are commonly classified as follows:—

Radio waves	Infrared	Visible 4×10^{-5} 10×10^{-5}	Ultra violet	X Ray & gamma rays	Cosmic Rays
106 cm					10 cm

Radiowaves have the highest wavelength i. e. 106 cm whereas X rays and gamma rays have the lowest wavelength 10-10 cm. In between these two extremes lie the visible radiations, the effect of which on our organ of vision is responsible for the appearance of colour of things. A ray of ordinary light passing through a prism is dispersed into radiations of different wavelengths which appear in spectrum in the order Violet, Indigo, Blue, Green, Yellow, Orange, and Red. Thus white light as we call it is a combination of seven colours corresponding to the radiations of different wavelengths. There is a reciprocal relations between frequency wavelength. Thus the violet radiations have smaller wavelengths and thereby have higher 7.5—10 cycles per se frequency. The wavelengths of the radiations after violet go on increasing with decreasing frequency with the red colour having the highest wave length and least frequency 3.8×10 in the visible regions.

Wave nature of the phenomenon of colour can be compared with the nature of lesyas described in jain philosophy. The lasyas are six in numbers viz. krsna nila kapat teja, padma sukla. The first five may be regarded as corresponding to Ultraviolet, violet, blue, yellow and colours of visible spectrum, respectively like white light which is a combination of seven colour the sukla lasya might be regarded as a combination of the rest of the five lesyas. Combinations of violet and blue gives indigo, combination of blue and yellow gives green and that of yellow and red colours gives orange appearance have been left outside in this correlation, being combination colours. The comparison has been made of only fundamental colours.

The first three lesyas krsna, neel, kapat described by Jains are disorderly and disturbing. It seems plausible because ultraviolet, violet and blue radiations are of shorter wavelength therefore make more vibrations per second consequently are associated with more physical energy, meaning thereby that such lesyas are indications of disturbed and porturbed state of Mana and therefore intensify and increase the material behaviours of a being.

The latter lesyas viz. Teja and padma sukla are orderly and tranquil because they being of larger wavelength and of lower frequency are associated with lesser physical energy. They are indications of stability of mana. These should be good.

A body appears black because it absorbs all the radiations incident on it. Kasma lesya (i. e. black) is therefore an indicator of the state of mana helping the absorption of karma pudgal with the soul. It is certainly the bad (Aśubha) state of the mana. A body appears white when it reflects all the radiations incident on it. Therefore sukla lesya (White) points to a good state of mana for in such a state soul reflects all the karmic pudgal incident on it. It means sukla lesya gives a signal of a soul being in a process of detachment with the pudga karma i. e. and enlightenment of the soul.

As in other religions, Meditation has been given the foremost place in the jaina way of sadhna. In meditation, there is an endeavour to achieve stability of body, bhasa and Mana. The stability of mind comes through concentration and thought freeness. 17 Ekagrachinta yoga nirodhavadhyam.

Therefore, in scientific terms Mana using higher wavelengths is stable whereas Mana using lower wavelengths is unstable and disturbing and cannot make perfect in meditation.

Thus the experience and knowledge of advanced consciousness through way of radiations of fine pudgals is more clear and distinct. The instrumental science can also be helpful in this field of soul and consciousness. Jainas endeavour to make understand and realised the state of consciousness by way of physical material (pudgal) and perceptible phenomenon like colour is excellently reasonable and scientific. The consciousness being abstract and formless it is difficult to understand its character definitely, whereas the pudgal which are physical material with form and are perceptible can be easily understood. The state and stage of spiritual advancement on the way of liberation can thus be realised through radiations perceived.

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PHILOSOPHY OF ASCETICISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANCIENT INDIAN RELIGIONS

W. Pamaratana

It is a fact that the majority of ancient Indian religions lay great emphasis on asceticism. Particularly, Jainism and Buddhism have built up their ethical systems on this concept. The founders themselves of these religions have shown their utmost enthusiasm towards asceticism by renouncing family life and practising austerities before their enlightenment. These religions are distinguished from the Vedic ritualistic religions mainly because of the ascetic view of life proposed by them. This feature has been interpreted by some modern scholars to mean that they were 'protestants' against the prevalent Brahmanism. Such a view, however was long back accepted by the Jainas and Buddhists themselves. We find in the respective literatures that the Jainas as well as the Buddhists refer to each other as ascetic sects. The *Dighanikāya* calls Nighanthanāthaputta, the founder (or the reformer) of the Jaina faith, as *cirapabbajita* (i. e. one who has gone forth long before)¹. The *Thananga*, a *Svetāmbara* Jaina text, identifies the Buddhists (*sakka sakya*) as *samānas*². The qualifying adjective *mahasamana* (the great ascetic or recluse) is used both for Mahavira and the Buddha by their respective followers. These indicate that even at the time of their inception, the two religions were recognized as ascetic movements. It is further noticeable that both religions agree that Nirvana, the trans worldly state, is to be sought out through asceticism. This close relationship between asceticism and the latter religions takes us to the very heart of the philosophy of asceticism itself.

Many attempts have been made, during the last several decades, to find the beginnings of asceticism in India. Still it is hard to say if there has been any unanimous conclusion on the subject. Nonetheless, the contributions of these attempts are such that they throw much light on the different aspects of the problem. If we are to examine the different theories put forward it would be clear that they place the origin of asceticism in different periods ranging from the dawn of the Indian civilization down to the Upanisadic age.

Prof. G. C. Pande, a chief exponent of the *Srāmanic* theory, opines that the origin of asceticism goes back to the pre-Āryan or pre-Vedic civilization. To lend support to his view he takes into consideration the occurrences of such words as *yati*, *muni* and *sramana* in the Vedic literature. Those who are referred to by such terms belonged to a particular group of religious men, and they were treated by the Vedic writers as 'strangers'. Basing his argument that even the Rigvedic people were not familiar with ascetics, Prof. Pande believes that the institution of asceticism is a remnant of the non-Aryan culture³.

A similar view is held by Dr. H. Chakrabarti who assumes that "the practice of *tapas* was in a greater part adopted by the Rigvedic people from the aboriginals";⁴ and that "asceticism including the practice of *yoga* had its origin even among the pre-Aryan people".⁵ In addition to the Vedic references to ascetics, Dr. Chakrabarti cites several examples from the seals found in the Mohenjodaro excavations.⁶

On the other hand, Dr. V. P. Varma points out that the "ascetic (*tapasvi*) is a Vedic institution". He, in fact, does not pay any attention to the unfamiliarity of the Vedic people with ascetics suggested by G. C. Pande. Despite this, he admits that the style of life followed by ascetics was radically different from that of common people.⁷

Dr. Radhakrishnan⁸ and Jacobi approach the problem from a different point of view. In their conception, asceticism originated within Brahmanism itself which is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Jacobi comes to this conclusion, after a detailed comparison of Jaina mahavratas and Buddhist dasasilas on the one hand, with the vows of samnyāsi on the other. To substantiate his thesis, he compares the ascetic rules given in the Bauddha-yanasutro, a Brahmanical text regarded older than the twin faiths. Jacobi further tries to deny the validity of the contrary view that the Brahmanic ascetic is a copy either of the Jaina Sadhu or of Buddhist bhikkhu. Three reasons are given in favour of his contention. (1) priority of the four-stage system (asramadharama) to Jainism and Buddhism; (2) a wider popularity of samnyasin than of Sadhu or bhikkhu; and (3) a greatest antiquity of the Bauddhayanasutra than that of latter religions.⁹ This theory, however, is found incorrect by Dr. D. Bhargava.¹⁰

Another major theory regarding the origin of the Indian asceticism is that of Prof. N. Dutt. He, having examined the Vedic allusions to ascetic or ascetism, considers that "it is in the Upanisads that we come across, for the first time, terms like 'muni', 'pravrajin' and 'tapas' referring to persons living in forests and practising austerities". In order to clarify the doubts arising from this statement, he further states in a foot-note that "although the terms are found in older texts too, they bear different meanings".¹¹

Dr. S. Dutt, who re-examines some of these opinions, presents an altogether different opinion. His emphasis is mainly on the references to the religious mendicants in the Brahmanical literature composed after the 'mantra-period'. But he does not hold that mendicancy was recognized as an institution of the Aryan society during the Brahmanic period. Dr. Dutt means to say that the appearance of the sramana cult in the East Indian lands resulted from a counter movement to the Western (Indian) institution of Brahmana-priest. According to him, this counter movement took place some three centuries before Buddhism,¹² (i. e. roughly at the beginning of Upanisadic thought).

The foregoing summary shows that the origin of asceticism in India has been traced to different periods viz. the pre-Aryan or pre-Vedic, the Vedic, the Brahmanic and the Upanisadic. This diversity of opinions only means that the problem still remains unsolved. Nonetheless, these theories have conclusively proved that asceticism, no matter where and when it originated has taken a distinctive shape. Another common feature of these theories is that they have viewed the problem from, what we may call, historico-literary standpoint. We, on the other hand, propose here to study the subject from a philosophical standpoint.

Let us, first of all, call our attention to John Mackenzie's observations regarding the origin of asceticism. He writes,

"it was no certainly philosophical theory that originally gave rise to it (asceticism). It was rather the practice that suggested the theory: or if this statement seems too strong, it may at least be said that the practice gave great impetus to the development of the theory."¹³

The first part of this statement, as the writer himself admits, seems too strong. As far as ethics is concerned it is illogical to think of a common or a general practice which has no original philosophy. Every human practice, except some accidental or individual acts, is related in one way or the other to a philosophical theory. The statement seems too strong particularly when it is said with special reference to a way of life which was practised by men with great zeal over centuries. Mackenzie seems to think that asceticism was first practised by men who were divorced from thought; or, in other words, it was started at random, without an aim and a basis. He seems to have forgotten that asceticism is recognized by the three major religions of India and that it is based on a weltanschauung aimed at freedom from worldly suffering-

Mackenzie, to whom the Rgveda has appeared as a "some what barren field for the study of ethics,"¹⁴ cites several references to asceticism (tapas) in the Rgveda. Regardless of his own statement that it has no philosophical theory, he gives three meanings of the word tapas as follows: —(a) heat, (b) heat or fervour of devotion and (c) austerity or self-mortification.¹⁵ It is not unlikely that Mackenzie has mixed up the significance of the term tapas appearing in the Rgveda. First, he says that meaning (c) does not occur in the Rgveda; but, then, he goes on to quote a hymn (X. 136) which describes a wandering, long-haired muni who wore soiled garment of yellow hue.¹⁶ This clearly goes to falsify his earlier contention. Further, let us examine his Vedic citations ".....it was through tapas that primeval Being began to create." "By tapas rta was produced." "Indra conquered heaven by means of tapas."¹⁷ The word tapas in these citations bears a general idea that it is a basic and productive power generated by austerity, though the meaning of the word slightly differs according to the context. It is not unlikely that Mackenzie has failed to take cognizance of this general meaning.

When, however, Mackenzie accepts tapas to mean a productive power, he traces its origin to the pre-Upanisadic period.

He states,

".....it (tapas) and efficacy of a magical or quasi-magical order, bringing to him who practised it superhuman powers which he might exercise over nature, his fellowmen and even the gods."¹⁸

From this later development of the concept of tapas, he concludes to the corresponding late development of the philosophy of asceticism. But it seems to us that the philosophy of asceticism is not a product of such a later development. This needs be explained.

Mackenzie himself grants this much in the above statement that asceticism, a later product, has a philosophy which teaches how to overpower one's surroundings. This is and always has been man's eternal struggle. And, therefore, the philosophy of asceticism is an integral part of human life and endeavour that falsifies any theory of 'later developments'. Nor is Mackenzie's observation that asceticism purposelessly originated seem to be plausible for the same reason.

We propose to proceed on our inquiry with the presumption that a brief survey into the general nature of the oldest form of Vedic religion would throw some light on the fundamental philosophy of asceticism. Our inference is grounded on the fact that it is in the Rgveda that we find first references pertaining to our subject. Extensive studies in the Rgveda has discovered that the earliest form of Vedic religion is characterized by the nature-worship. Rgveda has preserved for us enormous accounts of the gods worshipped by the common people in those days. From this inestimable source of information we learn that in the beginning the Vedic religion was polytheistic. The earlier parts of the Book (i. e. II-VIII) do not mention much about a supreme or an absolute god; they refer to a large number of gods who shared an equal position in the pantheon and, sometimes, equal characteristics. In these parts, the worshipper treats the god to whom he offers his oblations and prayers as the highest. The Indologists, therefore, generally believe that the Rgvedic man was kathenotheist or henotheist. Monotheism and monism are considered later developments of the Rgvedic religion and philosophy. What deserves our special attention in the present study in an inquiry into the Rgvedic pantheism, since it reveals the nature of the relation between man and gods.

Large number of gods referred to in the earlier parts of the Rgveda are undoubtedly the personifications of natural objects, forces and phenomena. Agni, for example, has the physical basis of fire which can easily be identified in the hymns. Similarly, Parjanya, the

rain-god, is a representation of clouds. A study of the physical basis of the Rgvedic gods, thus, would help us to understand why and how those gods came into existence. Almost all the Indologists believe that the poetic imagination of the Vedic seers and the wonder they felt at the work of the nature led to create many nature-gods. Prof. Dasgupta, for instance, says :

“It was the forces of nature, her manifestations on the earth here, the atmosphere around and above us, or in the heaven beyond the vault of the sky that excited the devotion and imagination of the Vedic poets.”²⁰

Before we accept that it is only the poetical or aesthetical sense of the ‘primitive’ man which created gods, we need further reflection on several other aspects of the matter.

To begin with, we may say that the men whose life story is indirectly narrated in the Rgveda lived *with* nature and not *against* nature. Naturally, the objects and phenomena which exhibited through natural activities their multifarious abilities to play different roles were conceived as gods. Macdonell gives a clear expression to it while speaking on the Vedic mythology :

“Such myths have their source in the attempt of the human mind in a primitive unscientific age, to explain the various forces and phenomena of nature with which man is confronted.”²¹

No doubt, there was a tendency in the minds of the Vedic man towards the personification of things he could not understand scientifically. Cosmological knowledge of the Rgvedic man was not so perfect that he could understand the works of nature exhaustively. After contemplating on such things, he explains in wonder :

“the sparkling waters of all the rivers
flow into one ocean without filling it.”²²

Nature and its manifestations seemed to him so stupendous that his submission to them became inescapable. In the mind of the Vedic poet, the natural forces thus underwent a metamorphoses as gods that were more powerful than man, and that could do marvellous things.

In this connection, Dr. H. Chakraborti’s opinion regarding the Rigvedic people’s attitude to life is worth considering. He writes—

“the life of Aryans as reflected in the hymns of the Rgveda shows signs of brightness and optimism. The Vedic gods were open-handed and did not need to be forced or cajoled by human suffering.”²³

This statement raises a number of questions: (a) what does the writer mean by ‘brightness’? (b) was the singer’s attitude to life really optimistic? and (c) were not the gods forced or cajoled by human suffering?

By his expression ‘signs of brightness’, Chakraborti seems to mean that the life of the Rgvedic man was all a sunshine. It appears to us that he is led to such a conclusion merely from the poetic exuberances of the Rgvedic hymn. Such a view, however, is not tenable. For the ‘signs of brightness’ manifested in the hymns imply not merely the poet’s feeling of brightness of life but also his helplessness.

It should be remembered at this juncture that almost all the Rgvedic hymns are prayers to the gods; and that the poet’s motive in the composition of panegyric hymns is to receive the things he prayed for. Hiriyanna has rightly observed that the poet—

“cultivates a spirit of awe and reverence towards them (gods), sings their praises and offers worship or sacrifice to them *with* a view to propitiate them or to secure their favour.”

Thus the panegyric nature of hymns bear witness to the fact that the worshipper praised his god in order to win his favour. This is no exception to the rule of exchange prevalent among men i. e. give and take. Winternitz explains the nature of the hymns which reveal the psychological attitude of the worshipper to the gods as follows:

...in the Rgveda almost every god is at some time or other praised as the first and highest of all gods—this is a sort of flattery, by means of which one wants to incline the god in one's favour in the same way in which later court poets have extolled many a petty prince as the ruler of the world." ²⁵

Thus this panegyric of the Vedic hymns might have impelled Chakraborti to conclude that the Rgvedic man was all too happy; that his whole environment was perfectly admirable. But we should not fail to understand that side by side with this feeling of brightness, the Rgvedic man felt his weaknesses and the limitations of his own nature. As it is evident in the hymns, the gods were treated as powerful rulers, bestowers and superiors. What appears in the hymns in the form of poetic exuberances are, therefore, the humble and respectful descriptions of gods. Let us quote two verses, for instance, from a hymn to the goddess Usā in which such poetic exuberances are crystal clear:

“We see that thou art good; far shines thy lustre; thy beams, thy splendours have flown up to Heaven. Decking thyself, thou makest bear thy bosom, shining in majesty, thou goddess Morning.”

Again,

“Red are the kine and luminous that bear her the Blessed One who spreadeth through the distance. The foes she chaseth like a valiant archer, like a swift warrior she repelleth darkness.” ²⁶

These hymns, while reveal the advancement of the aesthetical sense and the imaginative power of the man of the age, do not, however, indicate that he was independent of gods. In the hymns quoted above, we see that the poet first appreciates the beauty of the goddess Usā and then, expresses how she helps man. Thus, the Vedic man's way of thought is also governed by a feeling of utter helplessness and weakness. On the strength of this argument, we would like to point out that the ‘signs of brightness’ which Dr. Chakraborti has seen in the Vedic life may also imply the signs of darkness in the sense that the Vedic man was not all too happy with his surroundings.

The ‘optimism’ therefore, which is supposed to have been cherished by the Rgvedic man becomes now questionable. As it is illustrated above, the worshipper's feeling that it is only the able help of gods which makes the life secure and happy has very strongly ruled the Rgvedic man's thought. The god of war, Indra, for example, who was treated as the national god, was offered frequent prayers by the devotees. The votaries were much fond of praising his exploits, such as the destruction of Vala and Vṛtra. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the feeling of the lack of self-confidence in the devotee's mind. The fear of attack from the enemies on the worshipper was temporarily suppressed by the prayers to Indra. Similarly, Varuna, the moral god who stands nobly elevated above the mortals is believed to be the one who punishes the sinners. Hence, the poet ventures to approach him in fear and trembling and plead for forgiveness of his sins. Thus, the absence of self-confidence in ethical judgement manifested in the hymns has turned out to be the fear of god's punishment. Therefore, it seems to us that the Rgvedic man was not all too optimistic in the real sense of the term.

The next point that needs our careful attention is the question as to whether the Rgvedic gods were not 'forced or cajoled by human suffering'. Now, the main element of Vedic religion is the institution of sacrifice, a link between man and God. The motive force of this sacrifice is grounded in the application of what may be called 'a human psychology' to the Gods. Just as the Gods were personified in terms of human activities, their behaviour also was conceived in terms of human activities, their behaviour also was conceived in terms of human psychology and personality. Macdonell rightly observes that the gods are the 'glorified human beings inspired with human motives and passions'. The people simply thought that the Gods, after the manner of their tribal leaders, could be satisfied with the offerings of the best they possessed. Inspired by such thoughts, they attempted to please the gods by means of sacrifice and prayers whereby they expected to get whatever they felt was urgently needed. There, however, is a marked contrast between the offerings made to a tribal chieftain and to the gods. The offerings to the gods was always done through a sacrifice. And sacrifice was regarded as a quasi-magical and impersonal to which power gods themselves were subjected. Thus, the human suffering invents sacrifice which in turn forces the gods to put an end to the self same suffering.

From the foregoing study certain characteristics of Vedic religions become manifest Macdonell defines religions as follows;—

“Religion in its widest sense includes on the one hand, the conception which men entertain of the divine or supernatural powers and, on the other hand, that sense of the dependence of the human welfare on those powers which finds its expression in various forms of worship.” 28

This definition, particularly in its latter part well suits the Rgvedic religion. The Vedic man's approach to the gods was submissive because he was a slave of nature and was oppressed by natural phenomena. This is beautifully expressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan as follows:

“Religion seems to have dominated the whole life. The dependance on gods was complete. The people prayed for even the ordinary necessities of life. Give us this day our daily bread was true to the spirit of the Vedic Aryans.” 29

Thus the key-note of the Vedic religion is that man's life depends on the favour bestowed by the gods. The Vedic man finds submission as the method to win divine favour. He expresses his submission to a particular god by means of prayers.

In contrast to this submissive attitude of the Vedic man to the gods, asceticism, which is grounded on a strong belief in one's own efforts, might have evolved. It is a fact that the ascetics always went against the traditional rites, rituals and irrational beliefs. They raised basic question which challenged the foundations of traditional beliefs. Even in the Rgveda, the book of devotional songs, there are evidences to show that some religious institutions were considered absurd. In the hymn which praises so confidently the might and the strength of Indra, is reported also doubt about the same god, raised by some sceptic thinker:

“Of whom they ask ‘where he is’? of him,
indeed, they also say : ‘He is not....’ 30

The same doubt is more strongly expressed in another hymn:

“.. many say: ‘there is no Indra, who has ever seen
him ? To whom are we to direct the songs of praise?’ ?1

Thus, these hymns reveal that the very national god of the Rgvedic people could not escape the critical questionings of the sceptics. Again, we come across some occasional references to the doubts regarding the efficacy of sacrifice. For instance, a thinker asks: “which god that we

honour by means of sacrifice? 32 These accidental references bear witness to the fact that at a time when the natural forces and objects were treated as gods influencing man, there had been an attempt to find another form of 'religion' or a way of life that did not necessarily involve a concept of divinity. The protesting spirit of man here questions : 'why should man be obedient to the gods?' This new way of thought manifested in the Rgveda itself is termed by Hiriyanna as the 'Vedic free thinking'. These 'free-thinkers' were styled in the early literature as the 'haters of the Veda (*brahmadvīs*), 'maligners of gods' (*devanid*) and men of no principle' (*apavartta*). The free-thinkers were severe in their attack, in particular, on the orthodox priests whom they branded as 'selfish prattlings priests that go about deluded'. 33

In this regard, the hymn of creation is worth studying for its expressed scepticism. The hymn, which starts with the description of the situation existing before creation, maintains that 'the one arose through the power of *tapas*' and as the first product of his mind, *kama* (desire, love) came forth'. Further, it states that 'in the *kama* the wise searching in their hearts, have by meditation discovered the connection between the existing and the non-existing'. 34 So, this hymn gives us the impression that it embodies the basic elements of ascetic philosophy developed in later times; it gives an important place to the concept of *kama* which in later asceticism was identified with the basis of all sorts of suffering. It may be of interest to note that, in this hymn, gods are reduced to a lower position:

"Who knoweth it forsooth, who can declare it here
Whence this creation has arisen, whence it came ?
The gods hither by this world's creation only;
Who knoweth then, whence this creation has arisen?
"Whence this creation has arisen, whether
It has been made or not: He who surveys
This world in highest heaven, he may be knoweth,
Or, it may be, he knoweth not " 35

The most notable characteristic of this hymn is its sharp critical approach to the problems of philosophy. It does not try to give any definite answer, but it implies that the philosopher is already on his way to find the answer.

Thus, side by side with the traditional Vedic outlook on life, there also existed a revolutionary ideology which called forth for search in new forms of life. Such an ideology regarded prayer, praise and worship of gods to be by no means helpful to improve the conditions of human life. It emphasized on the self-confidence. If man is to overcome his limitations, it is through a self-purificatory process expressed in ascetic practices, and not through any dependence on an external and supernatural power. This view developed into a set of philosophical and religious ideas and ideals during the age of intellectual unrest in the Upanisads, Jainism and Buddhism.

Before we speak of the ascetic philosophy in the Upanisads, it would not be out of place to turn our attention briefly to the Upanisadic philosophy as a whole. It would be an exaggeration to hold that the whole of the Upanisadic philosophy is ascetic. If we examine the general nature of the prominent theories and ideas found in them, it is quite clear that they represent the thought of a number of Schools. Prominent among these are the elements of Vedic religious thought, of idealistic monism and of asceticism. A detailed study of the Upanisadic philosophy in general cannot be made in this paper; suffice to say that asceticism also formed a part of the complex Upanisadic philosophy.

In contrast to the Vedic view that gods support man to achieve his goals and wishes, a pessimistic view of life was gradually getting hold of the thinker's mind during the Upanisadic period. The problem of death or the shortness of life-duration invariably entered in their philosophical discussions. In the conversation between Artabhaga and Yajnavalkya, death is described as a fire; and the necessity of warding off the repeated death is implied. The Brhadaranyaka-upanisad doubts the efficacy of offering milk to gods as a means to escape from repeated death.³⁷ Such Upanisadic speculations indicate that death was considered a major problem of life; and that 'May not the evil one, Death, get me'³⁸ has been one of the strong wishes of men during the age under consideration. Little later, as described in the Maitri Upanisad, the pessimism rooted in the fear of death became more felt, as a result of which life itself appeared to be undesirable. The following question which is raised by king Brhadratha comes to support our assumption:

"Sir, in this ill-smelling, unsubstantial body which is a conglomeration of bone, skin, muscle, marrow, flesh, semen, blood, mucus, tears, rheum, feces, urine, wind, bile, and phlegm, what is the good of enjoyment of desires?"³⁹

Such a view on life, on the one hand, brought down the gods from the high pedestal of prayer and worship and on the other, greatly contributed to the growth and expansion of ascetic philosophy. It convinced the thinkers that the desire for the material things or the attachment to the materialistic world was the cause of repeated birth and death. For example, the Mundaka Upanisad says—

"He who in fancy forms desires, because of his desires is born (again) here and there."⁴⁰

Consequently, emphasis on the necessity of inward discipline became its remarkable feature. So, the method proposed by the thinkers for exterminating the desires was to keep one's senses away from their respective objects. The practical application of this method is manifested in the practice of renunciation followed by the great sages like Yajnavalkya and kings like Brhadratha. It is interesting to note that the renunciation was oriented to attain the state of immortality which was conceived in this particular age as the union with Brahman, and which is further described as the 'state of independence' (svatantrya), 'the state of oneness' (kevalatva) and the 'state of peacefulness' (nirvrtatve).⁴¹

The philosophy and the practice of asceticism finds a stronger expression in Jainism and Buddhism. This asceticism, both in Jainism and Buddhism, became the means to the ethical concern of emancipation from the cycle of birth and death. Hence the principles of non-possession, non-violence, celibacy, austerity and meditation became the expression of asceticism.

According to the Jainas, the jiva, pure in its pristine form, is subjected to bondage (bandha) by its association with matter (pudgala). This association is brought about by karma which itself is interpreted to be material in its nature. Hence, all the ethical endeavour expressed in terms of ascetic practices is meant for the dissociation of karmic particles from the jiva, which is effected by a twofold process of warding off the influx (asrava) of the fresh karma and the eradication of the accumulated karma (nirjara). In practice, however, the Jaina asceticism seems to have taken an extreme form.

In Buddhism also asceticism is subservient to the ethical concerns. In some of the early Buddhist texts,⁴² the way of life propounded by the Buddha is termed as 'going against the stream' (patisotāgami) which simply means not to follow the common way of life. The reference obviously is to the subjugation of one's senses and war against one's own nature as contrasted with the easy-going way of life prevalent in the vedic religions. Nonetheless, Buddha does not advocate an extreme form of asceticism so that, in practice, asceticism should lose its character of being only an instrument to the attainment of the goal of nibbāna. Therefore, it could be said that rightly does he claim the way of life taught by him as the Middle Path (majjhimāpatipadā).

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JAIN EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

H. B. Jain

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa indicates the values and place of knowledge in human life through following comment "Through self study (Svādhyāya) and preachings (Pravachana) a human mind is concentrated, the man becomes free and acquires wealth, he sleeps happily, he has control over his senses, his knowledge is advanced and he gets name and fame". (1). This anecdote clearly points out that the value of knowledge for the betterment of human life was known in India since ancient times. It also indicates the method of acquisition of knowledge, which in its own turn can be called as education. The education is thus that continuous process which is responsible to enhance the human happiness and values.

We find a great many references in Jain Agamas, about the Jain system of education. When we minutely go through these references, it appears that there had been a well arranged Jain system of education in ancient India.

The Jain and Buddhist education system appear to be quite similar. The main reason for this similarity is perhaps, that in both the religions the education was imparted by those Munis and Bhiksus who spent their whole lives in receiving and imparting knowledge, being away from worldly life. The proximity between the religious dogmas of both the religions may also be the other reason for it. Now we start a comparative study of Jain education system.

Aim of Education—In ancient India, the aim of education was to promote good conduct to develop the personality, to protect ancient culture and to inculcate social and religious duties. (2)

Student Life—According to Vedic law, a student life began with Upanayan—Ceremony. There is a description of Upanayan in Jain Agamas also. The commentator Abhayadeo explained an Upanayan as 'Kalāgrahana', by which he meant 'receiving of knowledge'. A ceremony observed before schooling a boy was termed as Upanayan (3). After Upanayan, parents used to send their children to a teacher (Kalācharya).

Students took education, often, living at houses of their teachers. Some wealthy persons also used to help students by arranging their boarding and lodging in the city (4). Some times, the pupil-teacher relations were turned into happy martial relations (5).

During holidays, Asramas were closed. The following incidents caused holidays—ultimately clouds, thunder, heavy lighting, excessive rain, thick fog, storm and eclipses of sun and moon. Asramas were also closed when the peace of the city was disturbed on account of a battle between two armies or two towns or when there was a wrestling or when a great leader passed away. Some times very small causes, such as a kill of mouse by a cat, an existence of an egg on the road, a birth of a baby in the suburb of the Asrama (6), was responsible for the holiday.

Age of Study—According to Vedic law, Brahmacharyās'—rama began at the age of twelve and was continued till the completion of Vedic study. According to Buddhist law, any family man at any age, leaving his household life can accept Buddhist religion and start student life.

According to Jain law, the student has to begin his study at the age of eight or little later till he acquired complete knowledge of seventy two branches of learning (Kalas) or some special branches (7).

Qualifications of the Student—According to vedic law, the teacher (Acharya) accepted those who had a strong desire to study. Those, who were unable to study, required to accept the work of ploughing or weaving.

The Jain law accepts the following qualities of the student—living at the house of the teacher, enthusiasm, affection towards the knowledge, sweet tongue and good conduct (8). The student is said to be disrespectful (Avinita) who does not obey his teacher, who is away from the heart of his teacher, apponent like enemy and devoid of general sense (Vivekahina) (9). On the contrary, who is an obedient, who lives nearby his teacher (Antevasi) and knows his mental feelings and expressions, is said to be a respectful (Vinita) (10).

The student is not expected to be outspoken, of bad conduct, angry, and to constant mocker, utter of harsh words without prethinking, make of false reply and enimical his teacher (11). Uttaradhyayan shows the following code of conduct for the student—the student should not sit close to the back or front of the teacher, should avoid such proximity to the teacher that his teacher's feet are touched by his feet, should not reply his teacher lying on a bed or resting on his seat, should not sit before teacher cross legged or keeping his knees close to his chest or stretching away both of his legs. If the teacher calls out the student he should not keep mum., rather, one who is desirous of a salvation (Mumukshu) and who wants favour of his teacher (Gurukṛpacchu) should present immediately himself, before the teacher, should take a seat which is lower to his teacher, and which is soundless on account of being firm. It is the duty of a teacher to explain aphorism (śūtra) to such an humble pupil to the best of pupils capacity (12).

'Uttarādhyayana' throws a light upon the relation of the teacher and the taught. As a rider is happy in driving a good horse so the teacher is happy in educating a good pupil, and as a rider is tired in driving a bad horse, so a teacher losses interest in imparting the knowledge to a silly pupil. A sinful pupil, acquiring a good knowledge, on being slept and denounced by a teacher is always angry and feels abused. On the contrary, a good pupil at the above treatment, feels that my teacher is doing so treating me as his son or his younger brother or his family member. He takes teacher's punishment as a benefit. If a teacher is angry, it is a duty of a pupil to make him happy by his affection, to honour him with folded hands and to assure him not to do any fault in the future (13). A meritorious pupil pays greater attention to his teacher's exhortations inquiries, understands the meaning and tries to act accordingly (14). Good pupils never disobey, never tell a lie to his teachers.

Demeritorious pupils always got slappings, kicks (Khaṇḍuyā or chapetā) or sometimes flogging from the teacher. They were generally called out by harsh words. They have been compared with bulls. They never obeyed their teachers. Sometimes, the teacher being tired of used to leave such pupils (15).

To exemplifying the characteristics of students, they are compared with mountains, pitcher, sieve, filter, swan, buffalo, ram, mosquito, leach, cat, cow, drum etc., (16).

Sudra's right of knowledge—Under the Vedic law, especially in sūrti period Anāryas were not allowed to study the Āryan language and scripture. The study of Purāns was open to them. In the Jātaka period, there were many Sudras and caṇḍāls who were respected as philosophers and scholars of high rank (17). According to Sutta-nipāṭa Mātanga Caṇḍāl happened to be such an eminent Āchārya that even the people of higher caste used to visit him for the study.

Under the Jain law, it was possible for even a Caṇḍāl to occupy a rank of Mahārṣi after the study of philosophy. In Uttarādhyāna we see a Harikesatāla Caṇḍāla who was regarded as an accomplished Rṣi, embellished with all the qualities (18). In the Jain scriptures it is clearly mentioned that a caste system (Varaṇa Vyavasthā) depends upon the conduct, and not upon the birth: — (19).

Teacher and his personality—Teacher of Rgveda, whose divine ideals were Agni and Indra, happened to be the highest personality from the point of view of a development of knowledge and theology. The teacher bestowed a knowledge-body to his pupil. He himself used to be a Brahmachārī and on the exquisiteness of his Brahmacharya he attracted a number of disciples (20).

Lord Mahāvira and his twenty three predecessors (Tīrthaṅkas) have strong effect upon Jain teachers. They devoted their whole life and energy in leading the humanity towards right path (21). The following is an ideal personality of a Jain teacher—“A Jain teacher did not conceal or contradict a truth, did not show any pride or expect any name and fame and never hated or denounced teachers of other religions. He abandoned even a truth if, he felt, it was hard. He always used to propagate good ideas. He did not employ his students in work by abusing scolding them and knew secrets of his religion, well. His life was full of penance and his way of speaking was chaste. He was a genuine scholar having complete knowledge of all other religions (22).

In ‘Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta’, the teacher is divided into three categories—1. Kalāyariya (Kalāchārya—an Āchārya of arts and science. 2. Sippāyariya (S’ilpānchārya)—an Āchārya of art and architecture and 3. Dammayariya (Dharmāchārya—an Āchārya of religion and theology.

It was both, a law and practice, that first, a teacher’s body was massaged with oil, then he was offered flowers, got bathed bedecked with beautiful clothes and in the last, was presented with remunerations and awards. Dharmāchāryas had a special treatment—after being served with food and drinks (peya) they were satisfied with the offering of several useful things devotedly and in order to pay their debts (23).

SUBJECTS OF STUDY

Since the beginning of Vedic education, Rgveda was regarded as the most important subject of study. In addition to veda, six Vedangas also had their importance in the ancient Indian education.

In the Jain scripture named Bhagavati sutra, the following eighteen subjects of study are mentioned—6 veda, 6 vedangas and 6 Upangas.

Six vedas comprised of Rgveda 2. Yajurveda, 3. Sama-veda, 4. Atharvaveda, 5. Itihāsa Purāṇa) and 6. Nigāntv.

Six vedangas contained 1. Sāṅkhya (Mathematics) 2. Sikkhākappa (Phonetics), 3. Vagāraṇa (Grammar), 4. Chhanda (Metre) 5. Nirukta (Etymology) and 6. Jōisa (Astro-nomy and astrology).

Six Upangas, mostly had the extension of subjects mentioned under vedangas (24).

In the Uttarādhyāyana Tika, we find the following fourteen subjects of study (vidyasthāna)-4 vedas, 6 vedangas, Mimāṃsa, Naya (Nyaya-logic), Purāṇa and Dhamm sattha (Dharma Sastra). (25).

There were some minor subjects also which occupied an inferior place in a curriculum. Such subjects are said to be 'papasruta' and were not recommended for study to those saints who renounced the world. Stharanga sutra enumerates such 'papasruta' as nine, 1. Uppaya (a science of bad-omen), 2. Ninitta (a science of good-omen), 30. Manta (Mantra-Vidya), 4. Aikkhiya (a bad-jugglery), 5. Tegichchhiya (a Science of medicine), 6. Kala (a science of Fine Art), 7. Avarana (a science of architecture), 8. Annana (others such as literature, science, poetry, Drama etc.) and 9, Michchha-pavayana (a science of falsehood). (26).

The Jain Anga literature has referred to seventy-two types of art (Kalas). (27). Though all the students did not obtain proficiency in all the seventytwo arts, even it was necessary for students to have a good knowledge of some of the arts according to their capacity.

These seventy-two arts are divided into thirteen.

1. Pathankalā—1. Leha (Lekha) writing and 2. Ganita

2. Kavya-kalā, 3. Porekavva (Poetry composition), 4. Ajja (Aryā-Poetry-composition in Aryametre), 5. Pahelia (composition of riddles), 6. Magadhiā (composition of literature in Māgadhi), 7. Gatha (composition of poetry in Gatha-matre), 8. Gīya (Song-composition) and 9. Siloya (Sloka-composition).

3. Mūrtinirmāna Kala 10. Rāva (Construction of Statues.

4. Sangita Vijuana—11. Natta (Dance) Gīya (Vocal Music), 13. Vāiya (Instrumental music), 14. Saragam (musicology), 15. Pukkharagaya (Art of drumming) and 16 Tāla (rhythm).

5. Mrttikā Tijnāna—17. Dagamattiya (Art of clay).

6. Dyutakridā and Grha krida 18. Juā (Popular type of gambling), 19. Janavaya (different type gambling), 20. Pasaya (a play with dice), 21. Atthavaya (Sataranja), 22. Suttakheda (Puppet show), 23. Vattha (A play of rotative wood) and 24. Nalikakheda (A different type of dice play).

7. Swāsthya, Srngāra and Bhojan Vijunāna—25. Annavihi (Food making), 26. Panavihi (Drink making), 27. Vatthavihi (Tailoring), 28. Vilevana (adorning), 29. Sayana (Art of sleeping), 30. Hirannajutti (Art of silver), 31. Suvannajutti (art of gold), 32. Ābharana-bihi (Art of Ornament), 33. Chunnajutti (Art of making adorning powder) 34. Taruni Padikamma (Art of beauty), 35. Pattachchhejja (Art of leaf-ornament) and 36. Kadachchhe-tta (Art of decoration of fore-head).

35. Pattachchhejja (Art of leaf-ornament) 36. Kadachchhettā (Art of decoration of fore-head).

8. Chihnavijunānala Ksana- This was an art of knowing the following by means of their special signs - 37. a man, 38. a man, a woman, 39. a horse, 40. a cow, 41. an elephant, 42. a cock 53. a maid servant 44. a sword, 43. a jewel and 46. an umbrella, together with their different types.

9. Sakunī Vijunana. 47. A science of bird-language.

10. Khagola Vidya - 48. Chara (Science of movement of stars and heavenly bodies) 49. Padichara (Science of counter movements of stars, etc).

11. Rasayan Sastra - 50. Suvanna Pāga (Science of gold making), 51. Hiranna pāga (Science of silver making), 52. Sajiva (Science of changing false metal into real one) 53. Nijjiva (Vice-versa)

12. Grha Vijunana - 54. Vatthuvijja (Science of building construction) 55- Nagararmana (Science of measuring the town). 56. Khandharamana (Science of measuring the land).

13. Juddha Vijnana, 57. Juddha (Science of war) 58. Nijuddha (Science of wrestling) 59. Juddhatijuddha (Science of fierce-fighting), 60. Dittijuddha (Science of fighting through eyes.) 61. Mutthijuddha (Science of fighting through fist), 62. Vāhujuddha (Science of fighting through arms), 63. Layājuddha. 64) Mallajuddha (Science of fight between two wrestlers), 65. Isattha (Archery) 66. Charuppavāya (science of sword), 67. Dhanuvvaya (Science of bow), 68. Vuhā (Science of circling the enemy), 69. Padivuha (Science of counter circling the enemy) 70. Chakravuha (Science of wheel-circle) 71. Guardavuha (Science of Garuda-circle) and 72. Sagadvuha (Science of cart-circle).

Teaching Method — From the beginning of the vedic age it was a tradition to learn the text by heart the expression of Udātta, Unudatta and Swarit was made through the movement of hands. In order to learnt hymns by heart, and to avoid any interpolation in the text in future, the ancient Rsi invented different readings (Patha) of veda, viz., Samhita, pada, Krama, Chana Jata, etc.

The whole credit of Jain teaching method goes to lord Mahavira. Mahavira said - 'As birds give food to their young ones, so the student is to be taught every day and night. 28. If the student does not, briefly understand, he should be taught in an explanatory way. The teachers should not make a sense, senseless. When they imparted a knowledge, obtained from their teachers, to student; in the same way as it was imparted to them, then only they should think themselves a successful teacher. They should never take any irrelevant thing while teaching. 29.

In the later period, the method of book-reading began. While reading a book the student used to ask his teacher, the question, and tried to know the exact meaning of the Sutra, casting off his doubts. The students learnt by heart through repeated readings. Then he pondered over and meditated upon what he learnt, 30. The student used to stand with folded hands before he asked questions to his reverend teacher. (31)

The scientific method of Jain teaching comprised five parts—1.—Vachana (Reading) 2. Prechhana (Asking questions), 3. Anupreksa (Pondering over), 4. Amnaya (Learning by heart) and 5. Darmopadesa (Preaching of religion). (32).

Discipline—In the vedic age, the teacher, on the very first day, used to order his students—Do your duty, an activeness is a power, put fuels into Fire, make your mind as glorious as fire and don't sleep (33).

In the Jain education, body exercise or self-mortification has an important place. At the instance of Vow bestriction, (Vratabhanga) the death has been recommended for a saint (Sramana).

In the Jain Education, outer purity has not only been treated as a useless task, rather it has been deemed to be harmful and obstruction to a saintly life. A saint making decoration his body is said to be a 'Sarirabakusa, (Charitrabhrasta) 34.

It was a duty of a student to obey his teacher, to bear patiently being denounced by him and not to take delicious food in the alms. He should awake before sunrise and inspect his belongings. Then, he is to go to his teacher, to greet him. In the third part of the day he goes to collect alms and in the third part of the night he sleeps. He never forgets to repent for his faults, 35

Samavartan—In the Vedic period, the student returned home after completing his studies and being permitted by his teacher. At the time of leaving his institution there was a ceremony called Samavartan in which Acharya gave the student such moral advices which were helpful for the development of his personality throughout his life.

We find many references of Samavartan in Jain-sutras. When a student returned from his Asrama, he was received with honour in the city. When Raksita returned from Pataliputra, after completing his studies, he received a State honour, the whole city was decorated with buntings, he was seated on an elephant and the people greeted him. Being satisfied with his ability the people gave him servants, animals, gold, etc. 36.

Centres of Learning—In the Vedic period, every house of a scholar used to be a home of learning. 37 because it was necessary for a house-holder (Grhastha) to teach students in order to observe Brahmīyajha, which was one of the five compulsory Yajnas for the house holder. 38 The forests, mountains and river beds, which were found useful from the health point of view, had been selected for a home of learning (Asrama), by Acharyas. In the Mahabharata we find references of Asramas of Kanva, Vyaso, Bharadwaja and Parasurama. 39. In the Ramayana, we see a beautiful Asrama of Valmiki (40).

In the Jain culture, the tradition of Acharya begins with Tirthankaras. They were almost houseless. The last Tirthankaras. They were almost houseless. The last Tirthankar, Mahavira, was fully unclothed (digambar). Therefore it was not possible for them to have their learning centre in buildings. Hence their disciples used to roam about with them one place to another. Mahavira had his eleven chief disciples (Ganadharas). All of them were Acharyas. Indrabhuti, Vayubhuti, Vyakta and Sudharma each had 500 disciples. Mandika and Mauryaputra each had 350 disciples and Akampita, Achalabhadrata, Metarya and Prabhasa each had 300 disciples. Roaming about, they met with Mahavira accidentally and being impressed by his personality and learning, all of them had entered into his Sangha with their disciples. (41).

Gradually, cave-temples at the Tirtha were constructed for Jain Munis and Acharyas. Later on capitals, Tirtha places, Asramas and temples were made learning centres. Kings and landlords were the protectors and supporters of learning. A great many capitals of big states had been famous for centres of advanced studies.

Varanasi happened to be a great centre of learning. Agaddata a prince of Sankhapur went there for study. He lived in Asrama of his teacher and returned to his home after completing his study. Savatthi (Sravasti) was another learning-centre. Pataliputra was also a great centre of learning. When Rakkhiya could not study well at his native place named Dasapur, he went Pataliputra for his advanced study. Pratisthan was a big learning centre in the South. Valabhi was one of the greatest centres of learning at that time. It was the place where Nagarjuna Suri, a renowned Jain Saint, called a meeting in order to assemble the semi forgotten Jain Agamas.

The study used to take place at the living places of Saints (Vasati) or public meditation places (Upasraya) also. At such places only those teachers were authorised to teach who had learnt the teaching method of Jain Agamas, at the feet of Upadhyayas (42).

Generally, there used to be discussions and debates to examine truth and knowledge. For debates, there were a many great sanghas (Vadapurisa) where Jain and non-Jain saints, specially Buddhist monks used to debate on the very subtle matters. If any person was found weak in logic or philosophy, he had to go to study at some other advanced centre of learning. Then he came back, debated with and won his opponents and thus to propagate his religion (43).

After having considered over the above system of education we reach to the conclusion that in ancient India, there was a well planned Jain education system like one of Vedic and Buddhist. Now-a-days, there are a great many centres and institutes of Jain religion and philosophy in big cities of India. On most of them, we find, a great effect of this old Jain Education System.

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PSYCHO-ETHICS BUDDHIST AND WESTERN APPROACH

P. B. SIRIDATTO

The paper proposes to study how far Buddhism and some of modern thinkers in the west agree regarding relationship between psychology and ethics. It is generally agreed that ethics is the normative science of the conduct or behaviour. Its task is to seek the nature of the highest good of human life. It lays down the standard of the said good in which it ought to be determined by our will and conduct. It further teaches us how we ought to will or desire. On the one hand, psychology tells us how we are actually to will. The former bases on the ought's and the latter on the is' yet they are co-related and dependant on each other. In this connection, we shall trace out how far some other thinkers, specially from the west, agrees on this matter, and point out how far Buddhism gets in touch with this subject matter.

Buddhism, according to Prof. A. B. Bahm, a contemporary of American philosophy, is single psychological one. On the one hand to Mr. Rhys Davids, "Buddhist philosophy is ethical first and last" ¹ He further says that with regard to psychological thought, Buddhism is comparatively more advanced and scientific than that of Aristotle.² It is to be remarked that at the beginning, Buddhism sets itself into analysis and classification of whole mental process with remarkable insight and sagacity. Regarding the so-called Psycho-analysis, Buddhism seeks to base the whole rationality of its practical teachings and disciplines on it. It is due to deep study of the process of attention and the nature of sensation, the range and the depth of feelings as well as the plasticity of man's will in desire and in control so that Buddhism organised its system of personal self culture.³ To me, it seems that both Prof. A. J. Bahm and Prof Rhys Davids party right in so saying on account of an essence and spirit of Buddhism yet it would be more correct and appropriate if we put forth Buddhism as psychoethical analysis in its fundamental standpoint.

In this regard, we shall first find out how both ethics and psychology are intimately related on account of Buddhist point of view regarding the Sutta and the Abhidhamma treaty. Before we go further, let us briefly examine the well known two terms, viz., *sīla* (moral principle) and *samādhi* (mental culture) as to how their implication and usage are properly relevant to the terms "ethics" and "psychology" respectively.

Etymologically, the term '*sīla*' according to Buddhism, denotes not only nature, character, habit, etc., but also moral practice, good character, code of morality, etc, whereas its logical implication is ethics in general. The term '*samādhi*' literally means concentration, meditation intent state of mind. In spirit, it denotes mental development or mental culture as to the term '*bhāvanā*' is synonymously stood for. It may be herein noted that the first term, *samādhi*, is, in spirit, recommended by the Buddha to those who follow the monastic life, the second the secular life. They are more or less different in the degree regarding its application. In other word, the term '*samādhi*' really means not merely concentration but also the practice or the training for mental growth or mental culture. It deals with how to make one's mental state developed grown, and cultured. It is but a science related to the given task of psychology in general, it is psychology in particular.

As we find that the terms 'sila' and 'samadhi' used in Buddhist tradition are precisely relevant to that of Ethics and of Psychology in general respectively. Now we shall see how far these, Ethics and Psychology, as related on account of Buddhist standpoint. According to the Sutta Pitaka, the inter-relation between Ethics and Psychology is canonically accepted, for instance, on formulative account of (1) dāna-sīla-bhāvanā, or, (2) sīla-samādhi-pariñña. These are generally well known both in Buddhist texts as well as tradition. In the Anguttara Nikāya (III, 113), it is clearly said that sila (moral practice) is necessarily conducive to mental development and culture (samādhi) leading to mental liberation (vimutti). At the same time, the logical implication thereby is that it is due to the cultivation of mental development so that men's virtuous habit is consistently established and rooted (S. V. 171). To this, we precisely find that the inter-relation between sila on account of Ethics and samadhi Psychology is, no doubt, cited and recommended with the Sutta Pitaka. In other word, as to the well known verse cited in the Dhammapada (183) and elsewhere saying:

Subbapapassa akaranam to stop all evil commitment
 kusalassupasampada : to persuit all good commitment
 sacittapariyodapanam to cultivate one's own mind
 etam buddhanassasanam : this is the teaching of the Buddha,

To this, it literally means that the moral habit of non-violence and the pursuit of all goodness are essentially step of moral act yet, in spirit, not enough, at least, for self-culture so that mental development of mental culture is further and emphatically recommended in Buddhism. That is, both ethics and psychology are logically inter-related on account of its function, As they are dependent upon one another so they are fundamentally related to each other. Though ethics, as we have already seen, deals with science of physical acts on the one hand, psychology mental acts on the other, yet we can, no doubt, say that man acts in accordance with what he first thought about. That is, whether men's acts are good or bad, moral or immoral, they are causally due to his thought. To this, the first and well known verse of the Dhammapada may be cited as it reads

Manopubbam gamā dhammā
 mano setthā mado mayā

That is, all sorts of man's behavior and activities are first due to nothing but one's own thought. Man, however, acts in accordance with what he first thinks about. In this connection, we precisely find that the relation between psychology and ethics is, according to Buddhist sutta Pitaka, consistent in its function and application.

According to the Abhidhamma treatise, viz., the Dhammasaṅgī and others, it elaborately deals with an analysis of mind and mental state regarding its manifestation and function whether it is moral (kusala) or immoral (akusala) and what not (upekha). A.B. Kieth remarkably observes that the Buddhist analysis of human thought in the Dhammasaṅgī, the first treatise of Abhidhamma, is to be essentially considered as motivated by ethical thoughts. They are analysed into (1) eight types of the ethical thought, (2) twelve of non-ethical, (3) the rest are indetermination. To judge what is ethical or non-ethical is, to be done on account of the effects of the early acquired deeds.

In the Compendium of Philosophy (81st) it mentions four categories of thought, viz., (i) the empirical thought (kamavacaracitta), (ii) the form-thought (rupavacaracitta), (iii) the formless, thought (arupavacaracitta), and the supermundane thought (lokuttaracitta)⁷. In this regard we shall confine our tasks only on the first category as it is empirical in ethical thought for our purpose in general.

There are eight types of ethical thought. They are as follows :

1. The thought which is unprompted but accompanied by happiness and associated by with intellect.
2. The thought which is prompted, accompanied by and associated with intellect.
3. The thought which is unprompted but associated by happiness yet disassociated with intellect.
4. The thought which is prompted accompanied by happiness but disassociated with intellect.
- 5 The thought which, though unprompted yet accompanied by indifference (upekhā) and associated with intellect.
6. The thought which is prompted, accompanied by in-difference and associated with intellect
7. The thought which is, though unprompted and associated by indifference but disassociated with intellect,
8. The thought which prompted and accompanied by indifference but disassociated with intellect.⁶

According to the tradition, it is said that any kind of act taking place after the said thought is said to be accepted as ethical in either way.

Twelve Types of None Ethical Thought

There are twelve types of non-ethical thought. First types are those originated from or rooted in greed (lobha). They are eight in number:

1. The thought which is, though unprompted, but accompanied by happiness as well as associated with wrong view.
2. The thought which is prompted, accompanied by happiness and associated with wrong view.
3. The thought which is, though unprompted but accompanied by happiness and disassociated with wrong view.
4. The thought which is, though prompted and accompanied by happiness yet disassociated with wrong view.
5. The thought which is, though unprompted yet accompanied by indifference and associated with wrong view.
6. The thought which is altogether prompted or accompanied by indifference and associated with wrong view.
7. The thought which is, though unprompted yet accompanied by indifference and disassociated with wrong view.
8. The thought which is prompted and accompanied by indifference but disassociated with wrong view.

It is to be noted that in this regard, in either case the wrong view is said to be the main root of none-ethical acts.

There are two other types of non-ethical acts originated from evil thought. Those are :

9. the thought which is, though unprompted but accompanied by dislike and associated with vil will;

10. the thought which is prompted, accompanied by dislike and associated with evil will.

To this, we also find that evil will is said to be the main root of non-ethical acts.

There are two other types of the said thought generated from delusion. Those are:

11. the thought which is accompanied by indifference and associated with doubts;

12. the thought which is accompanied by indifference and associated with restlessness

Regarding to this aspect, delusion is said to be the root-cause of the said thought. These non-ethical thought are, therefore, twelve in number.

The Neutral Thought

There are thirteen types of the unconditioned thought, namely (i) the resultant thought and (ii) neutral thought. The former may, though unconditioned by greed, hatred, delusion and the opposites, occur. There are not conditioned by unwholesome mental state yet yielding result due to previous acquired deeds being as follows :

1. Thought, owing to sight, accompanied by hedonic indifference

2—4. Thought, owing to hearing, smelling or taste, accompanied by hedonic indifference

5. Thought, owing to touch, accompanied by dissatisfaction.

6. Receptive thought (sampaticchanna citta) accompanied by hedonic indifference

It is due to the acquired deeds, it yields the result. Those are :

8. Thought, owing to sight, acquired by hedonic indifference

9—11. Thought, owing to hearing, smelling, tasting, accompanied by the same

12. Thought, owing to touch, accompanied by pleasure

13. Receptive thought (sampaticchanna citta) accompanied by hedonic indifference

14. Investigating thought, (santirana citta) accompanied by pleasure

15. The same thought but accompanied by hedonic indifference

The other are both accompanied either by the good feeling or the bad but become inoperative or neutral. Those are :

16. Thought which is termed (avajjana) on impression at the five modes of mental states being accompanied with hedonic indifference.

17. The same which is termed only to mental states being accompanied by the same.

18. Thought arises from the aesthetic pleasure being accompanied by happiness.¹⁰

It may be herein noted that the fundamental source of ethical thought is said to be intellect (nana), of non-ethical thought, wrong view; and of neutral, indifference (upekkha).

THE MENTAL STATES

In the Compendium of Philosophy,¹¹ the mental factors (cetasikas) are categorically divided into fifty-two in number. They are generated and ceased within thought. Meanwhile they also share their object and base therein.

The distinction among mental state—

There are first seven mental factors which are invariably concomitant to all sorts of thought (sabbacitta sadharanacitta). These are as follows: (1) bhassa (contact), (2) vedana (feeling) (3) cetana (intention), (4) sanna (perception), (5) ekaggata (one-pointedness of mind), (6) living force (jivitindriya), and 7. manasikara (attention).

Secondly, there are six other mental factors terminologically called *Pakinnaka*. These may also be found in any types of thought. Those are, (8) *vitakka* (mental application to any object), (9) *vicara* (mental investigation on any object), (10) *adhimokkha* (decision), (11) *viriya* (effort), (12) *piti* (pleasant feeling), (13) *chanda* (keen inclination).

These thirteen mental factors are comprehensively said to be either one or the other (*annasamana*). Though they are psychologically, termed as non-ethical import but in as much as they are combined with ethical or non-ethical thought they, therefore, become ethical or non-ethical respectively.¹³

Thirdly, there are fourteen non-ethical mental factors (*akusala cetasikas*). Those are: (14) *moha* (ignorance), (15) *ehirika* (non-consentiousness), (16) *anottappa* (shamelessness), (17) *uddhacca* (distraction), (18) *lobha* (greed), (19) *ditthi* (wrong view), (20) *mana* (conceit), (21) *dosa* (hatred), (22) *issa* (envy), (23) *macchariya* (selfishness), (24) *kuccevca* (worisomeness), (25) *thina* (sloth), (26) *middha* (torpor), (27) *vikiccha* (doubt).

Fourthly, there are nineteen mental factors which logically said to be good or ethical one. These are: (28) *saddha* (firm confidence), (29) *sati* (mindfulness), (30) *hiri* (conscientiousness), (31) *ottappa* (shamefulness), (32) *alobha* (benevolence), (33) *adosa* (loving-kindness), (34) *tatramajjhata* (equanimity), (35) *kayapassaddhi* (composure of mental factor), (36) *cittapassaddhi* (composure of thought), (37) *kayalahuta* (buoyancy of mental factors), (38) *cittalahuta* (buoyancy of thought), (39) *kayamuduta* (pliancy of mental factor), (40) *cittamuduta* (pliancy of thought), (41) *kayakammata* (fineness for application of mental factors), (42) *cittakammata* (fineness for application of thought), (43) *kayapagunnata* (proficiency of mental factors), (44) *cittapagunnata* (proficiency of thought), (45) *kayaajuta* (rectitude of mental factors), (46) *cittajuta* (rectitude of thought).

Fifthly, there are three types of ethical behaviour (*virati*). those are: (47) *sammavaca* (right speech), (48) *sammakanta* (right action), (49) *sammaajiva* (right livelihood).

Sixthly, there are two other ethical kinds of thought in which they are to be universally cultivated. These are: (50) *karuna* (compassion), (51) *mudita* (congratulation).

Lastly, there is (52) reason or intellect (*pannindriya*) in which it is to be regarded as a category of wholesomeness of mental factors.

So it may be conclusively said that the mental factors of either one or the other (*annasamana*) are thirteen in number, non-ethical factors fourteen, and the ethical one twenty-five. They are, therefore, fifty-two in total number.

We have now seen that man is moved to act or behave in accordance with his own thought. In this regard, one is in the position to be trained in order to eradicate non-ethical thought and then develop ethical one as well as to make it completely cultured. This is an objective of psychoethical study in Buddhism; it aims to inculcate moral development and disciplinary behaviour among mankind and their society.

THE MENTAL GROWTH OF INDIVIDUAL CONDUCT

J. S. Mill

Now we come to some of the modern thinkers of the West regarding relationship between psycho-ethics. As it is said that there is no question of the close and intimate relationship between psychology and ethics. They are, at the same time, generally dependant. The duty of Ethics is to deal with the firmness of human conduct just as logic dealing with the strength of thought. Psychology, as a matter of fact, leads to logic and aesthetics.¹⁴ Ethics, as a rule

deals mainly with the growth of individual consciousness referring indirectly to the facts of social point of view may be possibly done. That is, regarding ethics, the study of the fact of mind relating to society has a more direct interest than in purely individual psychology.¹⁵ According to John Stuart Mill, like Buddhist thought every system of ethic involves psychological conduct. It depends for its development upon its idea of what conduct actually is.¹⁶

David Hume on Psycho-Ethics

Hume does not believe in an absolute, eternal, and immutable principles of morality attained by intuition and demonstration. He believes in an empirical science of ethics. In this regard, his ethics is closely concerned with his psychology. Hume's psycho-ethical analysis, like Buddhism, assings into two-direct and indirect. The former arises immediately from impressions of pain or pleasure; they are namely, aversion, grief, joy, hope, fear, despair and security. The latter are more complicated. They included the conjunction of other various qualities, viz., pride, humility, ambition, vanity, love, hatred, envy, pity, malice and generosity.

To Hume, like Buddhism, human reason is rather self-interest oriented. One may reason as much as his self-interest is concerned. In his words, "Reason is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them". The function of reason in daily life is to guide against a mistake which is due to an erroneous judgement concerning causes and effects. Man's action may be unreasonable due to two senses: (1) It may be based on the supposed existence of objects which do not exist, or (2) in ineffective means may be employed by reason for the determined end due to the said erroneous judgement.²⁰ According to Buddhism, any reason or judgement, if functioned under passions, is liable to be immoral. Moreover, if one reasons out on account of the thing which does not really exist on the ground of his experience or on ineffective means, the judgement cannot be relied upon. For any judgement, including moral, it can be justified only on account of self-experience.

Morits Schlick on Principles of Human Conduct

According to Schlick, the fundamental problems of ethics are concerned with causal explanation of moral behaviour. The others are in preliminary questions. This is, clearly, supported by Schopenhauer as well as Kant. To Schlick, ethics is fundamentally psychological one. It is because the discovery of motives or principles of any kind of human conduct or behaviour is purely psychological affair.²¹ In this regard, it seems that Schlick declines to accept ethics as but a part of psychology. Simply because to argue that whether ethics is psychology is the question of mere terminology. If it is fundamentally questioned why does man ethically act? That is to be answered by psychology. To this, there is no degradation to science but a happy implication of the world picture. To Schlick, ethics seeks no independence but only the truth.²² To this, we may, therefore, say that Schlick finds no definite distinction between ethics and psychology.

John Dewey's Will and Deed —

According to John Dewey, the fundamentals of rationality lies in effective mastery of the conditions in which it is put into action.²³ We are taught that co-existence of mind and body, or thought and action are related.²⁴ To Dewey, a mere thinking itself cannot escape the influence of human habit. A human will, according to Dewey as well as Buddhism, is a tool for a deed. Inasmuch as it is in good disposition, it produces the right deed. It is because, a dispositions herein mean a tendency to act, apart from such tendency, a virtuous disposition is either hypocrisy or self-deceit.²⁵ To John Dewey, the unity of character and conduct, motive and act, or will and deed are the dynamic force of the habit taken in connection with one another.²⁶ In this regard, we precisely find close and intimate thought in Buddhism. The Buddha says that

will leads to action (*cetanaham kammam vadami*). Whether deeds and the consequences are good or bad, they are due to the human will or disposition (*mano pubbam gama dhamma.....*). Buddhism and Dewey's thought are no doubt, agreeing on account of relationship between ethics and Psychology.

Buddhism and some Moral thinkers—

Though it is believed that man's pattern of behaviour and even our complex social activities may be more satisfactorily explained on the habit or cultural conditions and yet one may not fail to realise what is human nature on the one hand and creative intuition and establishment on the other.²⁷ As for human nature, there are three views on this subject-matter. It is first said that human nature is essentially evil, second, good, and third it possesses great potentialities or capacities for good and evil. Let us examine a bit what does each stand for.

In the first place, it is said that this view has been supported at least by Christian theology classical economists, biologists of nineteenth century. As for Christian theology as well as Buddhism, according to H. H. Titus, it emphasises an inability of the sinful man to do any good through his own efforts. Man's nature is corrupt and evil. In the meantime, the church claims that man is capable of redemption by salvation. The classical economists emphasises on essence of economic man. So also a biologists made animal in the same tendency.

Secondly, the view has been supported by Rousseau as well as Herbert Spencer. It is argued that man is good as far as the corruption and vice are not brought to him. So also they are co-operative creature nature egoistic and destructive one. Thirdly, it is viewed that man is born neither good nor bad but rather with potentiality for good and for bad.

In this connection, it may be noted that no room for Buddhism in saying that man is, by nature, evil or good. Yet Buddhism agrees that man is potentiality qualified by both dispositions of good (*Kusala*) and evil (*akusala*) one as we have already seen. In other words, Buddhism while emphasising social environment (*patirupadesa*) speaks of man's determination (*pubbeṣa punnata*) on the one hand and meanwhile refers to one's indetermination (*attanatha*) on account of human effort, endeavour, perseverance, etc., in which it is rightiously set forth (*attasammapanidhi*), on the other. According to Buddhism, it is strongly argued that if man is determined by the nature of the good and bad in neither way, the question will logically arise on account of the value of human effort and the like for highest achievement. So that there is no room for determination in Buddhist part in metaphysical aspect.

It may be further noted that though Buddhism does not psychologically deny the good and bad nature of man on account of disposition, it does not mean that man should be determined only by such nature because the said is also in the position of being changed in due conditions regarding man's intention. In this regard, the matter, perhaps, agrees with Prof. Hocking in saying that as to structure, human nature is undoubtedly plastic part of the living world, the most adaptable, the most educable.... It becomes clear that in every way nature as a prescriptive power, has provided in him... Nature now charts man to complete the work and makes of himself what one wills.³⁰ As matter of fact, fundamentally, Buddhism regards man as psychophysical unity in which his thought is changing soul, it is dynamic continuation of conscious mind as well as unconscious stored a existing memory in the past. Such mind or thought is impelled to behave or act on account of man's existence in accordance with either of three types of desires viz., the desire for self-gratification (*kaCa-tanha*), the desire for self-preservation (*bhava-tanha*) or the desire for infinite self-preservation (*vibhava-tanha*).

In other words, man is impelled to behave or act in accordance with *reed* (lobhg), hatred (dosa), or ignorance (moha) and the opposite mental states. These are said to be a primary sources for man's behaviour. Man's thoughts are, no doubt, categorized into good, bad and neutral aspects and these make man instinctively behave or act in accordance with the given events. In this connection, we find that the Western thinkers regarding morality, like Buddhism, believed in the close relationship between psychology and ethics. They are mutually dependent. It is agreed that there are varieties of man's disposition even in the same categories—good or bad as we already see.

As for ethics, Hume, for example, agrees with Buddhism not only in the sense of metaphysics but also of ethics. He believed in the common sense of Man's ethics rather in the absolute. According to Buddhism, ethics is but an effective tool of man's invention for the order of individual as well as society. In the higher sense, it is the mean leading to the mental perfection, happiness, and the like. Unlike Buddhism and other religious teachers, the Western thinkers failed to recommend or introduce some sort of ethics as the standards as the way of man's life. They rather go in to "what is ethics", till now no definition is given to what is good or bad. Yet, like Buddhism, it agrees that relationship between psychology and ethics is close and intimate in their function. Psychological study, according to Buddhism, is the mean to develop moral behaviour. So also moral act is possible unless man's mental development is made as much.

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5. Ibid.
6. S. Z. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. . Cf. Bhikhu J. Kashyap, *The Abhidhamma Philosophy*; Narada Mahathera, *A Manual of Abhidhamma*.
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8. Ibid., pp. 86-87. Cf. Mrs. Davids, *Buddhist Manual of Psycho-ethics*, pp. 1—195.
9. Ibid., pp. 82-83, Cf. Mrs. Davids, *Manual of Psycho-ethics*, pp. 90—113.
10. Ibid., pp. 84-85. Cf. Mrs. Davids, *Buddhist Manual of Psycho-ethics*, pp. 145—152.
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12. Ekuppada nirodho ca ekarambana vatthuka cetovutta divipannasa dhamma cetasikamata
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14. John S. MacKenzie, *A Manual of Ethics*, (London University Tutorial Press, 1957) p. 17.
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17. W. H. Wright, *History of Modern Philosophy*, p. 213.

18. Ibid. pp. 213-214.
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 23. John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, (New York: Carlton House, p. 67.
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 25. *Ibid.*, p. 44,
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 27. H. H. Titus, *Ethics for Today*, (New York: American Book Company, 1957). p. 51. Cf. *Mangaia Sutta* (*sutta nipata*).
 28. Cf. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Mah*, (New York: Charls Scribner's Sons, 1943), p. 270.
 29. See above.
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SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SUNYATA AND SYAT

Kewal Krishna Mittal

I do begin with thanking the organisers of the seminars for providing me an opportunity to share some of my loud thinking on the 'Social Significance of 'Sunyata' and 'Syat', the two most important concepts in Buddhism and Jainism, with the eminent scholars of the Buddhist and Jaina thoughts those have gathered together here.

(I)

Generally 'Sunyata' is misinterpreted to represent either Nihilism or Transcendentalism of a sort that looks down upon the phenomenal existence that we all are supposed to have. Both these interpretations render 'Sunyatā' as of no significance as far as the social life is concerned. 'Sunyata' can represent nihilism only if we ignore the insistence of the great master Nagarjuna, the teacher responsible for propounding the very concept of 'Sunyata', on the point of his system of thought being regarded as 'Madhyamika Darsana'. Sunyata does represent that middle way of the Buddha Madhyama pratipada that steers clear both Nihilism (ucchedavāda) and Eternalism (sāsvatavāda).

Sunyatā does represent a transcendentalism, in the sense that it refers to that reality (or the principle) which is free of the four fold characterization (catuṣkoṭi-vinirmukta) in the forms of affirmation, negation, both, and neither. There is no doubt that a distinction is drawn by the Sunyavadis between the Samvrti Sat the covered, practical, the make believe sort of imaginary reality (Kalpana) that can be talked about and is the object of inference (assumana-Visaya), the one that we are acquainted with in Samsāra (the phenomenal world) and Parmartha-Sat-the ultimate, uncovered, unique, reality—that being the object of an imagination-free perception (Kalpanapodha-pratyaksa), is revealed to us in Nirvana. It leaves us speechless (Unabhilāpya) But it would be misleading if we do step short at that and do not take cognisance of the master's clear statement that there is not even the slightest difference between Samsāra and Nirvana and are unmindful of the procedural rule of the 'Sunyavādīs that all views (Drstis), all points of departure and all distinctions including the one before us are equally 'Sunya'.

It would not be out of place to guard against another possible interpretation of 'Sunyata, which seems to be getting some currency among scholars of Buddhism who are acquainted with the movement of thought known as existentialism. It is not altogether without justification, if some one sees in 'Sunyata, an anticipation of the concept of 'Nothingness' as propounded by the existentialist thinker M. Heidegger. To such a friend I am to remind that there is a world of difference between the genesis and development of the two concepts, despite all the similarity that may be seen in them. The circumstances created in Europe by the two world wars, have much to do with the genesis of Heidegger's concept but we have no evidence whatsoever of the similarity or otherwise of the historical events attending upon the development of the concept of 'Sunyatā.

'Sunyatā' as I understand it is the principle of dynamic reality that stands for the relativity of all view points and impermanence of (anityatā) of all events. An acceptance of this principle generates in us a preparedness to meet all eventualities, an attitude of non-attachment with anything or event in particular; a broadmindedness to not only tolerate but accept—even though pragmatically and tentatively—all that is; an impartiality coupled with a deep sense of compassion

(*Karunā*) that makes a saint-poet like Kabir Sing: 'Standing in the street I bless all as I do not have a friend or a foe'. *Sunyata*, by questioning all distinctions between good and evil, high and low, rich and poor, gods and beasts and the like makes us see the basic unity of all beings. It stands for the truth that is stranger than fiction that anything and everything is neither that what it appears, not its opposite, neither both nor neither. It justifies the resolve of a Bodhisattva to come again and again to suffer in countless number of lives for the sake of the suffering fellow beings. The spirit of Jataka tales by showing that no life is considered lowly—as the Buddha even assumed the lives of a vulture, a porcupine, a pigeon, a monkey, a deer and the like—can only be understood in terms of 'equality' that pulsates through all kinds of loves and the same can be justified only through the concept of *Sunyata*. I do remember, in this context, Swami Vivekananda who did express a wish 'to be born again and again to suffer all kinds of misery to worship and serve his only god, the poorest of all the races, his god the down-trodden, his god the wicked and so.

Sunyata makes for non-Sustantiality (*anātman*) which implies that there is no point, on the part of some one, to consider oneself to be such and such a being belonging to a specific caste and creed, pursuing a certain sort of profession and practice. It makes us break the walls that separate us and realise the basic fraternity that reminds me of a saying of Guru Nanaka where in he declares; 'I have no one as an enemy or an alien, all belong to fraternity'.

Sunyata by pointing to the interdependence of all being in terms of dependent-origination (*pratitya Samutpāda*), makes us realise the fact that the life of Altruism is the only true life that in serving or providing support to another being in a positive and reative way lies the very being of same one. This makes us active participants in the welfare activities of our social life.

Sunyata, further, pointing to the hollownes of all rules, all formalities, all impositions including self impositions in the form of the assumption of this character or the other—makes us free actors in the drama of life. It indicates that the multiple-games that we play in life with th rules formulated by us must leave us free to change the rules and the games wherever we want thus it stands for liberty.

In conclusion I may state that if *Sunyata* is properly understood, it does provide a basis fo a sound social philosophy that vouchsafes for us the principles of liberty, fraternity and equality and prepares us for a life of readiness to meet all eventualities, of impartial compassion, of adjusment and peace.

(II)

Now, a few words about the social significance of 'Syāt' which, at best, is represented a intellectual non-violence (*Boudhika Ahimsā*) and, at worst, scepticism. Let me say at the very outset that Syāt can be taken to stand for some sort of scepticism by those only who merely go by the literal translation of the word as 'perhaps' and are totally ignorant of the realistic tone and character of the Jaina thought. Syāt cannot be and must not be translated into any language, not even as (Some how', 'may be' or 'n a sense' etc which are surely much better expression than 'perhaps' and be understood as such. The concept of Syāt is the key concept of Jaina philosophy that upholds the reality of the many with each one of the many being multifaceted and related in a manifold way with each of the other (*Anekanta*). In the very concept of the *anekanta* a full justification of the unity in diversity is interwoven. Universe consists of a well-knit pattern of the positive (*Syādaṣṭi*), negative (*Syānnāṣṭi*), position negative (*syādaṣṭi-nāṣṭi Ca*) the unspeakable, the positive yet unspeakable, the unspeakable yet negative, and the positive-negative yet unspeakable aspects. Each of the seven aspects (*Saptabhangi*) being is related in those very seven different ways to every other being which likewise has those seven aspects.

Omniſcience is the goal that the Jainas set for themselves. Since each being in full can be known only when every thing related to it is known, we find in Jaina Sutras a doctrine to the effect : ‘One who knows one knows all and one who knows all knows one’ (Je egam Jānai Se Sabbam Jānai, je sabbam jānai se egam jānai). Syāt is a principle that ensures distinct reality of each of the individuals in a society that the related group of many individuals and from that one can easily argue to the democratic principle of ‘each to be counted for one and no one for more than one’. It makes for harmony and equanimity of the distinct beings through the characteristics of essential relatedness and interdependence. Further more, each individual in line with such a thinking represents the variegated character of the world on the whole; a microcosm for the macrocosm. For, each individual is at once a systematic dynamic unity of the process of origination, expansion and continuity that can be conceived in a manifold way representing such diverse points of views (Naias) as the substantial of modes (Paryāyārthaka), the extremely specific, general or collective (Samgraha) the one combining both the specific and the general (Naigama) etc. Many can be the disjunctive expressions in which one and the same situation or a person can be referred to.

A multiplistic view that the Syāt is indicative can surely form a basis for a social philosophy that makes us accept life in variegated colour and receive the bitter and sweets of it with equal equanimity. A broadminded openness and preparedness of all sorts of experiences is the first and foremost attitude that Syāt generates in us. Having such an attitude one is bound to be magnanimous, merciful and other regarding without minimising the roles that miserliness, hatred or cruelty and selfishness play in the over all drama of life.

CONCEPT OF TRANSCENDENTAL KNOWLEDGE

Armando F. Bonifacio

In what follows, I shall try to mark certain distinctions surrounding the idea of transcendental knowledge. I trust these distinctions would be useful both to the philosopher and the layman to whom this type of knowledge seems available only to those with special gifts of spirit and intellect. My own view, which I assume is consistent with some Buddhistic tenets, specifically Zen Buddhism is that there is nothing really so mysterious about transcendental knowledge that it is not within the reach of the ordinary man.

1. Knowledge and Objects

The term 'knowledge' has what is known as the process/product ambiguity. We may, on the one hand, think of it as that which a person is said to have, e. g., so and so has knowledge of such; we may, on the other, think of it as the process of knowing. In most epistemological studies, the latter is what often engages the mind of the philosopher. The reason for this is probably the implicit theory that we would come to know the nature of knowledge as product if we know the process that brings it about. Whether or not this implicit theory is sound is something I shall not here bother about. What needs emphasis is the fact that when philosophers think of knowledge they generally concern themselves, almost exclusively, with the knowing process.

In thinking, meanwhile, about the knowing process, there is the operating presumption (whose validity, incidentally, may also be subject to question) that we can or ought to separate between the knowing subject and the object of knowledge. Thus, the idea of empirical knowledge involves the correlative ideas of the experiencing or sensing subject and the object of experience which is the empirical world of tables and chairs, or, as preferred by some writers, the phenomenal world of sense data.

Philosophers who think of knowledge on the basis of this conceptual frame are led to view transcendental knowledge as a special kind of knowledge involving an equally special kind of process, i. e., something non-empirical or transempirical. In addition, they are led to the view that transcendental knowledge pertains to transcendental objects just as empirical knowledge pertains to empirical objects. There are, therefore, at least two types of world of tables and chairs and two, the transcendental world of transcendental objects.

2. Transcendental Knowledge Without Transcendental Objects

There is another construal of transcendental knowledge which does not call for the postulation of a special sort of world or process. This is that type of knowledge said to be philosophic in nature and thus something which any man can have insofar as each man has or can be said to have some philosophy or other.

As I shall try to make it out, transcendental knowledge begins with the common day to day world of tables and chairs, of shadows and rainbows, of men and institutions. This is not, however, to propose that our ordinary knowledge of tables and chairs constitutes a type of transcendental knowledge.

When the philosopher qua philosopher examines our knowing process he is not concerned simply with coming to know the nature of the objects constituting our world. He is concerned I would say, primarily, with formulating knowledge about how we come to know the world. Thus, the philosopher is, as it were, one step removed from knowledge of objects for it is no knowledge of objects (tables and chairs simpliciter but knowledge of the mode, the structure the presuppositions of our knowledge of objects that concerns him.

The ordinary man may examine an object and inquire into its nature, e. g., its physical composition, its use, or uses, its basic design, its manufacturer, its cost, etc. The philosopher however, as philosopher, would inquire into the nature of the ordinary man's inquiry—into how the ordinary man comes to know the object to be of such and such a kind. Traditional epistemology is concerned fundamentally with this second level type of inquiry. And if traditional epistemology comes upon the knowledge of the methodological backing of the ordinary man's knowledge, he has, in my view, come upon a type of transcendental knowledge. This knowledge is transcendental in that it goes beyond (transcends) the limited boundary of knowing objects in the world. It concerns itself primarily with the complex contextual or methodological underpinnings of our knowledge of the world. I would like to think that such complex contextual background or methodological (others would probably call it metaphysical) underpinnings do not constitute a special kind of objects belonging to some sort of transempirical or supra-sensible world. They are as much in the world as the tables and chairs except, of course, that they are not on the same ontological plane as tables and chairs. We can, as philosophers often do, reduce tables and chairs to bundles of sense data. But we cannot do the same for the contextual background of our knowledge of bundles of sense data.

The difference here is perhaps the difference between seeing the bird in a tree and seeing the-bird-in-a-tree—or more accurately, seeing one's seeing-the-bird-in-a-tree. The philosopher's mode of seeing is not fragmented. He sees the whole picture, or as some would put it, he sees the totality before him. He sees not only the object but his seeing-the-object.

No doubt, we may also see our seeing-our-seeing-the-object. Perhaps this can go on ad infinitum, although I am not now prepared to assert that it does.

What I am trying to make out as a species of transcendental knowledge, therefore, is as much empirical as the philosopher's standard concept of empirical knowledge. We get to know how we know by examining the process of how, as a matter of fact, we come to know anything by experience.

Contemporary Anglo-American philosophy concerns itself with describing the various conceptual and methodological underpinnings of our knowledge of the world. This is pursued in the form of describing the various conditions for making any statement about reality. Certainly, the resulting philosophical descriptions of the conditions for statement making are as much subject to empirical controls as practically any straightforward description of features of the empirical reality. Thus, much of what is popularly known as philosophy of language pursued with a great deal of intensity in the Western world is continuous with the search for transcendental knowledge which has engaged and continues to engage the Eastern mind.

3. Transcendental Experience

Connected with the idea of transcendental knowledge is the idea of transcendental experience. To most philosophers, knowing is always connected with experiencing. There is, in other words a kind of universal agreement concerning the logical or organic tie between knowledge and experience. Differences among philosophers arise only with respect to the concept of experience itself.

Again, many are apt to be drawn to the view that transcendental experience is a unique sort of experiencing just as transcendental objects are unique sort of objects. I think what brings most philosophers to think that transcendental experience is a special type of experience that mobilizes unusual intellectual abilities is the narrow view that to experience anything is to use our basic sensory mechanisms—the so-called five senses, no more and no less. This is the reasons some philosophers incline to the view that the external world so-called is a mere construct out of sense-data. However, when the philosophers are drawn to admit that there are varieties of knowledge and correspondingly varieties of objects of knowledge, e. g., not only knowledge of tables and chairs but also knowledge of mathematical entities, or relations and knowledge of the conceptual underpinnings of our process of knowing, they are inexorably led to postulate special senses. The net effect of this postulation is hoary mystification of transcendental experience.

That there is hardly anything mysterious about transcendental experience is easily admitted if for instance, we broaden, as we in fact need to broaden, our concept of experience — that is to say, we include in our idea of experience not just the uncomplicated cases of sensing, e. g. seeing as involving the use of our eyesight, but also 'seeing' as appreciation of the totality. The latter comes very close to what we ordinarily mean by 'understanding.'

If I call out to the following sequence of numbers: 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, . . . and my hearer says, 'Stop, I can go on by myself,' he has, in some sense, seen the rule to generate the succeeding numbers. He has understood. Understanding is, as I propose, a kind of experiencing. It is a species of transcendental experience. In seeing the rule that generates the succeeding numbers, my hearer has grasped something, not just the particular numbers but the relationship of the numbers.

4. The Experience of Transcendence

When a person suddenly understands, e. g., suddenly sees the whole and not just the parts sees the bird-in-a-tree and not just the bird, or sees his seeing the bird and not just sees the birds, he has suddenly come upon a kind of transcendental knowledge. The process of coming to see more is part and parcel of his transcendental experience. It is, as one may put it, an experience of transcendence or of understanding.

If this experience is satisfying it is because it is a case of knowing more involving what amounts to a radical transformation of one's perspectives.

Some Buddhistic doctrines maintain that this experience of transcendence or understanding cannot be programmed such that he who follows the program—a recipe on how to do it without really trying—can expect at the end of the exercise to have the experience or to have taken the sudden and radical leap to another dimension. We cannot predict what would induce a change of perspectives in a person. It is for this reason that in the tradition of Zen Buddhism we find some masters disinclined to put down recipes for enlightenment. One is here reminded of a famous encounter between a Zen student and a master.

The master came upon a student sitting crosslegged. The master asked him what in the world he was doing, to which the student proudly replied: Master, I am sitting to attain my Buddhahood immediately, the master looked about him and picked up a stone and began rubbing this on the pavement. After a while, the student asked: What are you doing, Master? The Master replied: To make a mirror out of this stone. Puzzled, the student asked: But Master, how can you make a mirror out of that stone? The Master replied: How can you attain your Buddhahood by sitting? And the Master left.

Enlightenment (understanding) or that radical leap of the mind to another dimension which brings about a totally different perception of reality can come to anyone at any time. It can be triggered off by almost any experience. We do in fact successively experience what amounts to jumps in perspectives. When all of a sudden we say: Now I know, and feel different, perhaps exhilarated and refreshed by this new knowledge, what we experience is a transcendent experience, only that the leap is perhaps a bit too moderate to be noticeable.

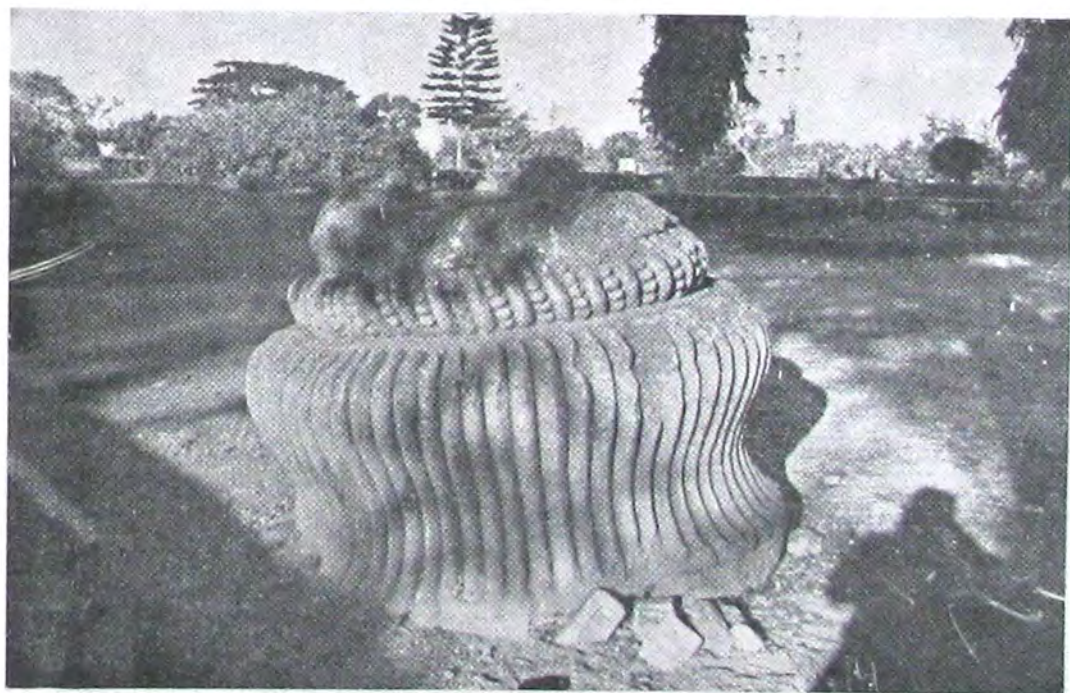
Certain leaps are genuinely radical involving wider perspectival jumps. This experience radicalizes the person himself, revolutionizes his perceptions and transforms him into another. It is not unthinkable that associated with this transcendental experience is a feeling that is fully mystical and almost super-natural.

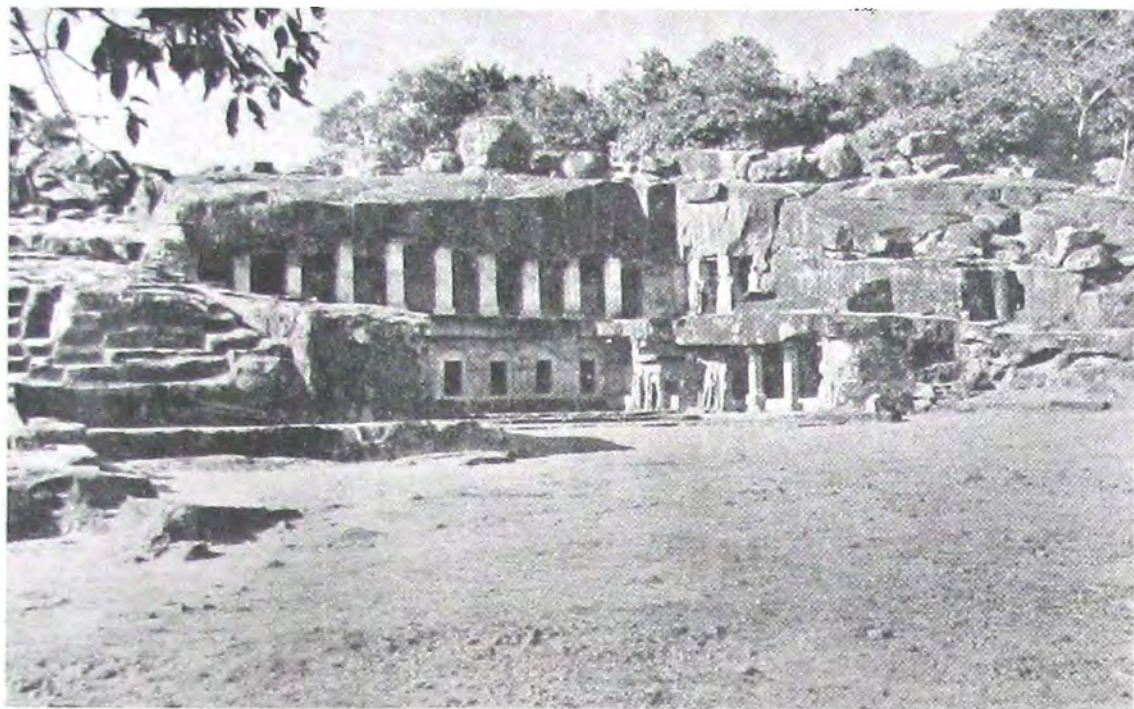
But we must not, I think, read more into it than what is in fact there. Buddhism, both as a philosophy and as a way of life, is available to all men. It is for this reason that it has a universal appeal. It is perfectly consistent with the movement of the mind and the structure of human knowledge.



Rock-cut elephant, Dhauli

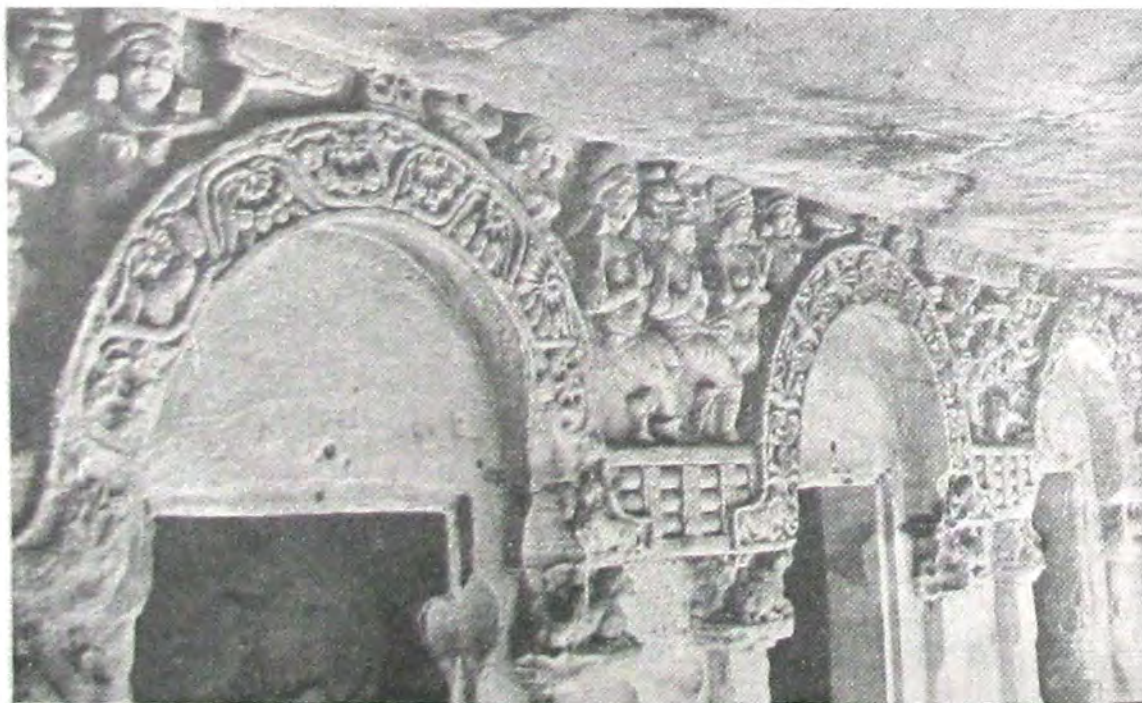
Bell-Capital (Orissa State Museum) Bhubaneswar





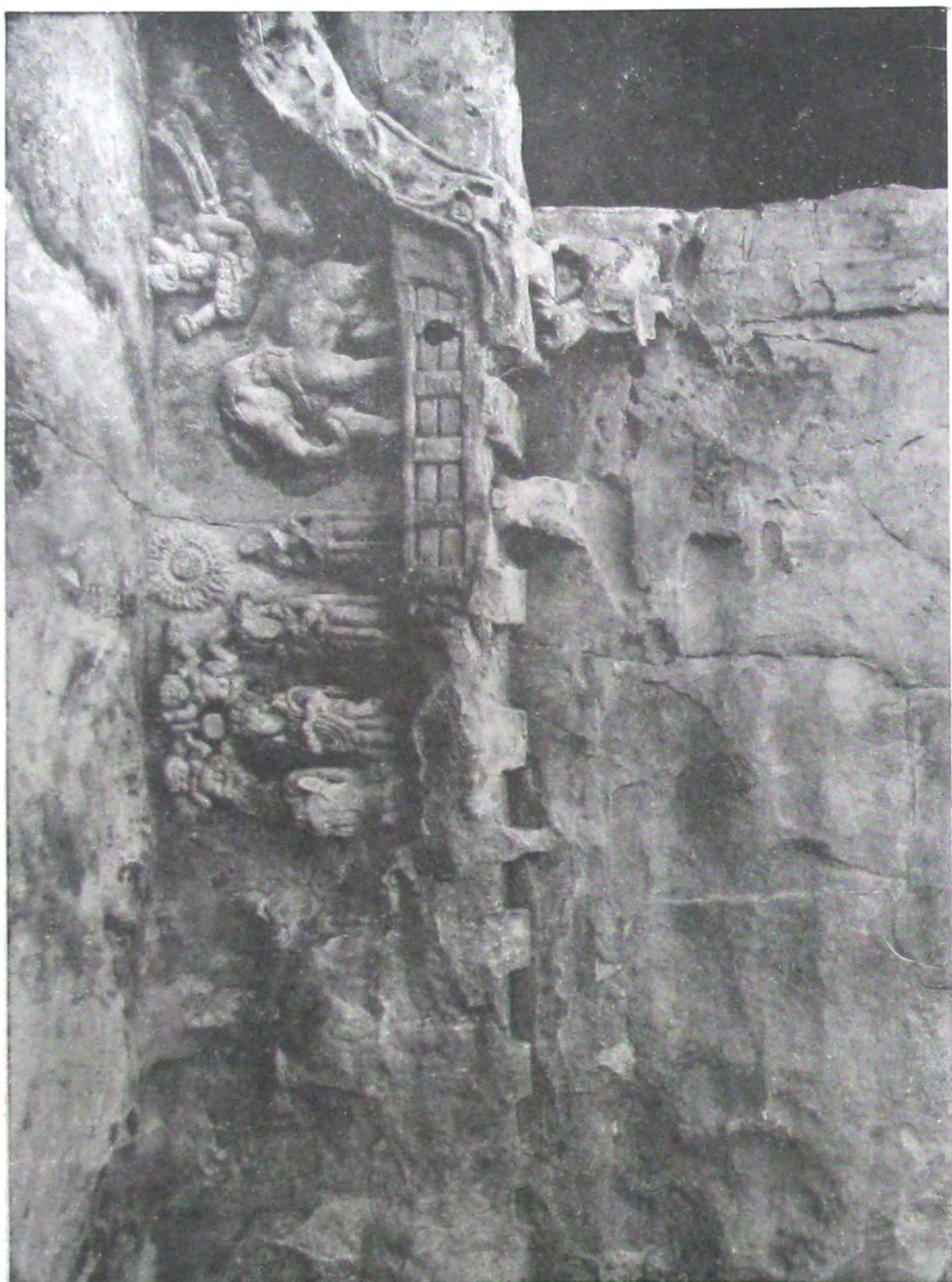
General view of Ranigumpha, Udayagiri

Right wing of Ranigumpha, Udayagiri

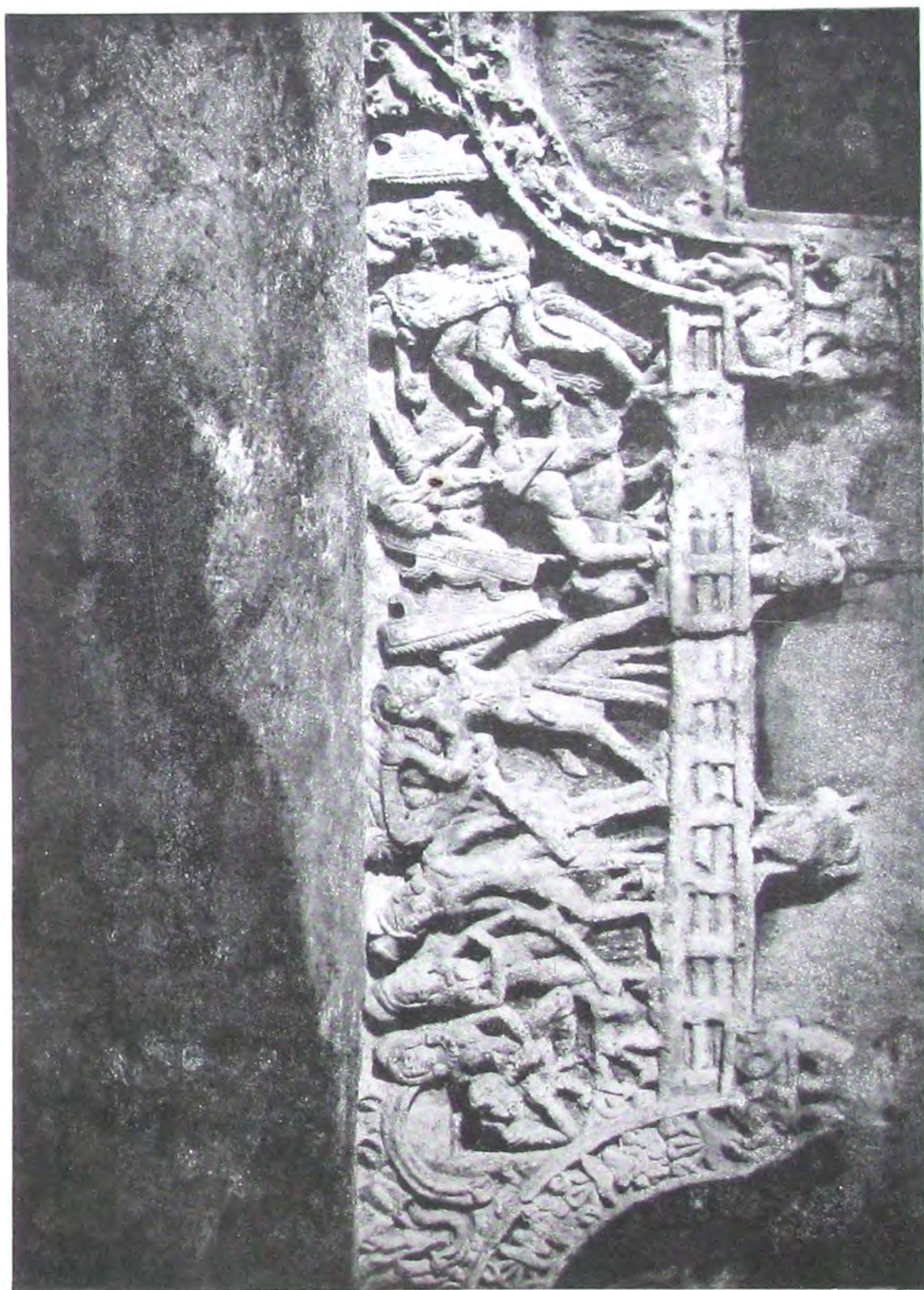




Upper wing of Ranigumpha, Udayagiri



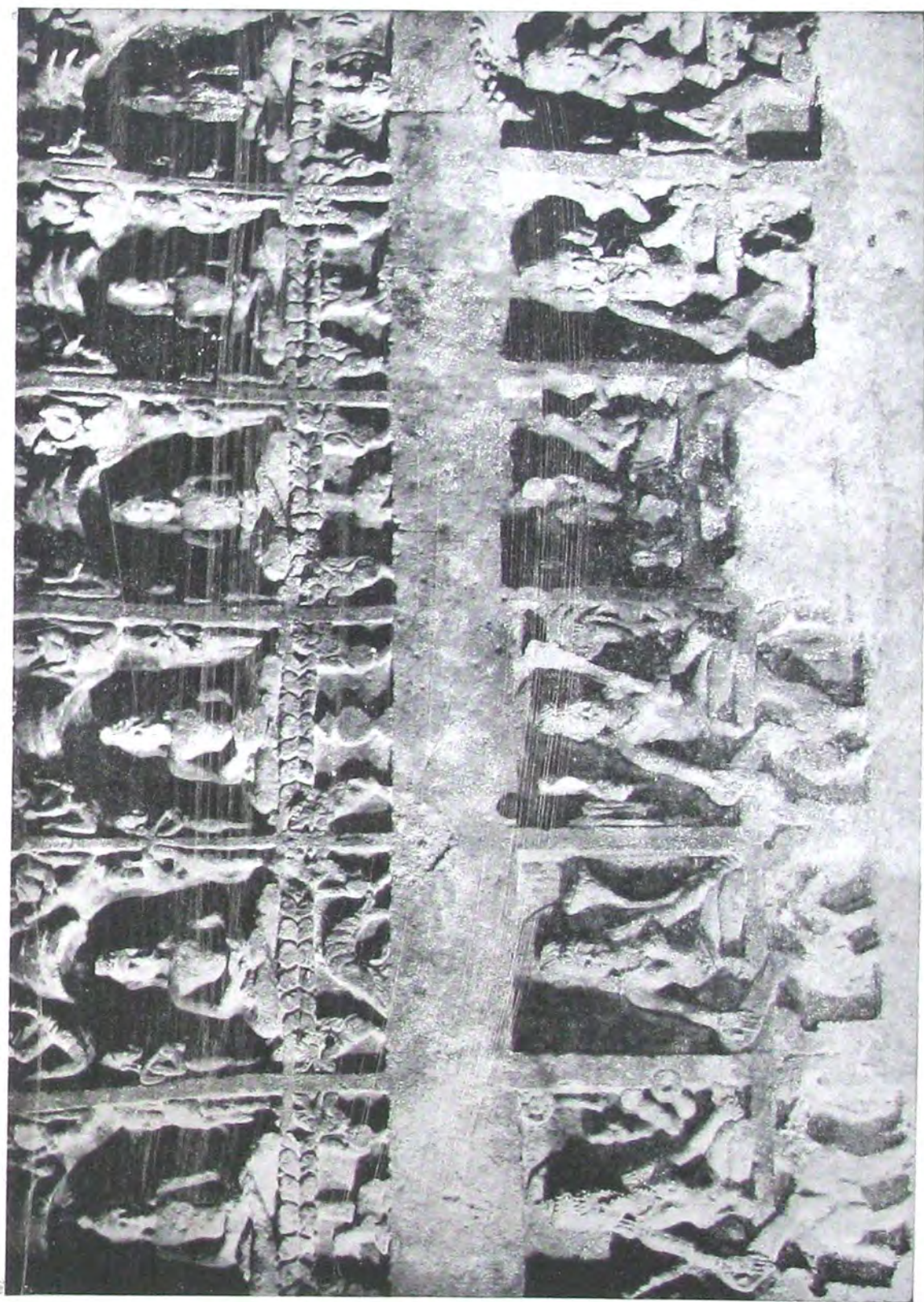
Worship of a Jain religious symbol, Udayagiri



A relief on facade of upper storey (Ranigumpha), Udayagiri



Gajalakshmi in Cave 9 of Khandagiri



Tirthankaras and Sasandevīs of Khandagiri



A female bust



Arnnatha, Mahavira gumpha of Khandagiri



Ahbinandanatanath, Mahavira Gumpha of Khandagiri



Santinatha, Mahavira gumpha of Khandagiri



Munisuvrata, Mahavira gumpha of Khandagiri

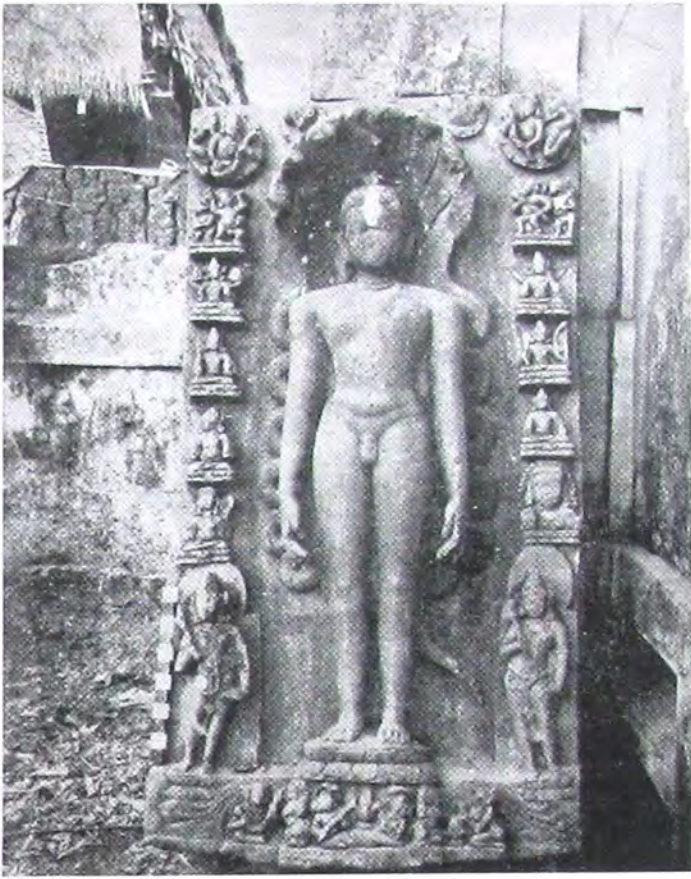
Dharmanatha, Mahavira gumpha of Khandagiri



Neminatha Mahavira gumpha of Khandagiri



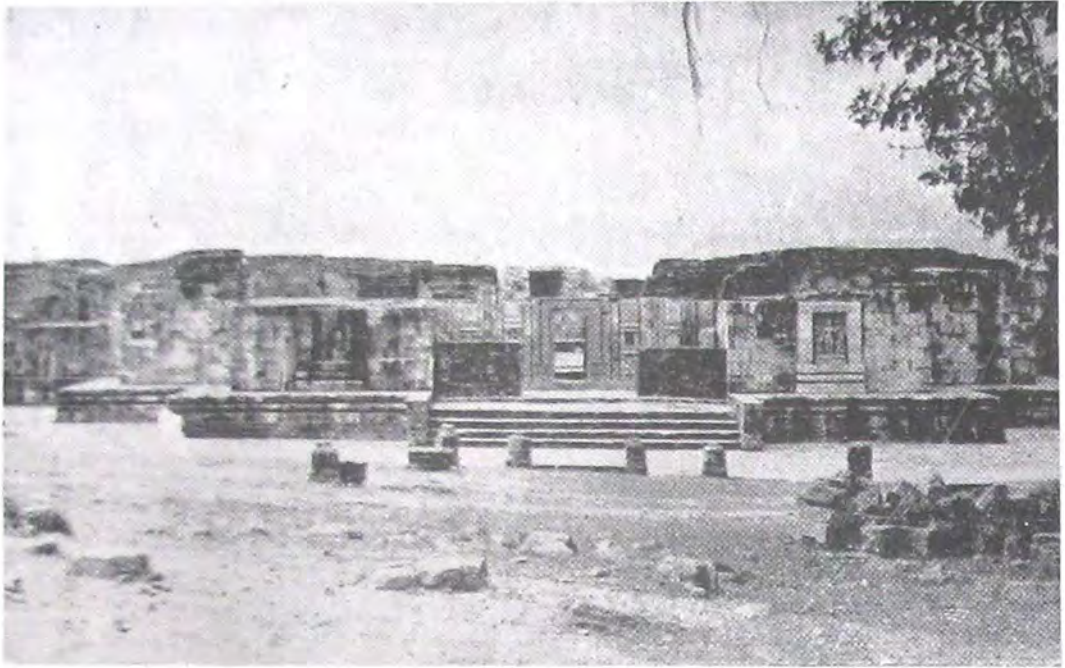
Sambhunatha Mahavira gumpha of Khandagiri



Parsvanatha from Ajothya



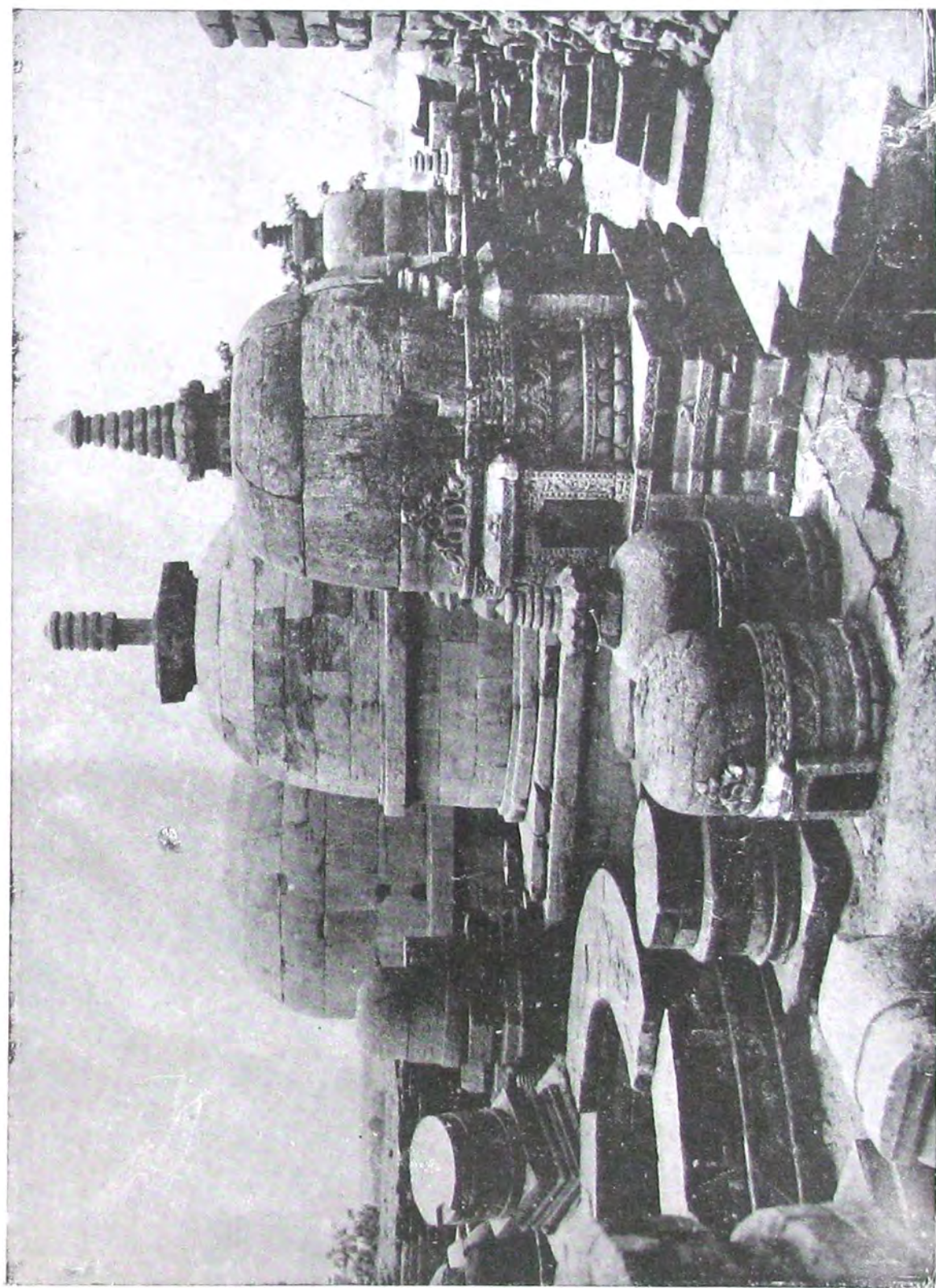
Buddha from Khadipada (now in the
Orissa State Museum)



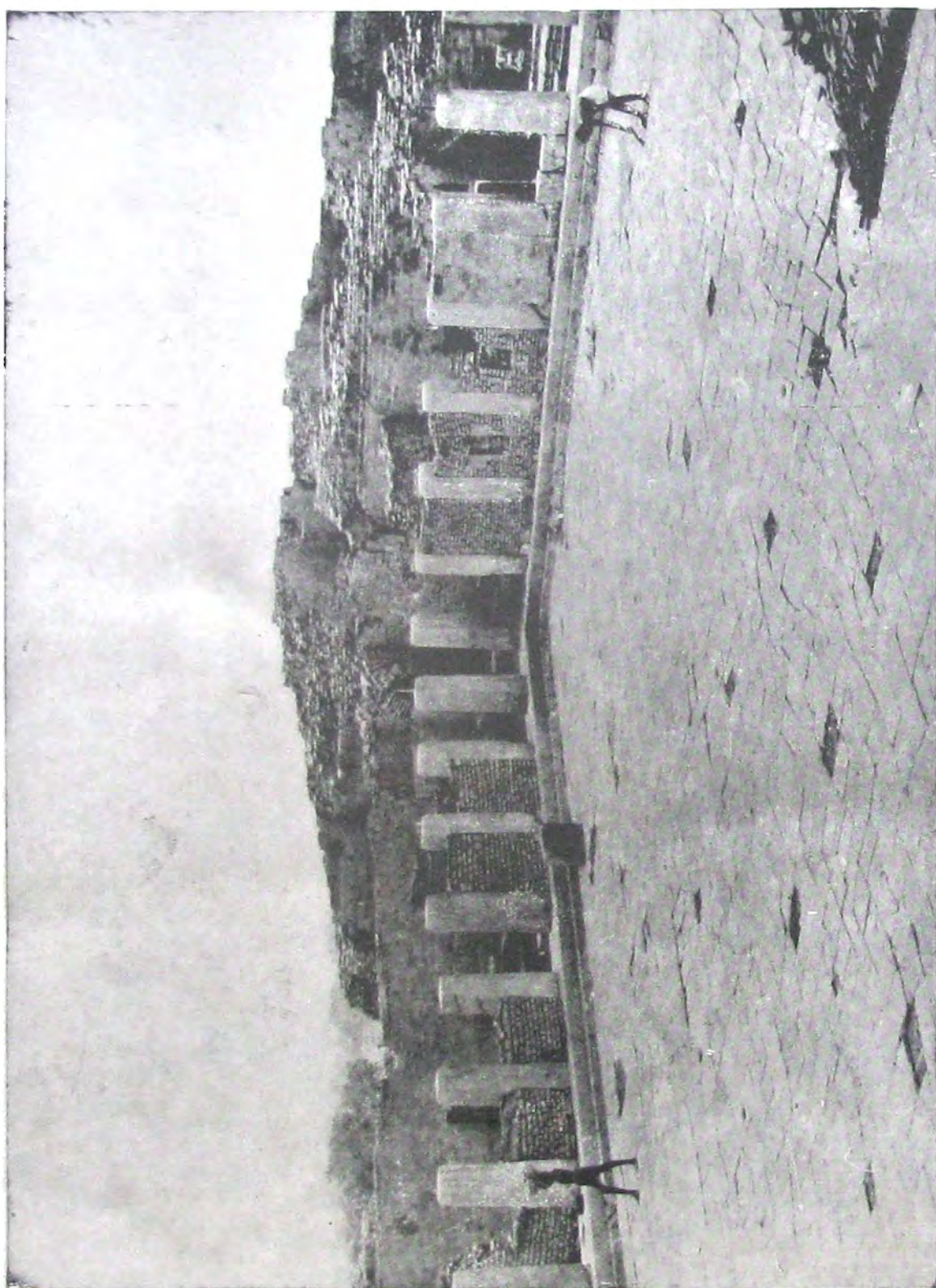
Ratnagiri Mahavihara— a General view

Great stupa of Ratnagiri after excavation





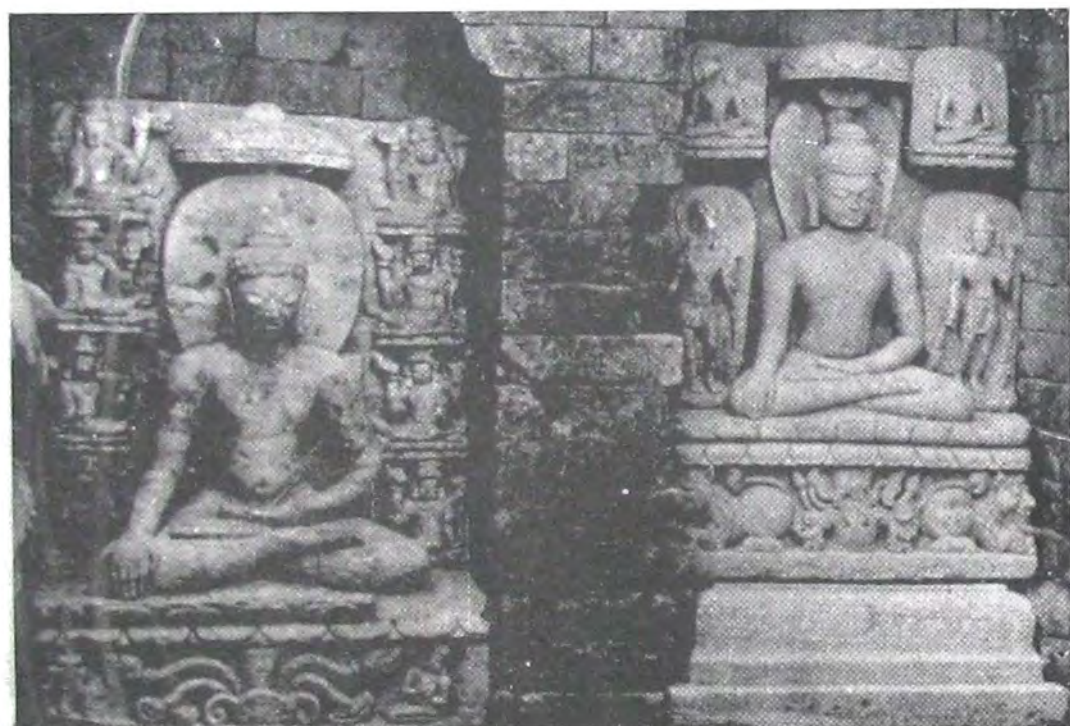
Minor stupas of Ratnagiri



Interior view of Ratnagiri monastery—1



Buddha in shrine chamber of Ratnagiri



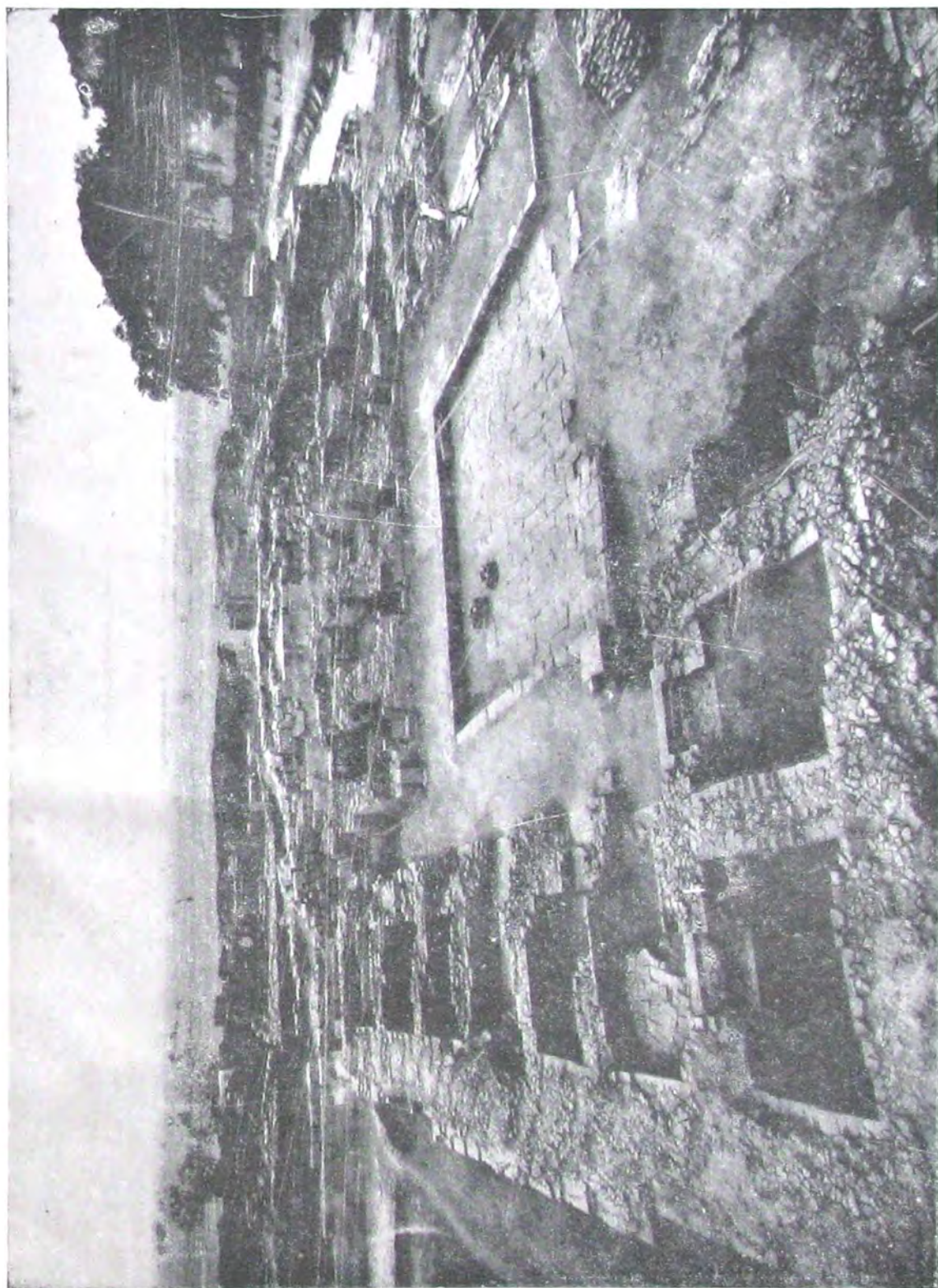
Images of Buddha, Ratnagiri



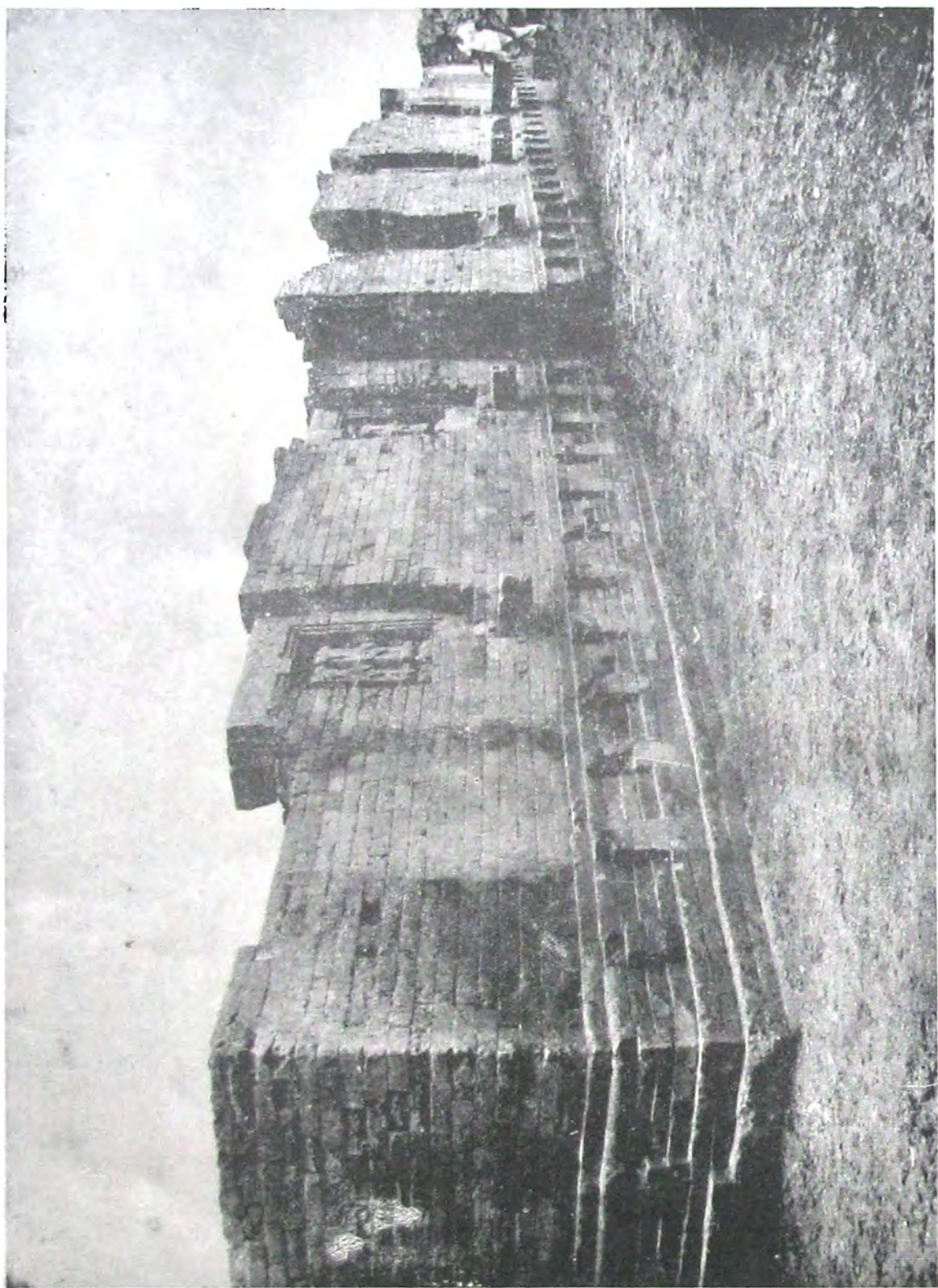
Buddha in antechamber of Monastery—1, Ratnagiri



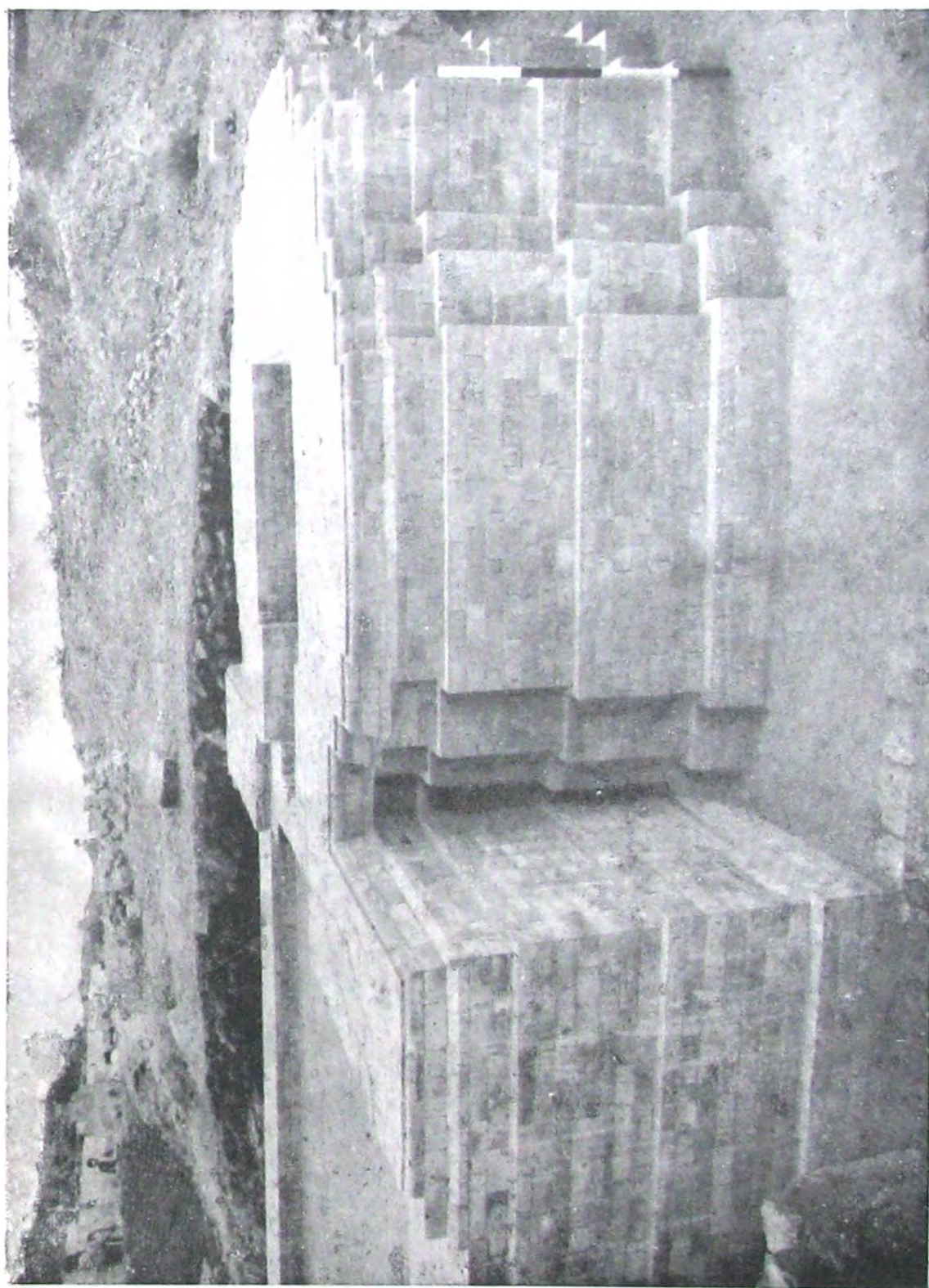
Image of Vasudhara in antechamber of Monastery—I, Ratnagiri



Exterior view of Monastery 2, Ratnagiri



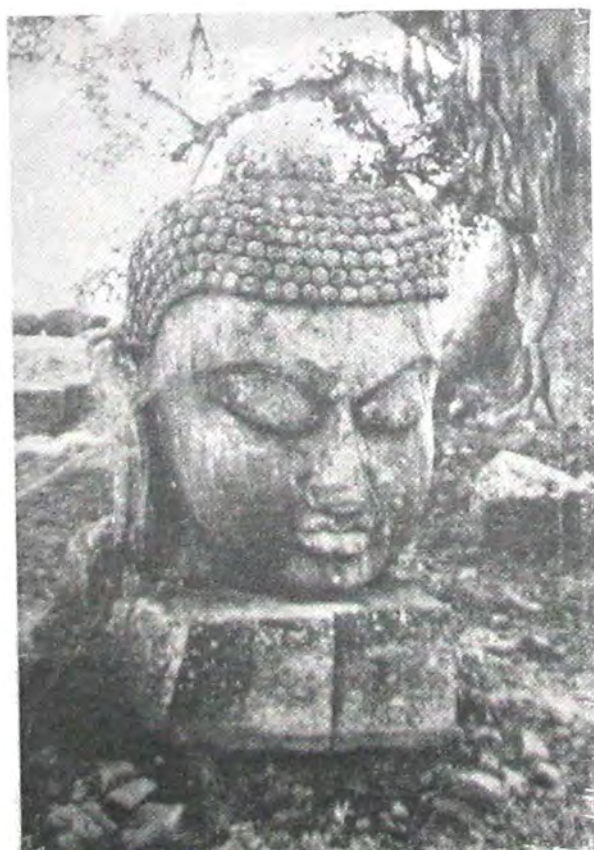
Back wall of Monastery 2, Ratnagiri



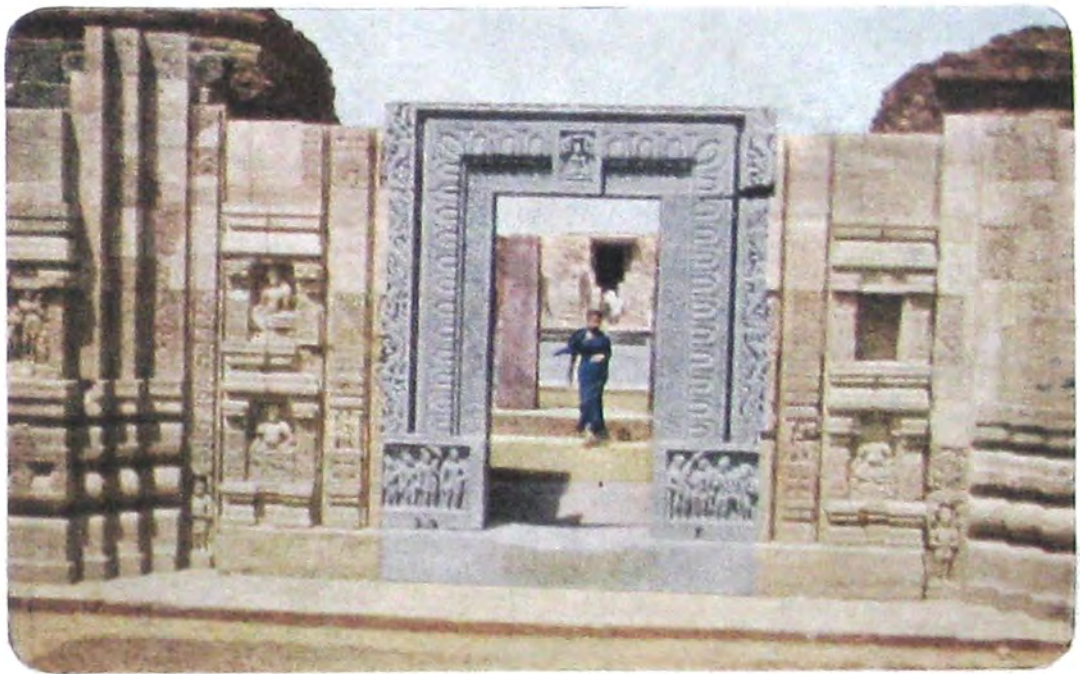
Brick temple of Ratnagiri



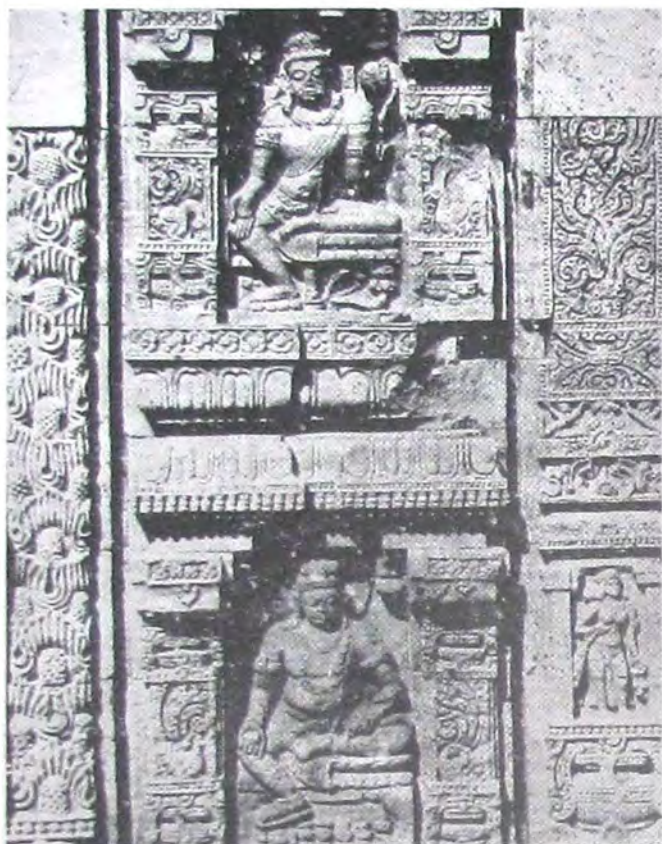
Image of Heruka, Ratnagiri



Head of Buddha, Ratnagiri



Carved door-frame with flanking walls, Ratnagiri



Sculptural panel in the doorway of Monastery—1,
Ratnagiri



Buddha, Talcher



Buddhist site for excavation at Lalitagiri

Buddha, Boud





Mallikeshwar temple, Koraput

Buddhist pillar, Lalitagiri





Buddha, Kuruma

**Excavated Buddhist site
at Kuruma**





Yaksha and Yakshi, Ajodhya



Tara, Ajodhya



Image of Parivranatha, Ajodhya



Manjushree, Ajodhya



Marichi, Ajodhya



Ameghasiddhi from G.Udayagiri
(in Orissa State Museum)



Buddha from Khiching Museum



Buddhist temple of Gajapati, Paradeep

Buddha from Buddhakot





Parsvanatha



Parsvanatha



Khadirabini Tara, Banapur

**Bouddha (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)**





**Avalokitesvara (bronze), Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)**

**Votive stupa (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)**





Buddha (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



Tara (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



The image of Trailokyavijaya (bronze)
from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



The image of Jambhala (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



The image of Kurukulia (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



Vajrasattva (bronze) from Barapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



The image of Hariti (bronze) from Binapur
(in Orissa State Museum)



**Buddha (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)**



**Risavan.th (bronze) from Banapur
(in Orissa State Museum)**



Ambika from Podasingidi



Parsvanatha from Podasingidi



**Santinatha (bronze) from Banapur
(In Orissa State Museum)**

**Tara (bronze) from Jajpur
(in Orissa State Museum)**





Santistupa at Dhauri

